Rollock. Vol. 1

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PREFACE.

THE name of ROBERT ROLLOCK is identified with the in
of the University of Edinburgh. That noble institution was
fortunate in the choice of her first Rector. His educatio
position and habits, admirably fitted him to be the fash
discipline, and to give shape and direction to her met
her dis
her aims.

The Editor of these volumes had made some progress in collecting materials for an extended biography of this inestimable man; but various causes have induced him to abandon, or, at least, to postpone this intention. Among others may be mentioned one, the force of which will be universally recognised. The learned divine who now holds that place which Rollock once held, it is understood, has long contemplated giving to the world an account of the life of his distinguished predecessor. To no one could this duty fall more suitably or gracefully—by no one could it be more efficiently discharged. Should, however, this hope be disappointed, and should it be deemed expedient to continue the publication of the Select Works of Rollock, under other auspices than those of the Wodrow Society, the Editor will do his best to exhibit Rollock, in that most useful career, in which he not only founded the Scottish fame of the Metropolitan University, and instructed our citizens in the lessons of divine truth, but by his voluminous labours, made our theological learning and our orthodoxy to be known and respected in foreign lands.

Yet it is not right that these volumes should pass into the hands of the readers of this generation, without some knowledge of the amiable man by whose labours they are about to profit. In the din of that eventful era, in which it was his lot to spend his short but useful life, his voice was seldom heard. While others, of like mind with himself, but whose temperament fitted them for more bustling scenes, are familiar to us, as if we had personally witnessed their contendings for the truth, the name of Rollock is almost lost in the quiet of that academic life which he loved so well; and, particularly fitted as he was for the part which Providence had ...ed him in advancing the education of his country, the very ...ies which imparted that fitness prevented him from attain... success in matters where there were required a ready ap... ...sion of danger, shrewdness in the detection of ulterior pur... ...overed by specious pretexts, and bold opposition to wily ... of political circumvention.[1]

Rollock died on the 8th of February 159⅞. In the course o... the year 1599, there was published in Edinburgh, a memoria... of the departed Principal, with the following title:—*Vitae ... Mortis D. Roberti Rolloci Scoti Narratio, ... scripta per Georgiu... Robertsonum: adjectis in eundem quorunda... Epitaphiis. Edi... burgi, apud Henricum Charteris.* 1599.[2] 8vo, sig. c. To the na... rative are appended, in the usual fashion of the time, thirty eulo... gistic Latin poems, and one in Greek, the latter by Henry Char... teris, who also contributed two of the Latin elegies.[3] The whol...

1 "I mention," writes Dr M'Crie of another distinguished promoter of Scottish education, "this trait in Melville's character, the rather because there is nothin... which men, bred in colleges and devoted to literary pursuits, are more deficient ... than the knowledge of character; in consequence of which, they are ordinarily ... qualified for the management of public business, and apt to become the dupes ... ceitful friends or artful opponents."—*Life of Melville*, vol. i., p. 76.

2 Dr M'Crie, in his life of Andrew Melville, (vol. ii. p. 68,) quoting this title ... gives 1589 as imprinted, and corrects the date to 1598; the correction should ... been 1599. The copy before us is correct in the date, 1599. In the first sentenc... Robertson's Narrative, the error does occur, the date of Rollock's death being gi... 1589, properly corrected by Dr M'Crie to 1598—but this was according to the old sty...

3 It is in reference to these that Mr Tytler says, (*Account of the Life and Writin... of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton*, p. 150,) "Engaged in these severer labours, t...

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concludes with a list of works by Rollock, either published or to be published. This laudatory memorial, by George Robertson, then one of the ministers of Edinburgh, of whom a few particulars will be found hereafter, is the source from which all subsequent notices of Rollock, by Spotswood, Melchior Adam, Clark,[1] and others have been drawn.

Rollock's successor, Henry Charteris, seems to have made it his delight to revise, correct, and amplify this Life by Robertson. There is in the library of the University of Edinburgh a MS. bearing the title, *Vitæ et Obitus D. Roberti Rolloci, Scoti, Narratio, ab Henrico Charterisio conscripta.* In the year 1826, both Narratives were printed for the use of the members of the Bannatyne Club—the latter for the first time. At the end of the volume are added, not only the elegies which Robertson had appended to his Life, but seventeen others, which had probably been written after the publication of that Biography;[2] and the whole

muses seem for a time to have been neglected, as, with the exception of a short poem on the death of the celebrated Robert Rollock, upon whose monument every poet in the nation seems to have thought it his duty to hang up his 'tuneful sorrows,' Craig appears to have written nothing since the publication of the Genethliacon."

1 Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 454. Spotswood's notice is brief, but in it he contrives to give the narrative a turn favourable to his own views, as will be noticed hereafter. Melchior Adam, *Vitæ Eruditorum, cum Germanorum tum exterorum.* Ed. Tertia, 1706, vol. i. pp. 90-95. This is a reprint of Robertson's *Narratio*, with verbal alterations, and a few unimportant omissions. Clark's *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, London, 1675, p. 401. This is a mere translation of Robertson's *Narrative*, and the translator is puzzled with our Scottish proper names. Thus he translates *Synodus Taodunensis*, the General Assembly held at Dundee, as "the Synod of Taodun." Dempster, in his Historia Ecclesiastica, Edinburgi, 1829, vol. ii. p. 565, charitably supposes that the Genevese may have corrupted Rollock's Commentaries on the Psalms, and smells heresy in his other works. But he adds encouragingly, he was believed, during his life-time, to be not far removed from the Catholic faith. "Ipse sane credebatur, dum viveret, non longe a fide Catholica alienus." The notice of Rollock, in David Buchanan, *De Scriptoribus Scotis;* Edinburgi, 1839, 4to, p. 121, abounds in gross errors, and seems to confound Hercules with Robert. The Article in the *Scots Worthies*, bearing the Principal's name, is loose and inaccurate in its details.

2 Four of these, the fifth, thirty-ninth, fortieth, and forty-second, with four others not contained in the Bannatyne edition, form part of the prefatory matter to the Edition of Rollock's Commentary on the Colossians, mentioned p. v. of the Preface to the Second Volume. The fifth is by John Johnston, mentioned in the note to p. 7 of this volume. The thirty-ninth, fortieth, and forty-second as well as the forty-first

closes with the three Scottish Sonnets by James Melville, which the reader will find in their proper place, in p. 297 of this volume.

In order to enable him to form some acquaintance with the life of the amiable divine, a portion of whose works is now laid before him, the Editor has selected the Life by Charteris, as the fuller and the more accurate. He has translated it for more general edification, and added, in the shape of notes, such particulars connected with the events of Rollock's life, or the persons with whom he came into contact, as seemed to be interesting or elucidatory. To many the Biography, in its original shape, will be interesting; and for their sake the Latin is reprinted.

In comparing the two Lives, that by Robertson and that by Charteris, the following conclusions seem to be plausible. Robertson was probably a man of eloquence—one who possessed in

seem to be by Andrew Melville. The thirty-ninth bears a striking resemblance to letter written in 1609, quoted in Dr M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, vol. ii., p. 222. The most distinguished men of the time wrote the greater part of the remaining elegies. Among these are Robert Pont; Adrian Dammian; Sir Thomas Craig; Robert Boyd of Trochrig; Principal Adamson; Alexander Hume, probably the grammarian; and Hercules Rollock. Besides these, men of less note contribute their portion,—most of them old pupils,—as, John Ray, Professor of Humanity, afterwards Rector of the High School; William Craig, then a Regent in the University; William Arthur minister of St Cuthbert's, co-editor with Charteris of several of Rollock's writings George Grier, second minister of Haddington; George Thomson, afterwards minister of the refomed church of Chataigneraye, in Poitou, and the fierce antagonist of Lipsius; Adam Abernethy, afterwards a member of the university of Montpellier, and the eulogist of Crichton.—See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiii., p. 373, *s. v.* Lipsius by Dr Irving; and the same author's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. i., p. 272. These elegies are, as was usual in such compositions, in general, mere vague, and often inflated *elogia*. Andrew Melville's alone bear any traces of an attempt to delineate the characteristics of the man. A brief specimen is given of one, in vol. ii. p. xiii. We shall content ourselves with quoting the lines by the unhappy Master of Ruthven, then employed in the Court of King James, and who, as well as his brother John Earl of Gowrie, had been placed by the King under Rollock's care:

De me, deque meo meruit tua fratre voluntas,
De te verum index ut moriente loquar.
Nobiscum hunc orbem donec, Rolloce, tenebas,
Mortales inter Numinis instar eras.
Morte—quod optabas,—idem nunc additus astris,
Implebis merita laude superstes humum.—M. A. RUTHVENUS.

This was written about eighteen months before the Master fell in the Gowrie Conspiracy.

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nately a power of description, and of giving expression to the feelings within him; Charteris, whose whole university education had been conducted by Rollock, from his experience of Rollock's teaching, and his more intimate familiarity with their common friend, was much better qualified to give to the world the impress of his form and virtues than Robertson, who had received only his theological training from the Principal. But Charteris was a truly modest as well as learned man. Robertson's early settlement in a city charge had given great offence to many, and had even brought reproach on Rollock himself. It seemed not unfitting, then, and it certainly was quite consistent with all that we know of the character of Charteris, that he should yield what seemed his natural privilege to Robertson, who might thus come recommended to the public under shelter of so popular a name as that of Rollock. These two circumstances seem to account for the appearance of Robertson as Rollock's biographer—Charteris's considerate modesty, and Robertson's rhetorical fitness. But Charteris could not refrain from returning with a reverential hand to the memorial of his departed friend. He added many important particulars; he gave a fuller account of Rollock's conduct towards his pupils; and he imparted precision to vague statements. But his taste does not seem so delicate, nor his perception of the emotional so acute. His Latinity is, perhaps, more classical, but not so graphic.

Of all this we may give a few illustrations. Robertson notices that Rollock is descended from the Livingstones; Charteris adds, that it is by his mother he is so descended. Robertson simply states, that the friendship of Rollock and Thomas Buchanan increased with their years; Charteris gives specific instances of this friendly feeling. Robertson mentions Rollock's admission at St Salvator's College; Charteris adds the name of the Regent under whom he studied. The preliminary steps taken by the Town Council of Edinburgh for the removal of Rollock from St Andrews to Edinburgh are more amply and accurately detailed by Charteris. The whole of the noble address by Rollock to the students on the eve of the first graduation is peculiar to Charteris,

and is all the more striking, as he was an ear-witness, being one of the forty-eight who then took their degree. Indeed, not needlessly to multiply details, the whole of the first part of the life, and, in some respects the most valuable, (that to the words *Omnibus enim summis juxta*, &c.,) is almost entirely new, and the changes and additions are of the greatest importance. Thereafter the narrative proceeds in much the same way in both, save that Charteris quietly corrects the slips of his co-biographer. Thus, writing of Rollock's last illness at the close of 1598, Robertson says, that Rollock anxiously commends to the care of his friends his wife, who was with child after a barrenness of more than ten years; post *decennii ultra* sterilitatem. This agrees with the statement of Crawford, (*History of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 50,) who speaks doubtfully, in the same passage, of date of Rollock's marriage—"About the year 1589 he took wife Helen Baron." We learn from Charteris that this is mistake. Rollock's first class graduated 1587, (Crawford, *ibi* p. 31,) and immediately after this solemnity, before enterin on the duties of Professor of Divinity,[1] that is, between Augus and November 1587, he married. Consequently he had bee married more than eleven years at the close of 1588, and hen Charteris gives the correct time; "post sterilitatem *undecim* annorum." Similarly he quietly corrects grammatical errors. Writin of Charteris himself, Robertson states, that on his deathbed Rollock recommends him as his successor, saying that he had bee educated under him, and that for ten years he has discharge the office of Regent of Philosophy with distinguished commendation; "professorisque philosophici *munus* decennio egregia cu

[1] We infer that Rollock did not commence to teach theology till November, fro the following minute of the Town Council of Edinburgh. "November 1587. Th samyn day Requeistet and desyret William Littill, auld P^vest., Michaell Gilbert, an Patk. Sandelands to entreatt and q^fer wt M. Robert Rollok, maister of the Townis Colledge, toucheing ye stipend to be givin him for serving in ye said Colledge as Maiste and Principall yairoff, *and for ye class of theologie to be tayne up be him y^into*, as alswa for his teaching ilk Sunday in ye Eist Kirk^n the mornings, and y^m to report again." —(*Council Records*, vol. viii. fol. 118.)

laude perfunctus est." Charteris alters this to, "et professoris philosophiae *munere plus* decennio egregia cum laude perfunctus est."[1]

On this point the insertion of *plus* is also observable. It is impossible that Charteris can have been ignorant of the time of his own professorial services. But if Crawford (*ibid.* p. 34,) be correct, Charteris is wrong. Crawford states that Charteris took the place of Mr Alexander Scrimger, removed for malversation, in 1589. In that case he could have only acted as Regent of Philosophy for nine years and a few months. We can have little hesitation in trusting to Charteris, and placing Charteris's appointment in the room of Scrimger in the year 1588.

Yet Robertson has a finer taste for the picturesque. Contrast Robertson's expresssion: "Ad Sabbathi auroram usque illi altum silentium, quod tandem hoc sermone abrumpit, 'Veni Domine, ne morare"'—with Charteris's more classical but less graphic Latinity: "Cum aliquandiu mane quievisset, silentium tandem hoc sermone abrumpit, 'Veni Domine, ne morare."' In the same spirit Robertson mentions, that at the funeral of Rollock there was tempestuous weather—probably such a deluge of rain as often, in early spring, still sweeps our streets: "Funus majori quam unquam Edinburgi celebritate, quamvis prohibente tempestate, decoratur. Turmatim enim tam sublimis quam plebeiae sortis homines ad illud ornandum confluxerant." Contrast with this the close of the narrative by Charteris; "Ejus decessus," &c.

The only passage in Robertson not noticed in the narrative of Charteris is a statement regarding Robertson himself, to which the reader's attention will be directed in the notes.

On the whole, while the latter and more affecting part of the narrative seems to have been mainly adopted, and only slightly altered from Robertson by Charteris, the earlier and more important part is wholly written by Charteris himself, and its fulness and accuracy have prompted us to prefer it for our present purpose.

This seems to be the proper place to notice the portrait pre-

[1] Functus est? Melchior Adam reads, *obivit.*

fixed to this volume. Three portraits of Rollock are known to be extant. One, which has been engraved by Mr R. C. Bell for the Bannatyne Club, is the property of Lord Rollo, whose house is connected with the family of Rollock.[1] It is a small painting on pannel, and has evidently been retouched in the upper part of the head; but the original traces are quite distinct, and have been restored in the engraving. The lettering on the top of this portrait (M : R : R : aetatis suae 43 morit : 1599) must have been added some years after Rollock's death, as in the old style he died in 1598, and the new style was not adopted in Scotland till 1600. The second, which belongs to the University of Edinburgh, and from which the engraving, also by Mr R. C. Bell, has been taken for the Wodrow Society, is more highly finished, and is of life-size on canvass. A duplicate of the latter is in the possession of Hugh James Rollo, Esq., who traces his descent to the same common stock as the Principal. In the opinion of the intelligent engraver, the last was probably painted about the end of the 17th century. There is nothing in the style of these portraits to indicate the artists by whom they were executed.

It is now the Editor's duty to say something of the works selected for publication in this volume.

It seemed desirable to represent Rollock in his three capacities as a Professor of Divinity, as a Preacher of the Gospel in detached sermons, and as an Expositor of the Scriptures in a continuous series of Discourses. The last object is attained in the second volume; the first two are accomplished in this.

From the Summary of Theology, (pp. 22-28), we acquire a knowledge of the learned Principal's System of Divinity. It would be presumptuous in the Editor to pronounce an opinion on its merits; but it seems to him to be both logical and com-

[1] "He was descended of the ancient Barons of Duncrub, now dignified with the title of Lord Rollo."—(Crawford, *ibid.* p. 43.) Of relationship between Robert and Hercules Rollock, I have been unable to discover any evidence.

plete. If it be compared with the Confession of Faith by the Westminster Divines, it will be found to follow very nearly the same order,—the principal difference being, that in the Confession of Faith the subject of Effectual Calling precedes Justification, whereas Rollock first discusses the latter; unless, indeed, as we are inclined to suspect, one of the heads—that on Justification—has inadvertently been dropped out. The intelligent reader will easily see the ground of the suspicion by glancing over the ninth and three following heads. We learn from Crawford that portions of his course—and "Effectual Calling" was one of them—were delivered not to the students of theology merely, but in presence of the whole members of the University. His words (p. 51) are: "He wrote the treatises, *De Fœdere et Sacramentis, De Vocatione Efficaci, De Providentia Dei, De Justificatione, De Excommunicatione.* These, for the most part, he taught in the Magistrand Hall, upon the Sundays, after the last sermon, till such time as the too great frequencie of auditors made him to chuse another time." We may infer from this, that in certain portions of the course he taught without writing; that others he elaborated more carefully, and not only read them for the benefit of the students generally, but published them for behoof of the Christian world. Accordingly, this *Tractatus de Vocatione Efficaci*, of the title page of which a fac-simile is given, was published in 1597. It does not seem to have been reprinted. It is in *Octavo*, 332 pages, to the end of the Treatise on Effectual Calling. Thereafter the pagination ceases, and with the Catechism a new title commences: *De Modis quibus Deus ab initio Fœdus suum utrumque humano generi revelavit.* The heading to the end of the Catechism, which extends to 25 additional pages, is *Modi Revel. Foed.;* but this heading it will be seen the translator has not followed. The whole concludes with an *Index Capitum* of two pages, which forms mainly the source of the Table of Contents mentioned in the note to page 23.

The Translation,[1] of which also the original title page is given

1 We find in Dr Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, the following works attributed to

in fac-simile, is in 4to, extending to 253 pages. With the exception of the spelling it has been faithfully followed. The only other alterations are the additions pp. 7, 130, and 23-28, the last of which is of great value. For Holland's Table of Contents above alluded to, the Editor has substituted one of his own.

The English style of the translation hardly corresponds in clearness with the perspicuity of the original. The translator says, (p. 15): "Lastly, for the translation, albeit I have not followed the author's words, yet have I endeavoured faithfully to deliver his meaning in the plainest form, and in words most in use among the people." From his *Address to the Reader*, (p. 21), it will be seen that he was somewhat doubtful of the accuracy of the work. He had reason to be so. He has occasionally given only a hurried glance at his original, and missed his meaning; now and then has altogether omitted important passages. But, on the whole, the translation is faithful, and the Editor has, by a careful comparison with the original, rectified the occasional mistranslations and omissions; as may be seen in pp. 116, 256.

The marginal notes are of two kinds. The one set proceeds from Holland himself—there being no such notes in the original—and are intended to form a summary of the arguments, or to point to a corroborative passage of Scripture, as at pp. 65, 72. These notes, in a few instances, lead to inaccuracy. See p. 121. The references to other than Scripture authorities, and the Greek quotations, which are found in the margin, are Rollock's own, and have been transferred from the text by Holland. See pp. 120, 124.

In the original, the Latin translations of the Old Testamen

Henry Holland, who is not to be confounded with another of the same name, son of the famous translator, Philemon Holland. A Treatise against Witchcraft; Cambridge 1590. Spiritual Persuasions against the Pestilence, chiefly selected out of the 91st Psalm; London, Richard Field, 1593. Aphorisms of Christian Religion; A Compendious Abridgment of Calvin's Institutions. Translated from Piscator. London, Richard Field, 1596. Christian Exercise of Fasting; London, 1596. The Works of Mr Richard Greenham, minister, revised, corrected and published by H. H.; London, 1599. See, besides, in the list of Principal Rollock's works, the *Lectures upon the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians*. To Francis Marbury, who writes an Epistle to the Reader, (p. 19), all that is assigned by Watt is, A Sermon on Easter Tuesday London, 1604.

•are chiefly from the translation of Tremellius and Junius, as is noticed p. 105. There are slight variations, however, either owing to Rollock's quotations being made *memoriter*, or to his hoice of different vocables. Sometimes, also, he uses the Vulgate ranslation. Thus in the beginning of the 10th Chapter, (p. 81 of he original Latin), he prefers the Vulgate rendering of *Psalm* xix. , "Præceptum Domini lucidum et illuminans oculos"—to that of remellius and Junius: "Præceptum Jehovæ purum, illustrans culos." He adopts, (*ibid.*) "Mandatum lucerna, et lex lux," (*Prov.* i. 23,) from the Vulgate, where Tremellius and Junius have: "Nam ucerna præceptum est, et doctrina lux." In the New Testament e only occasionally differs from Beza's translation.[1] Thus in the d Chapter, (p. 22 of the original Latin), Rollock's translation of *Thess.* i. 6, 7, is; "Tamen justum est apud Deum retribuere iis icissim, qui affligunt vos, afflictionem; vobis vero qui affligimini, laxationem nobiscum." Compare this with Beza: "Si quidem stum est apud Deum vicissim reddere iis, qui affligunt vos, afflicnem; vobis vero qui affligimini, relaxationem nobiscum." The iginal of *tamen* and *si quidem* is εἴπερ. But Rollock has probly omitted *si* merely because it was unnecessary in the conion. Sometimes his variations are not happy. Thus he transs (*ibid.*) Ephesians vi. 8; (εἰδότες ὅτι ὃ ἐάν τι ἕκαστος ποιήσῃ ἀγαθὸν, τοῦτο κομιεῖται παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου·) "scientes quod quisfecerit boni, hoc reportabit a Domino"—which is manifestly grammatical. Holland's translation of Scripture texts is founded the Geneva version, though he occasionally translates literally om Rollock's Latin. His references are simply copied from the iginal. It may be as well to mention here, that the Editor has erified and corrected the references, and filled up those which ere wanting or imperfect.

A word as to the foot notes. The Editor at first contented

[1] His opinion on this work he gives in his Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the omans, in these words: "Secuti sumus versionem D. Bezæ Latinam, ut quæ longe ptima sit."

himself with a few brief remarks, pointing out wherein Holland had mistaken the original. But when he had reached the sixteenth Chapter, he found himself, for his own satisfaction, busied in turning up the authorities within his reach, to trace the references made by Rollock. He did not think it fair to Rollock's readers to put them to the same trouble, and he has briefly noted the result of his enquiries. Moreover, Rollock has taken up many controversial points with the Roman Catholics, which are, in our own time, both interesting and important. The great authority then, was Bellarmin, who had recently culminated on the Roman horizon. And he is the great authority still. It seemed not unsuitable to save the reader the trouble, even where he had the means, of turning up, in the ample folios of Bellarmin, the passages which Rollock refutes. Besides Bellarmin, Rollock attacks the views of the Rhemish translators of the New Testament. Though this is not so difficult of access, the Editor deemed it expedient to add such extracts from that work as serve to elucidate Rollock's views.

He was the more induced to do this for another reason. Dr M'Crie, while treating of the progress of clerical learning in Scotland, towards the close of the eighteenth century, takes occasion to mention the writings of Rollock and Bruce. Of Rollock he says:—"The former published Commentaries on many of the books of the New Testament, and on some parts of the Old, which were speedily reprinted on the continent, with warm recommendations by foreign divines. Though they contain occasional remarks on the original, Rollock's commentaries are not distinguished for critical learning, nor do they discover deep research; but they are perspicuous, succinct, and judicious. His treatise on *Effectual Calling* is a compendious system of divinity, and affords a favourable specimen of the manner in which he executed this part of his academical lectures." (*Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 421.) While on the one hand this treatise can hardly be called a compendious system of divinity—it is but a small portion cut out of the system taught by Rollock—on the other, the

readers of this passage are liable to form the idea, (though the sagacious biographer of Melville makes no such assertion,) that from none of Rollock's works do we gather that he was a man of deep research. The Editor is anxious to remove any impression so erroneous. His own labours in following Rollock have taught him the reverse. Rollock not only had read on the controverted doctrines, but he had read deeply and had searched for himself. In this part of his works, both his learning, his research, and his dialectic skill, are triumphantly established. Were he to rise from his grave now, and take his part with living men, he would, for all the laborious strifes that have taken place since he flourished, the mastery which he had acquired over the points of debate, le, in respect to learning and logic, to uphold the fame of niversity, over whose infancy he presided. Not the less table, it is hoped, will this work be, at the present momentous

till further to enable the reader to judge of Rollock as a her of theology, there has been added to the close of this me, a Tractate, entitled, *De aeterna Mentis Divinæ approba- et improbatione*, the original of which, a broadside, is in the ocates Library.[1] This it has not been deemed expedient anslate, partly on account of its scholastic terminology, which y admits of successful translation, and, partly, because e only who are acquainted with the original Latin, are likely ke much interest in the Tractate. It must be remembered, though the Reformers had made great progress in theological wledge, they had not wholly freed themselves from the fetters he various stiff and pedantic schools of logic, in which it was , and long afterwards, the fashion to train the mind. The t momentous themes were played with as mere abstractions. ving concocted from certain premises the intermediate conclu- ns to which their rules led them, they treated these deductions

[1] The Editor gladly avails himself of this opportunity of recording his grateful sense e dignified courtesy, combined with rare and profound learning, with which Dr ig so long graced this National Institution.

as algebraists use their symbols. They reasoned them out, without remembering the darkness and doubt which overhang all the steps of moral reasoning, the moment that we pass the limits of our own consciousness, and that wherever revealed truth deals with the unknown, to enquire beyond what is written is foolish and dangerous. This often gives a dryness and repulsiveness to the speculations of our early divines. They appeal too little to the mind as it is; they fashion phantoms similar to the *idola theatri* of Bacon, and from these draw their conclusions, which are utterly valueless. For, change or doubt one part of the definition, or add one other element, and the whole structure falls to the ground. Protestantism is extricating herself from this, th
the process of extrication seems slow, and not yet complete.
constant references to Scripture, the proclamation of the gos
bearing directly in its effects upon the soul, the appeals to
sciousness, and the freedom from dogmatic authority, which
order to create any thing like unity, must be regulated by a c
mon standard, framed by minds deferring to mutual, felt, reflec
truth, all tend to break in pieces the idols of a vain and fanta
philosophy. The reader will find several instructive example
the struggle between Rollock's feeling of the practical, and
habits as a dialectician, in the "Treatise of God's Effectual
ing," while in the Tractate at the end of the volume he reve
almost pure dialectics—a shrewd exercise for training subtle m
but dangerous withal, when the Bible and eternal truths are
as the instruments of fence.

From this evil or error, in all forms and appliances, the Serm
are wholly free. Of them Dr M'Crie (Life of Melville, *i*
has well remarked: "His sermons, which were published from n
taken by some of his hearers, exhibit him in a very amiable lig
as 'condescending to men of low estate,' and keeping sacred
in view the proper end of preaching, the instruction and salvat
of the people, and not the display of the learning, ingenuity,
eloquence of the preacher." But we shall first shew what

been done in this volume, regarding the sermons, before we attempt to point out their peculiarities.

Not long after Rollock's death, in 1599, eleven of his sermons, concocted from notes taken by his students, were published at Edinburgh. Dr M'Crie (*ibid.*) conjectures that the Epistle to the Christian Reader was written by Melville. Whether this was the case or not, it is probable, from a passage in the republication of 1616, (p. 454 of this edition,) that the collectors and editors were Henry Charteris and William Arthur. From the same passage, where we learn that in 1616 there were no copies of the sermons extant, we may form some notion of the great popularity of this publication. For, in the inventory of books forming the stock of the printer, Henry Charteris, who died 29th August 1599, we find,[1] "Item, ane thousand Rollocke's Sermons, at vjs. the pece, summe cccl£." This was a large sale for that time.

The original sermons were printed in the Scottish dialect. The volume is one of 282 pages 8vo, and contains, after the Epistle to the Reider, the three sonnets by James Melville. Charteris and Arthur were induced to republish these eleven sermons, with seven more, in 1616, as we judge from the date of the Dedicatory Epistle to Sir William Scott of Elie, (see p. 455.) We have not seen any copy bearing this date on the title-page; but we are told that there is at least one copy with that date in Glasgow.[2] Those that we have seen have the date 1634, and are evidently the same edition with a new title-page, which may have been occasioned by the death of the printer; for the book was printed in 1616 by Andrew Hart, and he died in 1621.[3] The republication alters the phraseology and the spelling

[1] *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 224; pointed out by David Laing, Esq., Keeper of the Signet Library, who has taken much interest in this publication, and to whom the Wodrow Society, as well as all interested in the early literature of Scotland, are, in many respects, deeply indebted.

[2] We owe this information to Mr Rowand, Librarian of New College, Edinburgh, whose stores of information are open to all who are investigating matters like these.

[3] *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 241.

of the Sermons originally published, from the Scottish to the English dialect and form, so far as the provincial skill of the editors allowed them. In now reprinting these sermons, it seemed a matter of interest to give the reader an opportunity of comparing the Scottish with the English version. Accordingly, the eleven sermons of the first publication of 1599 are copied *verbatim et literatim* from that edition. At the foot of the pages are given, as *lectiones variantes*, the changes in the words and phrases introduced by the original editors in the edition of 1616. Where the change made is merely one of spelling, or grammatical correction, no notice is taken, as that would have been to reprint both. The seven Sermons that are peculiar to the Anglicized edition of 1616, are, of course, given in their English dress, with no other change in the spelling, which is modernized. Not a word or a p is altered; even what we should now deem grammatical e are retained and sanctioned. If any one is inclined to cen the alteration in the spelling, we would shelter ourselves u the authority of Southey, whom no one will accuse of un valuing old usage. He says, (*The Doctor*, p. 383, ed. 18 "There is no good reason why the capricious spelling of the e editions should be scrupulously and pedantically observe Shakespeare, Milton, or any author of their respective time no reason why words which retain the same acceptation, an still pronouced in the same manner, should not now be spel cording to the received orthography."

Principal Lee—in his elaborate "Memorial for the Bible S ties of Scotland," p. 24—says of these Sermons, that "they all the quotations from the Scriptures according to the Ge version." This is nearly correct. The only variations which have noticed are the following. In the text to the Fifth Ser (p. 353), 2 Cor. v. 17, the Geneva translation (we refer to Bass dyne's reprint of 1576, from the Geneva translation of 156 gives: "Therefore, if any man be in Christ, [let him be] a n creature." The brackets intimate a supplement of the translato the words in the original being, ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτί

The reader will find that Rollock fills up the supplement as in our version, and in the Geneva translation of 1557, "he is a new creature." In the text to the Sixth Sermon, 1 Cor. ii. 9, the following extraordinary sentence is from the Geneva translation: "The things which eye hath not seen, neither ear hath heard, neither came into man's heart, are which God hath prepared for them that love him." The reader will find, on turning to p. 364, that the text prefixed to the sermons exhibits a translation almost verbatim the same as that of Tyndale, Cranmer, and our own authorised version.

Let us, in imagination, transport ourselves to the New Church of old Edinburgh, on some Sabbath morning, in the year 1596. Let us enter with the citizens, worthy burgesses, their devout dames and daughters, the thronging students, full of the pride of young scholarship, but grave withal, and not a little checked by the presence of those over whose spiritual interests they may be called to preside. Besides, there is Master Charteris, and there are his colleagues, and many eyes are on those who are hereafter to preach the gospel to an earnest age. Early as the hour is, not a few of the barons are there, and the judges of the land. The Court is at Holyrood—the King has marked Rollock with his confidential friendship—and, though the devout man has no scruple in denouncing sin in high places, he has never been known to become personally minatory. It is known that his fame is in other lands besides his own. And he is at the head of the University, by which much good has been done, and more is expected, for Edinburgh and for Scotland.

One or two old men are there, who, when mere boys, saw the fires lighted at the Rood of Greenside, and the intrepid Straiton expiate with his life the crime of adhering to Scripture truth. Many changes have they seen, regencies, reigns, riots, foreign troops beleaguering their city, murder rampant in the very palace, one sovereign treacherously slain, another deposed, a prisoner, and a victim—but never has that fearful sight left their eyes or their

heart; and, under its influence they have assisted like men to overthrow a crazy superstition, the foundation of which was already destroyed by the death-blaze of many a funeral pile. There are some younger, but still old men, who date their reformed creed from the barbarous death of Walter Milne, that devout man of "decrepit age." The smoke of his execution had been wafted to the furthest parts of Scotland. And not many months after his death, when the Queen Regent was dining in Alexander Carpenter's house, betwixt the bows, these very men had helped to "dad the head of St Giles to the causey," and had shouted, "Fy on thee young St Giles, thy father would not have been so wud." Y and greater knowledge have cooled their blood, but confirmed faith. Most of them have heard the trumpet tones of Knox, son of thunder; nay, some of them formed part of the deputa which, when his intrepid spirit refused to yield before the hc Hamiltons and their murderous designs, besought him, for sakes, to leave the town, and seek safety elsewhere. F enough times they had all seen, and fierce times they lived i we would deem them, but they were calm when compared the storms that had nursed the hardy plant of the Scottish K The Popish Lords are a subject of constant dread: and, famil known as King James is to them all, sooth to tell, a little tempt for his want of firmness, and strong doubts of his since temper their confidence in his oft expressed zeal for the Cl that has neither *Pasch* nor *Yule*. Some of the sterner spirits look on Rollock as too yielding. But even they attribute th his love of peace, and his scholarly habits. And they deny ther the holiness of his life, the purity of his doctrine, nor genuine worth of his preaching. It is remembered by them he has often spoken out boldly enough against the encoura ment given by the King to the enemies of the true faith, and t on one occasion lately,[1] howbeit otherwise a mild and meek m

[1] See vol. ii. p. 109, for this passage; and for an account of the impression mad it, see Calderwood, vol. v. p. 359. Calderwood enables us to fix the date of the l ture on John's gospel here referred to. It was delivered on the 5th of January 1 It appears that the allusion made in the lecture is not to the Papal Indulgences

while lecturing upon the release of Barabbas, he prayed God to give the King a remission for all the remissions he had given to murderers. It is likewise known, that whatever be the intention of the Court regarding the institution of Episcopacy, he has published to the world in his worthy commentary upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, a work highly commended by the most famous theologians among them, that the office of bishops, as they are lords over their brethren, is to be condemned, where, also, he proves pastors and bishops to be both one.[1] And, so in their love of the man, the more ardent spirits are willing to forgive what they m a too easy spirit of compliance.

et us now attend not to the hearers, but to the preacher. s now only in his forty-second year, but is evidently worn out labour. He looks on his audience with kindliest affection, and gentle voice gives out as his text, John iii. 6.[2] "That which rn of the flesh is flesh; and that that is born of the Spirit is ." With great simplicity and clearness he shews the occaon which these words were uttered, and discriminates be- n the manner of the new birth, and its nature,—the latter the subject of the discourse. He then examines, point by the flesh and the generation thereof; the Spirit and reration. On the first, he explains the nature of original sin, ow it has corrupted body and soul, the understanding, the the affections, and the natural powers and faculties; and this ption is common to all. "The root and seed of all mischief r the sun is compacted in every man and woman." Even

d in the note to the passage, but to the corruption of the Court, which led to such ssions. The courteous reader will also forgive and correct an anachronism which rs in the note to p. 133 of the second volume. The allusion is plainly to the h of Henry III. of France, 6th August 1580, by the hands of Jacques Clement, not to the murder of Henry IV. To return to the chronology of the Lectures on n, in vol. ii. p. 469, notice is taken of a dearth, which probably occurred in the rse of 1595, or the beginning of 1595,—(See Calderwood, vol. v. p. 410,) and was precursor of the greater dearth of 1596. Again, in vol. ii. p. 267, notice is taken he proposed division of Edinburgh into parishes—a proposal which, we may safely clude, was first made somewhere in the end of the year 1595.

Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 449.

See the Sixteenth Sermon.

when lurking in the soul, it is to be feared; though men think they have not the pest, present an occasion and it bursts out into actual sin. "Even, as we see sometimes, that fire will be so hidden and covered under the ashes, that it will not appear, and men will think that there is no fire there; but as soon as there is any meet and apt matter, as wood, powder, or brimstone applied, then it will manifest itself, and burst forth into a flame." Yet it is more dangerous when it bursts out, giving pleasure and cause of boasting to wicked men. He uses a homely similitude to declare this matter. "A man will have a worm in his finger,[1] or tooth. It will keep itself quiet, and cease from gnawing for a s son, and he will think he is whole enough; but take a little vine or some such like piercing and sharp water, then she will beg gnaw, and then the silly man will complain that he was beg when he thought he was well enough. Even so it is with the science of man; for it lieth in the soul of man lurking, as a lieth in the flesh, and sometimes it gnaweth, and sometimes it still, and letteth the murderer, the adulterer, the oppressor, go ward in murder, adultery, oppression, and other most abomi sins, without any accusation, grief, remorse, or fear of the law of and threatening of the curses thereof. I shall tell you more that. Sometimes the conscience of a miserable malefactor w so senseless, that it will nowise be moved by the preaching murderer will be sitting before the minister; a vile, filthy terer will be sitting there, devising how to accomplish their minable lusts, in the meantime that the minister will be threate judgment against their wickedness. They will not be moved the threatenings, but will disdain and scorn them in their hea and will say, 'This fellow doeth nothing but prate and rail w he pleaseth;' and, after preaching, will go out merrily to his d

[1] What was the notion of our ancestors on this subject? The reader can ha fail to call to mind a similar allusion in Shakespeare;

Not half so big as a round little worm,
Prick'd from the lazy finger of a maid.

See pp. 372, 373, for other suggestive questions on the science of Rollock's time.

ner, and there curse, and swear, and blaspheme God's name, and thereafter go to his bed as a beast, or a senseless sow." This corruption descends to a man's children, and if we take no care of that corruption, that sore pest shall be laid to our charge in that great day. He next turns to regeneration, and to Christ, not only our elder brother, but our spiritual father. The generation of his Spirit is called regeneration, which is an alteration and changing of the whole nature of man, accomplished and performed by the powerful operation of the Holy Spirit. The mind and reason, the will and the affections are all changed. This is not an easy ...k. "Yea, thou mayest see that it is a thing altogether im...ible, except that almighty Spirit of God be present, and work ...fectually in the soul. All the kings of the earth, with all the ...pons and engines of war, cannot be able to do it. No, all the ...els in heaven are not able to accomplish this work." The ...it of God alone can do it, and, let great men, let worldly men ...em of it as they please, God hath ordained this ministry, to ...ister this wonderful power whereby the souls of men shall be ...nerated. Nor is the work of regeneration[1] perfected in an ...nt. It continues all the days of a man's life. Faith is the ...ns of our change. Beholding Christ with the eyes of faith, ...are changed according to our faith. When we shall see him ... to face, and behold him as he is, then shall we be like him in ...ry; the change shall be perfect. His presence shall be effec...l to change our vile body, and to fashion it like unto his own ...rious body. When we behold his glory, we shall be changed ...o the same glory. But not for ourselves alone should this ...ctrine be pondered by us. "Brethren," says the warm-hearted ...eacher, in conclusion, "this is mine exhortation to all, both to

[1] It will be seen that Rollock uses the word *regeneration*, in one aspect of it, as ...uivalent to *sanctification*. It is important to notice the same use of the word in the ...eatise on Effectual Calling. Sometimes also he calls it *glorification*, (see chapter ...xviii.) which he uses in the active sense, not of *being glorified*, but of *glorifying God*. ...egeneration is with him the cause or process, and glorification the effect or result. ... is necessary to attend to this in order to understand the twelfth division of his ...heological Course. (See p. 25.)

great and small, (I except none, from the king to the beggar,) strive, as ye are instruments of generation, so to be instruments of regeneration, that your children may be taken out of nature and planted in grace, and so be made members of the mystical body of Jesus Christ. Strive to bring them up in the knowledge of Christ, that so ye may be free of that heavy judgment which remaineth for all such as neglect this duty towards their children; and that ye may see God's blessing upon your children here, and may have hope of that eternal life and glory hereafter, which the Lord hath promised to his own in Christ Jesus."

With manly, sound, practical, and stirring teaching like were our fathers edified some two centuries and a half ago.

In the *Additions to the Coronis* appended to Row's *Hist of the Kirk of Scotland*, (p. 469,) we find a pleasing accoun Rollock's manner of dealing with his pupils. We are t told that Mr Rollock took John Row, in 1590, "to w upon himselfe and to studie with him. Mr Rollock wes v kind to him and made much of him for his father's sake, also having been regent to his tuo elder brethren in the Colledge of St Andrews. He used him rather as a friend, as a servant, and wes most communicative with him. He ordinarlie on the Saturday afternoone to walk out to the fe choosing him to carie a booke or two with him, that he might and meditate in the feilds. His ordinarie custom wes to tell what wes his text he wes to preach upon to-morrow, and w wes his reasons and doctrines raised from the text, saying, ' John, does that doctrine rise clearlie from my text?' 'Is t use suitable to the doctrine, and pertinent for our people?' this, and the lyke passages, as it argued much humilitie and c descending self-denyall in the learned, pious and prudent ma famous Mr Rollock, so it sheu verie much kyndeness in him a care of his servant, using him rather as ane comerad and intim friend then a servant." A fine picture this of the godly man a his youthful attendant, musing at even-tide, in our fields, on t truths which were, on the morrow, to be addressed to our ow

forefathers. But we notice it here, to bring out the characteristics of Rollock's method of treating his subject. His anxiety to make the doctrine rise clearly from the text, exactly corresponds with his own language, (see p. 318,) "Learne the wordis, for all the doctrine rysis of the wordis." His habit is carefully to examine the occasion which gave rise to the words that furnish the subject for his comments; he then investigates the train of thought pursued in the passage. This he does without any shew of learning, or any critical analysis of the original. There is no parade of scholastic erudition, and his examination is simple and clear. It is evident that he understood fully the difference between a promiscuous audience met to hear the truths of the gospel, and a class of pupils in their course of training for pursuing truth in all the various processes, and for acquiring those habits of investigation which should lead them authoritatively and successfully to teach others. Of this, the reader will be convinced, if he compares the 25th chapter of the "Treatise of God's Effectual Calling," which treats on original sin, with the 11th sermon, where the same subject is handled. The one is a learned and scholarlike dissertation on the subject, enquiring into opinions and refuting opponents—too often, it must be admitted, degenerating into the varied and useless subtleties peculiar to his age. The latter is a popular, forcible and practical exposition of the truths to which Scripture and reason pointed, and has the fulness, without any of the pedantry of scholarship. This is the more to be admired, because the attentive reader will mark an undercurrent of scholarlike thought running through the whole of these discourses. He tacitly gives the result of his study, but the unlearned hearer would never notice the process. Thus, in the text to the Fourth Sermon, (2 Cor. v. 14,) there occur the words, Ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς—where the genitive may be either subjective or objective. Thus, Bloomfield remarks, "it may mean either the love we bear to Christ, as John xv. 9 and 10, or rather, as in Eph. iii. 14, the love which Christ bears to us." See how, (p. 348,) Rollock brings out this point with a strong

practical tendency, "'For the lufe of God constraynis us.' As gif he wald say, I am constrained to this fulischnes; and ane charge is laid on mee to doe sa. I am bund and obleist sa to do: that is, to be ane wod man for the glorie of my God. And quhairfra cummis this necessitie? It is the love of God (sayis he) that constraynis me: this band that bindis mee is the love of Christ—not the love quhilk I beir to him, *that is over waik*, bot the love quhilk he beiris to mee, it bindis all my sensis, and careis mee to honour my God with my haill bodie." In the same way, in the Eleventh Sermon, (p. 435,) he has a tacit reference to the original. The word translated in the prefixed t *deceived*, is, in the original, (Titus iii. 3,) πλανώμενοι—the force of which he expounds in the expressions; "He cal warkis tavering, going out of the way. Can ane wod man the hie gait?" &c. And, similarly, immediately afterw where the apostle uses the term δουλεύοντες, and the transl has "serving the lustis," he brings out the full force of original, in the words: "He descryvis this wavering, and he c it serving; it standis in slaverie," &c. And on the idea of slav thus suggested, he dwells with great force. Sometimes, tho rarely, he alludes to the Greek; as in p. 331, where he gives force of the original, φιλοτιμούμεθα, (2 Cor. v. 9,) "'We co sayis he, thair is the first word; and in the first language this w importis not onlie ane common desire, bot ane ambitioun," &c. in the Tenth Sermon, (p. 422,) he thus explains the word ἀποκαραδοκίαν, "The word importis sic ane hope, as quhen ane man l his heid raisit up, his eies oppin and bent, awayting for ony thi attentivelie,"[1] &c. This is an accurate account of the word, a indicates a minute attention to the original; yet the force of t expression is brought out unobtrusively and without pedantry.

After Rollock has thus displayed the plain meaning of ea

1 Compare with this the account given in the best of our modern Lexicons of t New Testament—Robinson's. "'Αποκαραδοκία, from the verb ἀποκαραδοκέω (ἀπό, κάρ head, δοκιέω, to look,) *i. q.* τῇ κεφαλῇ προσδέχεσθαι. *Etym. Mag. i. e.* 'to look away t wards any thing with the head bent forward,' and hence *to await, to expect ea nestly*," &c.

portion of his text, he applies it doctrinally and practically to his hearers. In this part of his teaching, he uses much simplicity, earnestness, and plainness, applying himself to the consciousness and the consciences of his hearers, speaking strongly, but withal affectionately. Error he generally puts down by preaching the truth. The Papistical doctrines he does combat, but briefly. Here, too, there is a marked difference between his sermons and his academical prelections. In the latter he is learned, argumentative, and scholastic; in the latter he uses the authority of his office, and announces the truth without controversy. There is considerable skill in his mode of passing from his application of each portion of the text, to the resumption of the analysis of the next portion. He generally comes back, at the close of his application, to the words of the text, and is thus enabled to proceed without effort or break, to the part immediately succeeding. The Twelfth and Thirteenth Sermons may be adduced as excellent specimens of our author's manner, exhausting his subject, and intimating much Christian experience, blended with practical wisdom. The plainness of his manner sometimes approaches to familiarity, which, in the Scottish service, is pleasing from its quaintness. Thus, in the Sixth Sermon, (p. 371,) "Thou leis, suppois thou wer the Paip; I speik it to the glorie of God, this Gospell that is preiched in Scotland, [illegible] all eternitie." And a little further on, in the same [illegible] mair to zow, the mair ane man hes [illegible] mair he pride him in [illegible] he hes ane wise pow[illegible] ma[illegible] ev[illegible] ful[illegible] pe[illegible] ho[illegible] pr[illegible] mo[illegible]

faithfully reported, and are accurate representations of Rollock's manner. They agree, besides, with the various accounts which we have of his affectionate, plain, and practical style of preaching. The skilful teacher is evident throughout. The brief sentences —the attention kept up by questions skilfully interponed—the variety of manner in the blending of comment, application, remonstrance, denunciation, and consolation—and, here and there, unconscious dashes from the Professor's chair, seem characteristic of the man. To the latter may be referred the attack on the Aristotelian school of Christians, in the Seventh Sermon, (p. 388,) characteristic of Rollock as a follower of Ramus, and such technical terms as occur in the Fifteenth Sermon, (p. 502,) "But to consider more narrowly, first, the ground of the *proposition;* then the *assumption;* last, that joyful *conclusion.*" A careful reader, attentive to the peculiarities of spoken addresses written down on the spot, will be most convinced by the parenthetical clauses that are constantly thrown in, awkwardly enough for a written discourse, but most natural in the full flow of thought. A practised speaker, in whose mind there arises a stray thought connected with, but not part of, his main idea, dashes it off in a word or two, and resumes the principal topic, neither losing the happy suggestion, on the one hand, nor, by dwelling too long on it, drawing away attention from the main subject of the discourse. This [illegible] of the great charms of ready elocution in it that which has given [illegible] ate converse with the [illegible] be addressing us, [illegible] ser- [illegible] 6,) [illegible] he [illegible] st [illegible] in [illegible] en [illegible] rie [illegible] he

Apostle to the Philip. iii. 8, callis, The eminencie of the knawledge of Jesus Christ quhilk mountis above al knawledge in this warld.) Then quhome sayis he not to be the Authour of it?"

The allusions too, contained in the sermons, to the times and circumstances, stamp them with authenticity. The Eleventh Sermon is a preparation for the communion (p. 431.) There are throughout allusions to the condition of the ministry in Scotland; the opposition of the Court is not obscurely hinted at; and passing events are made the subjects of comment. Hence we are able to fix somewhat precisely the date at which some, probably the greater part, of these sermons were preached. It was in 1587 that Rollock commenced his morning discourses,[1] and it was only in the last year of his life that he began to undertake a regular city cure. The sermons ought probably to be referred to the former duty, and in all likelihood followed the Lectures on John: —"Thair hes bene lang heiring and teiching amang us in this Toun bot the ischue of thingis testifies that thair hes bene ane evill dispositioun in the hartis of the multitude; the present trouble of this Toun tellis quhat hes been the dispositioun of manie. For quhatever be the wark of men heirin, zit na questioun the Lord hes his wark in it, to spuilzie thee for thy ingratitude and evill dispositioun of thy hart of the libertie of his glorious Gospell: and gif this Gospell gang away, then schame and confusion sal licht not onlie upon this Toun, bot also on the haill land and everie estait thairof." (Sixth Sermon, p. 365.) There were certainly about this time troubles enough in Edinburgh to set at defiance all chronology founded on them: but taken into connection with the fear of the loss of a gospel ministry, there is small risk of error in fixing the date of this sermon to the close of the year 1596, when the ministers of Edinburgh had to leave the town on account of the absurdly magnified affair of the 17th December. Rollock seems to refer with as much censure as his gentle nature will admit to the conduct of the citizens, in first bringing their ministers into trouble, and then pusillanimously

1 See his Life, *post*; and p. x., note 1.

abandoning them. With this date also agrees the allusion in these words:—"Now, I hear there is great poverty and famine in this land; and wo unto them that are the instruments of hunger. Let us be so far from this, to be the causes thereof, that, on the contrary, we may pinch ourselves, that we may spare upon the needy; for I see the Lord will try our liberality. Therefore, let us spare upon the poor in this land, that we may hear of the Lord in that great day, 'Come ye blessed of my Father, for ye gave me meat and ye gave me drink in this world.'" (Fifteenth Sermon, p. 507.) This dearth is mentioned both by James Melville (*Autobiography*, p. 367,) and Calderwood (vol. v. p. 437.) It occurred in the same year 1596.

The attentive reader will not fail, not only to be edified by the sound doctrine and simple eloquence of these sermons, but to discern in them instructive marks of the times in which they were delivered. Violence, bloodshed, practical atheism, sensuality, the corruption of the courts of law, excite the preacher's indignation, and call forth his rebuke. There appears in his sermons, only in a more chastened form, the same undaunted fearlessness of the royal displeasure which marked his brethren. Look at the whole passage in the Eighth Sermon (p. 401), beginning—"Ane man quhom the Lord will send, he wil denunce damnation to an obstinate and rebellious people; and he will be bauld to tak thee, as it wer be the lug, suppois thou wer ane king, and leid thee to that tribunall to heir the sentence of damnation pronounced against thee. . . . Thair is na Lord, but the Lord Jesus, quha will tramp down all the Lordis in the eirth, and tred upon thair craigis at his pleisure." By a brief sentence he gives a lively view of the good old times in Edinburgh, when we had a king in the midst of us, and neither he nor his people were sparing of intercourse, familiar enough, with one another. "Thou wilt run out and in, hither and thither to get a word of the king. *And why not, if so thy necessity require?* But strive to get a word out of the mouth of Jesus." (Fifteenth Sermon, p. 509.) Rollock's notion of the ministerial office was high, as will be seen in many places. We may point out one characte-

ristic passage in the seventeenth sermon, (p. 532.) "And last, this serveth to reprove the vain thoughts and ungodly speeches of the common multitude; for they think this ministry to be but a base and contemptible calling, and say, who should be placed into it? Who but such fools and unworthy bodies as cannot be meet for another calling? Who but kinless bodies? But if a gentleman, an esquire's son, a lord's brother, take on this calling, he is disgraced and abased therewith. But O, unworthy wretch! no emperor, no monarch, nor no flesh whatsoever, is worthy of so great a calling; no, the angels in heaven honour not so much the commission as the commission honoureth them."

We hope that our readers will not deem that too much time has been devoted to this imperfect account of these sermons. It is too often the fate of such productions to be glanced at cursorily for a few brief minutes and then laid on the shelf, an unheeded ornament or incumbrance. The gentle, learned, and pious Rollock merits kindlier treatment. To secure this, it seemed both sufficient and necessary to show the reader, that he has before him the living manner of the man whom all his contemporaries delighted to honour as an unrivalled teacher of ministers, and who himself was a persuasive and successful herald of the Cross, endowed with all the unction of a gracious spirit.

High School of Edinburgh,
26*th May* 1849.

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* The Editor finds that he has neglected to notice, in its place, an oversight of Holland's, who has given, (p. 88) as the heading of the 13th Chapter, "Of the Fifth Property of the *Church*," &c., instead of *Scripture*. The original has *Scripturæ Sacræ*.

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VITAE ET OBITUS

D. ROBERTI ROLLOCI, SCOTI,

NARRATIO AB

HENRICO CHARTERISIO CONSCRIPTA

NARRATIO VITAE ET OBITUS SANCTISSIMI DOCTISSIMIQUE VIRI D. ROBERTI ROLLOCI, SCOTI,

MINISTRI EVANGELII ET RECTORIS ACADEMIAE EDINBURGENSIS.

JAM olim inolevit mos virorum illustrium et virtute aliis praecellentium vitam obitumque describendi et ad posteritatis memoriam consecrandi. Laudabilis sane consuetudo, et qua vix alia observatione dignior. Ejus enim maximus publice usus ad homines ad virtutem, pietatem, bonosque mores excitandos. Mirum, quantum exempla rudiores moveant. Nam quod præceptis, etiam ex ipso vivo sacrarum literarum fonte traditis, tota vita discere non possunt, proborum virorum exemplo et imitatione facile assequuntur: præsertim si noti sint, si eorum facta et mores oculis obversentur, si palam fiat eorum tota conversatio. Quo magis moveor ut piae memoriae Roberti Rolloci vitam moresque paucis describam, cujus non doctrinam tantum, sed et sanctimoniam vitaeque integritatem ipsi etiam qui supersunt et una cum eo vixerunt veritatis hostes inficiari non possunt; ut et plerique qui adhuc vivunt meminerint quae bona ex eo didicerint, et posteri exemplar habeant sibi propositum quod imitentur.

ROBERTUS ROLLOCUS natus, anno 1555, patre Davide Rolloco Puissae, quae villa non longe Sterlino abest, comarcho, matre Maria Levingstonia ex illustri Levingstoniorum familia oriunda. Singulari patris cura et studio liberaliter educatus, etiam in ipsa pueritia cum prima elementa addisceret, non obscurum magni ingenii specimen dedit; quo motus pater eum Sterlinum ad humaniora studia capessenda amandavit. Hic praeceptorem habuit Thomam Buchananum, magni illius Buchanani poetarum sui saeculi facile principis ex fratre nepotem, spectatae tum probitatis tum eruditionis virum, et egregium juventutis erudiendae magistrum, sub cujus ferula ita in humanioribus literis profecit ut Buchananus eum impense

dilexerit; et Rollocus vicissim praeceptoris amorem ita compensavit ut, multis post annis, cum Academiae Edinburgenæ praefectura fungeretur, nunquam eum Edinburgum pro re nata venientem passus sit extra domum suam hospitari, eique insignem illum Commentarium in priorem ad Thessalonicenses Epistolam in testimonium gratitudinis dicarit. Ubi in studiis humanioribus satis maturuisset, misit eum pater Andreapolin ad sublimiora illa philosophiae studia ineunda; ubi Collegium quod Salvatorianum vocant ingressus, eos progressus, Regente Joanne Caro viro eruditissimo, in philosophiae studiis fecit, ut ex condiscipulis pauci eum assecuti sint, nemo antecerit. Exacto hoc curriculo, etsi omnibus propter egregias quae in eo enitebant dotes esset carissimus, vicaria tamen opera aliquandiu in docenda philosophia functus est, donec vacante loco in numerum professorum philosophiae allectus est; in qua professione ita cum philosophiae studiis pietatem animis adolescentium instillavit, ut magnam inde laudem adeptus sit, et coeperit ipsius nomen latius propagari.

Accidit interea ut Senatus Edinburgensis de erigenda Edinburgi Academia cogitare coeperit, idque praecipue instigatione Jacobi Lausonii pastoris fidelissimi, cujus eximia eruditio et pietas digna est quae omnibus saeculis celebretur, et Gulielmi Litilli viri integerrimi, et propter spectatam prudentiam ac fortitudinem civibus suis carissimi. Cogitatio haec hinc orta, quod regni metropolis esset, et animadverteret Senatus cives suos, non tantum gravi molestia, sed magno etiam impendio, liberos Andreapolin aut ad alias Academias erudiendos ablegare, et quod intelligeret complures tenuioris fortunae sic angustia rei familiaris premi, ut extra domum suam sumptus educandis liberis tolerare nequirent, eoque coactos plerumque sublimia ingenia mechanicis artibus addicere. Ubi hoc semel Senatui propositum, nihil omittit quod ad opus promovendum spectaret, aedificia tanto operi idonea comparat, quae deerant a fundamentis extruit, prudenter etiam cavet ut omnia in promptu sint ante ineuntem Octobrem, quo tempore philosophiae candidati se ad Academias conferre solent; omnibus abunde provisis, consultare demum coepit de Rectore qui Academiae praesset.

Innotuerat jam multorum relatione Jacobo Lausonio Rollocus noster, qui et ad eum literas miserat humanitatis plenas, quibus eum ad hanc provinciam suscipiendam hortatus erat: his comiter et amice respondit Rollocus, et, ut erat homo vere aliis instituendis natus, promptum se paratumque ostendit si honesta accederet vocato. Adit itaque Senatum

Lausonius, cujus summa apud eum erat auctoritas, edocet nullum magis idoneum cui Academiae praefectura committatur quam Rollocum, de cujus doctrina et vitae sanctimonia abunde sibi constaret. Decernitur continuo accersendum Rollocum, et electi in eam rem duo cives primarii, qui Andreapolin contendant. Ii Rollocum adeunt, rem omnem ei aperiunt, hortantur serio ne in tam sancto negotio senatui desit, et facile quod volunt persuadent. Veniens Edinburgum Rollocus Senatum alloquitur; facillime inter eos convenit; praefecturam Academiae suscipit—quam ita gessit quamdiu vixit ut nihil unquam majori, aut Ecclesiae emolumento, aut Reipublicae ornamento cesserit.

Calendis Octobris anni 1583, in publico Academiae auditorio luculentam habuit orationem, confluente copiosa cujusque ordinis multitudine, qua egregiam sui in animis hominum admirationem concitavit. Postridie, qui dies indictus erat adolescentibus qui philosophicum cursum statuerant inire ad conveniendum, magna sese offerentium multitudo affuit. Nam ad famam apertae Edinburgi Academiae, multi non ex ipsa tantum urbe, sed ex vicina etiam regione, confluxerunt adolescentes; quos omnes Rollocus in Latini sermonis puritate addiscenda usque ad diem examini constitutum diligentissime exercuit. Habito examine, plerique qui comperti sunt ad capessendum cursum philosophicum minus idonei, curae Duncani Narnii, viri morum elegantia et doctrina singulari, ut eos exactius in literis humanioribus in sequentem annum institueret, commissi sunt. In ipso autem limine cum institutione disciplinam conjunxit, et plerosque, laxiori trivialium scholarum disciplina effraenes, adhibita severitate compescuit; severitatem tamen insita quadam sibi clementia prudenter temperavit, et utramque religionis elementis sic miscuit, ut guttatim tenellis adolescentium animis pietatem instillaret. Inque eam rem singulis diebus Saturni, cum discipulos a mane ad meridiem usque disputationibus exercuisset, a meridie praelegit Quaestiones Bezae, in quas etiam brevem analysin ad discipulorum memoriam juvandam edidit; in iis, etiam diebus Dominicis ab hora septima matutina ad sesquioctavam qua adeunda erat concio eos continuo exercuit, et a meridie, ex quo a pomeridiana concione reditum est, post repetitas quas in templo audierant conciones, rationem exigebat. Deinde Catechesin Palatinatus eorum mentibus diligenter inculcavit, et textus Scripturae selectos perspicue interpretatus est, adhibita etiam accurata analysi, qua facillime mentem Spiritus Sancti assequi possent, nihilque omisit eorum quae ad Dei cog-

nitionem et timorem adolescentium animis imprimendum facere possint; quibus ipsius laboribus felici successu abunde benedixit Deus.

Neque tamen haec tanta in studiis pietatis sedulitas quicquam remorata est ordinaria humanitatis aut philosophiae studia. Nam toto quadriennii curriculo, postquam in Graeci linguae cognitione probe eos instituisset, summa cura et solicitudine Aristotelis contextum singulis hebdomadae diebus discipulis praelegit. Exorsus ab Organo Logico Ethica Nicomacheia et Physica percurrit, quibus adjecit etiam arithmeticae principia, doctrinam de anatomia corporis humani, de sphaera, accurate exposito textu Joannis de Sacro Bosco, de geographia; ut mirum videri possit, aut potuisse eum tam multa docere, aut discipulos discere. Qui tamen, Deo ipsius laboribus benedicente, ita in singulis hisce profecerunt, ut non minus parati essent de unoquoque rationem reddere quam si ei soli, neglectis reliquis, incubuissent. Sed in tanta alacritate ac animorum promptitudine quanta tum in adolescentibus fuit, quid non posset labor improbus?

Exacto curriculi philosophici quadriennio, post accuratam singulorum examinationem, laurea, quam magistralem vocant, eos donavit, sed prius summa gravitate admonitos officii sui. Monuit eos quanta diligentia et solicitudine eorum bono invigilasset, quam serio semper eorum animos praeparasset ad alteram illam vitam ac immortalem, ad quam hortatus erat ut vitae hujus praesentis ac perituraе omnes cogitationes, omnia studia etiam humaniora, omnes actiones dirigerent; quam serio dederit operam ut ejus vitae sensu aliquo magis magisque indies afficerentur, ut eo quasi gustu futurae laetitiae ac gloriae allecti desiderarent illam plenitudinem gaudiorum, et suspirantes expectarent adoptionem et redemptionem corporis sui. Commendabat quidem iis artes, scientias, exercitationes quascunque quae sunt etiam hujus vitae, postulabatque ut quam primum ingrederentur certum aliquod vitae genus honestum ac laudabile, in quo vel ecclesiae vel reipublicae usibus inservirent; sed ita semper ut meminerint admonitionis Paulinae, " ut quia tempus contractum est, in posterum uterentur hoc mundo ut non abutentes;" qua permisit quidem Paulus procurationem istorum omnium quae ad praesentem vitam pertinent, sed ita tamen ut interea, dum his exercerentur, πολίτευμα suum haberent in coelis—hoc est, dum corpora versantur circa ea, animi interea in coelis sint, intuentes Deum, ejus voluntatem et gloriam, et expectantes inde venturum Dominum et servatorem Jesum Christum, qui transformet corpus nostrum humile ut conforme fiat corpori suo glorioso. Protestatus est detestabile

se semper censuisse profanum illud hominum genus et atheos illos qui se potius quam Deum spectarent, quibus omnia hujus vitae bona tandem in exitium sint cessura. Postremo sermonem suum concusit cum seria exhortatione ad pietatem, sanctimoniam vitae, perseverantiam in ea veritate et religionis puritate quam accepissent, et in qua educati essent.

Post emissam primam hanc classem, contracto cum Helena Baronia lectissima foemina connubio, valedixit philosophiae, et totum se sacrarum literarum studio, ad quod ab ineunte aetate semper animam appulerat, tradidit; et suffecto Philippo Hislopo, adolescente probo et erudito, qui succedentem classem susciperet, Academiae praefectura contentus fuit, in qua nihil omisit eorum quae ad ipsius commodum spectarent. Quis hic non impensam ipsius industriam admiretur? Consuevit enim frequenter singulas classes adire, cujusque sedulitatem et progressum in studiis explorare, si quae contentiones, si quae turbae incidissent, egregia celeritate ac prudentia componere, universos ad perstandum in officio erigere, quotidie omnibus in auditorium convocatis preces ipse celebrare. Unaquaque hebdomada unius diei delectum fecit, quo discipulis suis omnibus in unum coëuntibus textum aliquem scripturae interpretatus est, unde admonitiones, hortationes, comminationes salutares eruit, non sermonis fuco obductas, verum sententiarum pondere ac gravitate efficaces ad adolescentium animos emolliendos, instituendos, et ad sanctimoniam efformandos. Hujus praelectionis tanta fuit efficacia, ut ea adolescentium animi arctius quam asperiori aliqua disciplina in officio continerentur. Absoluta praelectione, scrutari deinde coepit ex censoribus quos ad delicta singulorum in suis classibus observanda nominarat, quos ea hebdomada notassent delinquentes. Delatos summa dexteritate increpuit, iram Dei ante oculos proposuit, dedecoris metu attonitos reddidit—quibus plus ad poenitentiam et vitae emendationem apud eos profecit quam si mille plagas inflixisset. Quibus enim aliorum nec verba, nec verbera dolorem afferre, lacrymas excutere quivissent, coelestem iram intonando, blandis promissis mulcendo, sic eos terruit, concussit, prostravit, ut suspiria, singultus, interdum etiam fletus uberrimos expromeret. Illud in eo autem fuit insigne, quod sive promissiones evangelicas proponeret, sive severe judicia minitaretur, ita se interdum etiam nequissimi animo adversus quem vehementissime excanduisset insinuavit, ut profusum ejus in se amorem derivaret, neque tam metu quam amore ad ultroneum obsequium traduceret. Consuevit etiam singulis hebdomadis, vel ut occasio ferebat, Regentes convocare, ut

inter se conferendo consultarent et dispicerent si quid reformatione opus haberet, aut in melius mutari posset; quo factum ut Academiae disciplina purior, exactior et magis integra permaneret.

Postquam emissa classe et sepositis studiis philosophicis se ad theologiam contulisset, dici vix potest quanta sedulitate, quanta vigilantia, quantis laboribus conatus sit eos ipsos adolescentes, quotquot ad rerum divinarum studia animos applicassent, in theologia instituere, interdum quidem analysin logicam in Epistolas Paulinas aut alios sacra Scripturae libros dictitans, interdum locos communes tractans, interdum controversa cum pontificiis religionis capita examinans; in quibus studiis ita assidue versatus est, ut nullam diei horam vacuam praeterire permitteret. Hanc tam assiduam operam condiebat crebris hortationibus, quibus adolescentes ad sanctimoniam et fidelitatem in munere pastorali, ad quod eos praeparabat, incitabat. Postulabat imprimis ne crudos se ac immaturos ad munus illud protruderent. Zelum quidem serio iis commendabat, sed prudentia conditum; in nulla re magis quam in zelo errari, quem alii praecipiti suo affectu, alii, ut tum ferebant tempora, inconsulto vesanae plebis judicio metirentur; fovendum quidem in Ecclesia zelum genuinum; esse eum ignem coelitus descendentem, quem ali in domo Dei operae pretium sit; explodendum tamen zelum adulterinum, quod ignis sit peregrinus. Obnixe autem serioque suadebat ne res suas privatas praetextu religionis quaererent, neque famam sinceritatis alios suggillando, criminando, taxando aucuparentur; hortatus etiam ut nihil opinionis, omnia conscientiae gratia agerent. Huic tam indefesso studio et immensis laboribus ita benedixit Deus ut plurimos paucis annis ad munus pastorale propulerit, in quibus sanctimoniae et eruditionis suae viva effigies eluceret.

Ad hos labores tanta industria exantlatos accedebat et alius, quod cum videret in templo, quod Novum vocatur, ingentem summo mane convenire multitudinem populi, nollet eum, ut solebat, otiosum sedere; sed—tanta hominem alios in via Domini instituendi incessit cupido—singulis diebus Dominicis hora septima matutina, quod antehac Edinburgi nunquam factitatum, palam concionari coepit, tanta spiritus et potentiae demonstratione, tanto sententiarum pondere, tanta verborum gravitate ut plerorumque mentes coelesti luce perfunderet, affectus permoveret, omnes in sui admirationem raperet. Neque enim vulgus tantum movit, sed et eruditum hominum genus sic affecit ut novam lucem in mentibus suis accendi, novos affectus in cordibus formari non obscure sentirent ac profiterentur.

Postquam sic concionando absolvisset Apostoli Pauli Epistolam ad Ephesios, scripsit in eam Commentarium, qui typis excusus est anno 1590. Eodem fere tempore, in Academia discipulis suis publice diebus Lunae praelegit Epistolam ejusdem Apostoli ad Romanos, inque eam edidit analysin logicam, interjecto etiam, occasione aureae illius catenae beneficiorum Dei quae cap. viii., vers. 30 habetur, tractatu insigni de nonnullis Christianae doctrinae capitibus. Duo haec scripta cum forte in manus celeberrimi illius theologi D. Theodori Bezae incidissent, tanto gaudio ejus animum perfuderunt, ut in epistola ad Joannem Johnstonum Theologiae in Academia Andreana professorem non potuerit se continere quin in ejus laudes erumperet. Visum est aliqua ipsius verba attexere. "Hoc ipso tempore," inquit, "mihi contigit thesaurum nancisci, qui nescio quo sinistro fato, quamvis hic in omnium aliorum conspectu versaretur, me tamen adhuc subterfugerat: thesaurum enim cur non appellem, et quidem pretiosissimum, illos honorandi summe fratris, D. Rolloci, tum in Epistolam ad Romanos, tum in Epistolam ad Ephesios, utramque inter Apostolicas omnes celebratissimam, commentarios? Sic enim ego quidem de iis apud me statuo (quod absque ulla specie adulationis dictum velim) nihil adhuc legisse me in hoc interpretationis genere brevius simul, et tum elegantius, tum judiciosius scriptum; ut ipse me iis inspectis continere nequiverim, nec, etiam opinor, debuerim, quin et Deo de hoc utilissimo procul dubio quamplurimis futuro labore gratias magnas agerem, et tantum hoc vobis bonum, vel totis potius Ecclesiae gratularer, Deum precatus ut hunc hominem novis subinde donis auctum feliciter conservet, hoc praesertim tempore, in quo propter tantam operariorum in excolenda Dei nostri vinea raritatem, et paucissimos ex veteranis illis exercitatissimis superstites, triumphare jam sibi de oppressa veritate Satan cum suis videbatur." Haec Beza.

Edidit postea commentarios complures, ut in Psalmos aliquot selectos, in Danielem Prophetam, in Joannem Evangelistam, in nonnullas Epistolas Paulinas, Tractatum praeterea egregium de Efficaci Vocatione, et libellum utilissimum de Foedere Dei et de Sacramentis; qui omnes, non modo in Scotia, sed et apud exteras regiones, non minori Ecclesiae emolumento, quam nominis sui ornamento multorum manibus teruntur.

Rolloco his tot tantisque negotiis, quae hominem totum vel vigilantissimum distinere, et occupatissimam reddere possent, incumbente, imposita est praeterea necessitas capessendi ministerii urbani hac occasione.

Erat jam civitas tota, communi tam Ecclesiastici quam urbani Senatus consensu, suadente etiam Rolloco, in octo quasi parochias divisa; singulis parochiis praeficiendus erat suus pastor, qui ipsius curam haberet. Erant tum in urbe pastores, viri quidem magni nominis et in officio suo vigilantissimi ac fidelissimi, sed non eo numero qui tot parochiis sufficeret. Itaque in Rollocum omnium oculi conjecti; eum sibi pastorem expetunt; cum eo serio agunt vellet ipse, ad tam sanctum ac prope necessarium opus divisionis parochiarum promovendum, ministerium suscipere ac parochiae unius curam gerere; omnibus enim summis juxta ac infimis erat gratissimus carissimusque. Gratum carumque reddidit candor quidam in rebus gerendis genuinus, insignisque humilitas quae reliqua dona, quae in eo erant eximia, mirifice exornavit; quamvis enim ille praeclaris dotibus aliis fere omnibus praeluceret, sese tamen suo sensu infra omnes demisit.

Fixo quidem animi proposito constituerat apud sese latere, utque studiis liberius vacaret intra Academiae pomoeria sese abdere, ne curis publicis implicaretur; praeter votum tamen ad publica negotia pleraque extractus est, quae quidem ille singulari et sanctissima pariter prudentia expediebat. Praecipiti plebis zelo turbata maturo ejus consilio in ordinem reducta sunt. Rara zeli socia prudentia, nec assiduus prudentiae comes zelus; utriusque tamen insignem temperiem Rolloco indiderat is qui munera tacito dispertit arbitrio—quam cum ecclesia, tum Respublica Scoticana magno suo bono et commodo bono sensit sibi salutarem. Novissimo vitae biennio sic curis publicis praegravabatur ut valetudo alioqui satis infirma labasceret—assiduis enim calculi cruciatibus angebatur, et stomachi infirmitate languescebat—et tamen visum est Deo, hoc ipso summe perplexo tempore, ipsius opera ecclesiae pessum eunti subvenire. Nam, quantum humano judicio consequi valemus, nisi periclitanti Ecclesiae celerem opem tulisset, in miseriarum oceanum incidisset. Inconsulto enim armatae plebis concursu Regis ac primatum, qui jam Edinburgo Limnuchum secesserant, ira vehementissime exarserat, quo factum ut ecclesia et respublica in magnum et anceps periculum devolverentur. Squalida tum ac lugubris rerum conditio trucem lacrymabilemque faciem spectantibus praebuerat. Cum in turbis hisce componendis complures operam ac oleum perdidissent, eluxit tandem tanquam sidus salutare sanctissima Rolloci prudentia, pietate, modestia, humilitate condita; quae tantum regii pectoris possedit, ut ejus animum in Edinburgenses asperiorem ac multorum ju-

dicio implacabilem lenierit, ecclesiam ex incendio, rempublicam ex conflagratione eruerit. Sed quamvis Rolloco exinde creverit existimatio quod turbulenta hac tempestate Ecclesiae lugubria detraxerit, et turbata ad pristinum statum reduxerit, res tamen sigillatim ab eo gestas praetereo, ne cogar longiorem illius temporis historiam praetexere, et ab instituto supra quam par esset digredi.

Res Rolloci assiduis vigiliis ac indefessis laboribus compositas insecuta est Synodus Taodunensis, quam visum regi sua praesentia ornare. Synodo praeses omnium suffragio Rollocus deligitur. Ibi, quae Synodo Perthi non multo ante habita severius in speciem decreta videbantur, benigniorem interpretationem sortita sunt. Flagitat Rex vellet Synodus nonnullos designare qui excubias pro Ecclesia agerent, ne quid ea detrimenti caperet. Confestim pedibus itur in hanc sententiam, pietate ac prudentia eminentiores quosdam deligendos quibus provincia haec demandaretur. Ex his Rollocus unus. Horum munus temporis spatio et administrationis modo ac ratione circumscriptum est, decretumque ut defuncti muneris rationem proximae insequenti Synodo redderent. Hi Ecclesiam tumultu, de quo dictum est, misere quassatam, maturis consiliis et perpete industria reficere sensimque restaurare adnituntur.

Anno 1598, praecipiti hieme, vehementius solito morbo ingravescente, domi se concluserat. Gulielmus Scotus, summa necessitudine ei conjunctissimus, consulit in domum suam transiret, aërem sereniorem ac liberiorem carperet, ut hac ratione, si fieri posset, valetudinem recuperaret. Ille consilio obsequitur transitque. Initio quidem post migrationem coepit meliuscule valere, verum confestim geminata morbi vis lecto eam affixit. Ille cum spiritus linquentes, seseque in confinio mortis sensit, coelesti gaudio perfusus mellitis et plane divinis sermonibus omnium qui inviserant animos ingenti laetitia affecit; verum laetitiam interpellabant obortae omnibus lacrymae, cum pensitarent tantum virum nondum matura aetate praeripiendum, adimendum Ecclesiae parentem, reipublicae salutare columen, neminem superesse qui turbas in Ecclesia componat, offenso principi cives reconciliet, Ecclesiam in gratiam cum eo reducat. Ille solita prudentia res domesticas digerit; deinde uxorem post sterilitatem undecim annorum uterum ferentem curae amicorum, imprimis Gulielmi Scoti, cujus fidem et benevolentiam erga se eximiam multis jam experimentis didicerat, serio commendat. Ingressis ad eum Patricio Gallovidio et Davide Lyndesio, amorem in principem qui semper ejus animo medullitus insedisset

testatus in eoque se vita excessurum professus, flagitat ipsius nomine regem adeant, hortenturque ut religionis tramitem, quem inoffenso cursu huc usque pressisset, gradu non vacillante ad ultimum vitae spiritum calcaret, neque spe ulla amplificandi regni aut veteratorum subdolis technis se ab eo divelli pateretur, de Ecclesiae pastoribus qua par esset reverentia sentiret et loqueretur: "Illud enim Christi ministerium, quantumvis humano calculo abjectum et humile, apud Deum tamen esse gloriosum; pastores licet testacea sint vascula, omnium sordes et purgamenta mundi, illustri tandem gloria fulsuros." Ingressi deinceps pastores Edinburgeni, quibus assidentibus sic infit: "Aegritudinis mole lassus, vitae hujus exitum anhelans spiro ac spero. Non sic Christum didici aut docui, quin in eo earum aerumnarum levamentum sentiam. Academiae cura, fratres, altissime semper animo meo insedit; quanta ego eam fide ac industria administrarim testis est Deus, ego mihi probe conscius sum—quantum ex ea in Ecclesiam et rempublicam emolumentum redundarit, vos testes. Rumpendum mox vitae meae filum, trajiciendumque mihi in patriam diu multumque cupitam; ne, quaeso, me vivis exempto, nimis amare orbitatem suam defleat Academia. Vos, vos, inquam, non novercae, sed genuini parentis vices obite, eam vestro sinu alite, fovete. Pastorale munus non ita pridem mihi incubuit, quod quamobrem in me susceperim non vos praeterit. In eo egregium quid praestitisse me affirmare non audeo, voluisse tamen audebo. Memoriae vestrae non excidit Synodo Taodunensi delectum me cum aliis quibusdam qui pro ecclesia excubarem, in quo cum Dei gloriam et Ecclesiae incolumitatem repentino tumulto misere quassatam mihi ob oculos habuerim, nullius admissae culpae poenitentia discruciari me profiteor. Susurravit quidam nuperrime in aurem meam disseminatum rumorem, inquietari animum meum ob inique et perperam gesta in ista provincia. Deum arcanorum omnium arbitrum ac testem, ad cujus tribunal ego mox sistendus, appello, cum in omni hoc negotio ad scopum legitimum collimarim, nihil esse quod me cruciet aut angat. Non eo quidem inficias, cum Ecclesiam ac rempublicam nexu amabili ac fraterno colligarit prudens mundi Opifex, in hoc ramis ac velis incubuisse me, ut se mutuis juvarent officiis, ne reipublicae gladius in Ecclesiae perniciem stringeretur, aut Ecclesia in principem aut rempublicam acerbius invaderetur, bellumque non necessarium excitaretur. Neque tamen aut ita me pacis amor fascinavit ut genuinam ab adulterina non secreverim, aut affectus in principem ita abripuit ut in eius gratiam labeculam ullam conscientiae fuerim inducturus:

verum meorum factorum candor etiam me extincto clarescet. Ceterum vos unanimi consensu ad opus Domini coalescite. Quid magis incongruum quam pacis præcones litigio ac discordia dilacerari? Hac tempestate qua in insidiis hostes sunt, non dissidiis dissipandae vires, verum pace combinandae sunt, petendum hostium latus, non mutua jugula. Principi vestro debitum obsequium praestate. Rara temporum felicitas vobis obtigit; principem nacti estis qui cum lacte religionem hausit, quae ejus visceribus recondita cum eo coaluit. Religionem disciplina circumvallavit, circumvallatam suo præsidio texit, Ecclesiaeque patrocinium sic in se suscepit ut, quamdiu eum vita non deserit, illud non deserturum se innumeris documentis palam fecerit. Quod itaque blande mulcendo ei elicere potestis, ne invito extorquere frustra adnitimini. Serio cavendum ne ex hoc felicitatis fastigio pessum se det Ecclesia. Poterat Paulus Onesimum fugitivum apud se retinere, noluit tamen absque Philemonis sententia, ne ipsius beneficium ex necessitate esse videretur. Pauli vestigiis censeo insistendum vobis in tanti ponderis negotio. Deus pater Iesu Christi vos omni benedictione spirituali locupletet, et invicto robore muniat ad ministerium illud strenue obeundum." Vesperascente eodem die properare mors videbatur, quam ille olfaciens sermonem occipit, non humano cerebro effictum, sed coelitus a Dei Spiritu stillantem, qui cunctis adstantibus admirationem incussit. Aderant medici qui medicamentis suis vim morbi lenire, quod vigor naturalis deficeret, renuerunt. Ad Deum itaque verso sermone, "Tu," inquit, "Deus, medeberis mihi." Dein preces zelo intentissimo fundit, orans primo vellet Deus sibi suisque peccatis propter unicum Christi sacrificium propitius esse, prædicans omnia, quantumvis apprime speciosa, propter crucis Christi eminentiam pro stercoribus se ducere. Precatus deinde vellet vitae suae exitum faustum ac felicem indulgere, ut misericordiae alis opertus in Christi sinu excederet fruereturque Dei vultu, quem crebro anhelitu intueri sitiit. "Ego te," inquit, "subobscure in verbi speculo vidi—largire mihi diu multumque optati vultus tui sempiternam fruitionem." De resurrectione et vita aeterna verba profert immortalitatis sensum spirantia. Singulis qui adstabant dextra prehensis summa verborum comitate ac gravitate benedicit, benedictionem hortationibus pro cujusque indole ac munere prudenter miscet. Ea nocte praeter spem paulum requievit.

Die qui eum insecutus est, urbani magistratus, complures etiam ex ordine senatorio eum invisunt; quos juxta lectum accumbentes sic af-

fatur: "Quantum praesagiis ullis assequi valeo, absolvendum mihi vitae pensum, deponendum corruptibile hoc corporis indumentum, transeundum in patriam; neque hoc mihi acerbum, novissimum enim hujus vitae diem crebra siti concupivi. Academia semper anxium me maxime habuit. Ego eam jam deserturus, si celarem quem meo calculo sufficiendum mihi Academiaeque praeficiendum censeam, incuriae maculam non effugerem. Quid attinet exteras regiones pervagari, peregrinum adsciscere qui huic provinciae praesit, quem interim doctrina disciplinaque hujus Academiae lateat? Domi virum locupletatum donis ac ad munus hoc instructum habetis, Henricum Charterisium, qui eruditionem me praeceptore uberrime hausit, et professoris philosophiae munere plus decennio egregia cum laude perfunctus est. Hunc vos in Academiae puppi sistite, ejusque clavo apponite. Deum illi propitium, ejusque laboribus benedicentem conspicietis. Vos decet ex officio Academiae Maecenates ac patronos esse. Altior, quaeso, ejus solicitudo animos vestros subeat. De domesticis quid dicam? Uxorem desero uterum ferentem. Unum a vobis summopere contendo, sentiat illa amorem quo semper me amplexi estis extincto me non exaruisse. Nunquam mihi dies aut nox aegritudinis expers: illa me tot morborum difficultatibus quassatum suaviter semper fovit ac refocillavit. Ingenue profiteor ex omnibus stipendiis meis non coacervasse me obolos duos; nunquam enim mihi cordi aut curae mundana haec. Quid multa verba perderem? Ne, quaeso, affectus vester in me claudicet in eam." Magistratus senatoresque solemni promisso fidem dant facturos se omnia ex animi ipsius sententia. Professores deinde philosophiae ad perstandum in officio debitumque successori suo obsequium hortatur. His peractis, verba insigni sanctimonia condita profundit. "Deo meo," inquit, "gratia! memoria, visus, auditus, reliquique sensus mei tam vivaces, tam vegeti quam alias unquam; ast ab hoc mundo alienatum cor meum. Et quorsum Domine Iesu, corde meo non fruereris cui soli in illud jus? In hoc per totam vitam incubui ut illud tibi dicarem ac consecrarem; illud, quaeso, assume ut tecum commoretur." Haec locutum invadit lenis quidam somnus, ex quo experrectus summo affectu flagrat dissolvi et esse cum Domino. "Veni, inquit, "Domine Iesu, fragilis hujus vitae filum abrumpe, matura Domine, ne tarda. Iesus me redemit, non ut caducam hanc, verum aeternam vitam indulgeret. Veni, Iesu, largire vitam propter quam redemisti me." Adstantes flebili planctu vicem suam in ejus obitu deflent. At ille: "Omnes hujus vitae gradus emensus sum; ad novissimum perveni—cur retrogre-

derer? Hunc gradum, Domine Iesu, tuo favore feliciter emetiar. Deduc me in eam gloriam, quam per speculum tantum vidi; utinam apud te diversarer." Qui adstabant significant diem posterum Sabbathum esse, unde in haec verba erumpit; "Tuum Sabbathum, Domine, aeternum meum Sabbathum inchoet; auspicia sumat aeternum Sabbathum meum a Sabbatho tuo."

In mediam fere noctem modicam nactus est quietem, quam confestim morbi vis interrupit, supremamque horam adesse ratus D. Walterum Balcanquellum accersit; quem ingressum sic alloquitur: "Quod diutissime munus pastorale Edinburgi obieris, quodque non recens nostra amicitia, accersendum te curavi, ut reverentiam, qua semper a cunis Christi ministerium prosequutus sum, testatam facerem. Ego quidem pro modulo doni preces in sinum Dei fudi; tu, quaeso, pro me precum sacra peragito; ego corde et affectu sequar; interim ne protrahi vitam hanc flagita." Provolutis omnibus qui aderant in genua, preces celebrat Balcanquellus. Inter reliqua flagitat vellet Deus tanti viri diuturniorem usuram indulgere, cum Ecclesiae et reipublicae salus tantopere eam poscat. Rollocus sic orantem interpellat: "Satius," inquit, "mihi hujus vitae; unice in votis habeo vitam coelestem cum Deo in Christo reconditam." Consummatis precibus in verbi praedicati encomia erumpit: "Verbum," inquit, "Dei potentia ad salutem, Dei sapientia, vita; nec ulla ulli absque verbo salus. Non est, credite mihi, exigui momenti negotium verbum praedicare; perinde non est ac Platonis Aristotelisque textum interpretari, aut orationem pigmentis ac lenocinio sermonis oblitam recitare; in sanctimonia, humilitate, efficaci Spiritus demonstratione situm est verbi praeconium; quanti illud semper fecerim novit Deus." Dein ad preces revertitur: "Veni," inquit, "Domine Iesu, horum oculorum nervos abrumpe, alios mihi largire; cupio dissolvi ac tecum esse; matura venire, Domine Iesu, ne ultra differ. Egredere pusilla vita, ut ingrediatur melior illa vita Dei: insere, Domine Iesu, huic corpori manum tuam, arripe tibi animam istam."

Cum aliquandiu mane quievisset, silentium tandem hoc sermone abrumpit: "Veni, Domine, ne morare; diei noctisque fastidio lassus sum. Veni, Domine Iesu, ut ad te veniam. O dulce, faustum ac felix vitae hujus divortium! Veni, Domine, dulcedo mea, emancipato animam hanc ut te marito fruatur." Tum ex adstantibus unus: "Ne esto anxius, accelerat Dominus tuus;" cui ille, "Gratum mihi," inquit, "istud nuntium —utinam die crastino exequias meas duceretis." Tum alter: "Beata

anima tam Domino vicina quam tua!" ille vero: "In me nihil est quod non ducam pro stercoribus, ut Christum lucrifaciam; Christus unica solatii materia; omnis justitia mea pannus menstruatus." Interrogatus numquid pastoris ullius alloquium flagitaret? respondet non creaturam se iis molestiam quod ad concionandum se accingerent. "Sinite," inquit, "me psittaci instar cum Domino meo balbutire." Certior factus inchoatam concionem; "Da mihi," inquit, "Domine, ea videre quae in praesentia alii audiunt." Sabbathi meridie sic eum affatur quidam: "Per omnem vitam tuam indefessa opera sedulisque laboribus Dei gloriam promovisti." Tum ille: "Mihi unica gloriandi materia misericordia Dei in Christo Iesu; alia omnia damna duco." Dein sopor quidam mollis eum invadit qui in vesperam occupat; quo discusso ingressus ad eum supremi senatus praeses, cui Edinburgi eo anno praefectura obvenerat. Eum sic alloquitur: "Academiam curae magistratuum quibus tu, Domine, praees serio commendavi; tu etiam eandem in patrocinium tuum suscipe: experiatur, quaeso, te parentem ac Maecenatem. Cum pro excelsa dignitate qua in republica praecellis et amplissimo munere quo te honoravit Deus, Ecclesiae opem ferre possis, ne, quaeso, eam subtrahe; in ejus praesidium artus ac vires tuas intende, summo conatu in id incumbe. Et salutem consequaris in Christo Iesu—mundana haec omnia fluxa sunt moxque flaccessent. Deus te, tuam conjugem, universam familiam benedictionis suae thesauro cumulet." Eadem illa nocte has voces emisit: "Tranquilla mihi mens in corpore aegro: mortis, peccati et Satanae metu non angor—nullum illis in me imperium; sic tamen morbi pondere premor ut longe praeter spem in hanc horam supersim. Dominus quasi in mortario pistillo aegritudinis me tundit, ut ad regnum suum formet."

Octavo Idus Februarii, "Mirum," inquit, "videri potest, cum tam acerbe morbo discrucier, tam diu protrahi vitam meam; verum per patientiam Domini beneplacitum praestolabor; connivebo, connivebo; agat ille mecum pro libito; non disseram cum eo. Quid est homo ut cum Deo disceptare audeat? Imo si in orcum detruderet, parendum, non responsandum. Gratiam fac mihi, Domine, propter Christum Iesum. Non erubesco confiteri nunquam me tam sublime notitiae Dei fastigium attigisse quam hoc morbo. O quam horrendum in manus Domini incidere! Sed reposita est mihi misericordia in Christo. Quid contristaris, anima mea? Quid te dejicis in me? Obveniet tibi mox aspectus et congressus amoenissimus." Cum advesperasceret; "Experior," inquit, "sexti

Psalmi veritatem," atque aliqua ejus verba recitat—"Gratiam fac mihi, Jehova, quia languore pressus sum: cura me, Jehova, quia conturbata sunt ossa mea," etc. Interjecta modica pausa sermonem iterat: "Christus portabit jugum meum, et ego ejus gratia fultus sequar." Cum morbi acerbitate torqueri eum animadverterent adstantes, lacrymas, planctus ac singultus cient, quos ille increpat; "Ne meam vicem," inquit, "sed peccata vestra deflete: cum nemo a peccato immunis, nemini fletus materia subtracta est. Quod ad me, ego omnium complementum ac consummationem mox videbo." Vespere ex cognatis unus ad eum ingressus sermone impio bilem ei movit. Ab eo flagitat, "vellet in coelos receptus mediari pro se reliquisque amicis!" Hoc audito ira fervens repente corpus imbecillum ac fere exanime erigit: "Ego," inquit, "munus illud abnuo; Christus unicus Mediator." Non multo post invisit eum frater natu major. "Tu," inquit, "cognatum nostram increpa, mone alium capessat vitae tramitem; alioqui nulla ei salus, certissimum exitium."

Ab hoc tempore oblatum alimentum respuit; "Non," inquit, "edam aut bibam usque dum in regnum coelorum tranferar." Funeris curam Gulielmo Litillo et Gulielmo Scoto amicis integerrimis, quorum amicitiam non vacillantem frequenti elogio ornavit, commendat. "Cur non," inquit, "mihi esset hujus corporis cura, illud siquidem glorificandum, et conformandum tandem glorioso Christi corpori?" Et manus intuens; "Istae etiam manus," inquit, "illustri gloria fulgebunt." Exinde sermo ei submissior et contractior; verba tamen fortia ac efficacia, gaudium coeleste spirantia ac redolentia, quae placidus somnus excepit, qui cum aliquandiu eum occupavisset, placide ac suaviter Creatori ac Redemptori suo animam commendat; et quamvis extinctus, notas tamen oris pallor non confundebat, verum temperato quodam rubore perfundebatur. Obiit sexto Idus Februarii 1598, veteri calculo, qui tum in usu, expleto jam aetatis suae anno 43.

Erat statura mediocri, colore rubido cui candor quidam admistus, coma subrufa, vultu ad comitatem gravitatemque pariter facto, valetudine parum firma, quam mirum erat ad tantos labores sufficere potuisse, singulari pietate, sanctimonia, vitae innocentia, quam vel inviti admirabantur et laudabant ipsi veritatis hostes. In vocatione sua fidelissimus et vigilantissimus, assiduus in studiis et meditationibus, ab otio supra quam facile credas abhorrens: fidem tamen facere possunt tot tam paucis annis, etiam corpore morbis et aegritudinibus debilitato, editi ab eo docti et elegantes

Commentarii. Pacis amantissimus, injuriarum patientissimus, ad condonandum facillimus. In ferenda de aliorum vita, dictis, factisve sententia perquam aequus ac moderatus; secus ab aliis prolata praestitave semper, quoad fieri potuit, in meliorem partem interpretatus est. In communi consuetudine et amicorum consortio apprime humanus ac jucundus, in consiliis fidus, in colloquio affabilis et comis. In rebus seriis gravis ac prudens, quod in publicis Ecclesiae negotiis procurandis omnibus fecit manifestum; in consilio aliis impertiendo promptissimus. Has vero eximias virtutes ornabat admirabilis humilitas, qua, quamvis plurimis praestantissimis dotibus alios fere omnes anteiret, tamen ne infimum quidem fastidiose despexit, quin potius sese omnibus submisit. Ad humilitatem accessit incredibilis modestia et animi moderatio, ut quamvis multorum conviciis ac calumniis publice ipso audiente immerito impeteretur, nunquam auditus sit convicia regerere, aut calumniatores recriminari, aut vocem aliquam contra detractores emittere, sed bonae conscientiae testimonio fretus tacitum sese continuit. Semel tantum pro concione apologia usus est, tanta moderatione ut neminem vellicaret, nullius famae detraheret, nemihem insimularet, nemini crimen impingeret, sed sinceritatem tantum suam coram Deo et ipsius Ecclesia testatus sit. Studia sua cum familiaribus communicabat, eamque discendi viam saepe utilem sibi ac fructuosam testatus est. Sed cesso de eo plura, quae satis multa dici poterant, et fortasse debuerant: sed omnibus in propátulo sunt ejus virtutes, et tam modesto genio sobrium laudis decus competit.

Ejus decessus fama quantas lacrymas, quae suspiria, quos singultus per universam urbem ac regionem concitarit, relatu fere incredibile. Senatus, Academia, civitas, plebes, singuli tanquam in domestico luctu moerebant. Funus majore quam alias consuetum Edinburgi celebritate decoratur; turmatim enim omnes, tam supremae, quam infimae sortis homines, et quidem omnis sexus, omnis aetatis, ad illud ornandum confluxerunt.

NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF

MR ROBERT ROLLOCK OF SCOTLAND,

WRITTEN BY

HENRY CHARTERIS.

NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF THAT MOST PIOUS AND LEARNED GENTLEMAN,

MR ROBERT ROLLOCK, OF SCOTLAND, MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AND PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH.

It is now an old-established custom to depict the life and death of men who have rendered themselves illustrious, and excelled others in virtue, and to embalm them in the memory of posterity—a custom highly to be commended, and hardly exceeded by any other in a title to popular observance. For, as far as public utility is concerned, its efficacy is great indeed in exciting men to virtue, piety and morality. Surprising is the power with which examples influence the minds of those who are slow to receive instruction. For what they cannot learn during a whole lifetime from mere precepts, even though derived from the living spring of the sacred writings, they easily attain by imitating the example of good men, especially of such as are conspicuously known, whose actions and habits are brought prominently before general observation, and whose whole conversation and life are full in public view. Hence I am the more strongly impelled to delineate briefly the life and manners of Robert Rollock of pious memory—a man, whose learning and whose sanctity and uprightness of life cannot be impugned by such surviving enemies of the truth as were his contemporaries—that the greater part of this generation may bear in remembrance what excellent lessons they have learned of him, and that posterity may have before them his example for their imitation.

Robert Rollock[1] was born in the year 1555. His father was David

[1] So we have given the Principal's name in conformity with modern usage, and with Row, Spottiswood and Calderwood. James Melville, with the capricious orthography of his time, gives *Rollok*, and *Rolloc*, but prefers the latter. In the records of the college of St Salvator's, St Andrews, he is styled Rollok; and so he signs himself in his contract with the town-council of Edinburgh. This is confirmed by the document quoted in the next note.—See also *Stevens's History of the High School*, p. 15.

Rollock,[1] Laird of Powis, an estate not far from Stirling; his mother was Mary Livingstone, of the distinguished family of that name. His father manifesting a singular anxiety and zeal to bestow on him a liberal education, he gave evident proofs of high talents, even in his boyhood, while acquiring the first rudiments of learning, which induced his father to send him from his home to Stirling for the purpose of entering on the study of the classics. He enjoyed the instructions of Thomas Buchanan, the nephew by the brother's side of that great Buchanan,[2] who was beyond all controversy the first poet of his time. Thomas Buchanan was a man distinguished both for worth and learning, and was celebrated as a successful teacher. Under his instructions[3] he made such

[1] David Rollock died on the 14th March 1578, as we learn from the following document:—"Ultimo Decembris 1579. The testament-dative and inventor of the gudes, geir, sommes of money and dettis perteining to umquhill ane honourable man, Maister David Rollok of Powis, the tyme of his deceis, wha deceisit upon the xiiij. day of March 1578 yeirs: faithfullie maid and given up by Mr Robert, Thomas, Elizabeth, Margaret, Christiana and Barbara Rollokis, lauchfull barnes by the wife to the defunct.

Sum of the Inventor,	£542	10	0
„ „ Dettis,	128	0	0
	£670	10	0
Dettis awind be the deid,	276	6	8
Free Geir,	£394	3	4

Testament confirmed be the said Mr Rot., Thomas, &c., executors-dative to the said umquhil Mr David their father."—The Principal's elder brother, of whom mention is made at the end of the narrative, was named David, as we learn from a MS. in the possession of H. J. Rollo, Esq. We presume that it is from his succeeding to the heritable property that his name does not appear in connection with the moveables.

[2] Thomas Buchanan, nephew of George Buchanan, as we learn not only from this passage, but from the dedication to Rollock's Commentary on the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, was first a Regent in the College of St Salvator's, St Andrew's. In 1568 he was appointed to the High School of Edinburgh. In 1571 he became Master of the Grammar School of Stirling, where his uncle was residing. (*M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii., p. 367.) In 1578 he was appointed Provost of the Collegiate Church of Kirkheugh, and minister of Ceres, in the neighbourhood of St Andrews. He died, according to Dr M'Crie, on the 12th April 1599, "of a bruise which he received of a fall from his horse. (*Melville*, vol. ii., p. 67.) Spottiswood, (p. 454), and James Melville (*Diary*, p. 438), date his death in 1598. See also *Dr Stevens's High School*, pp. 11-12. Thomas Buchanan was a man of great learning, and of high reputation as a teacher, but seems to have been of a wayward temper.

[3] We learn from *Keith's History*, p. 531, that Mr Thomas "Duncanson was schoolmaster and reidar in Striveling in 1568." It is probable that at some time between this and the appointment of Thomas Buchanan in 1571, Thomas Jack, afterwards master of the Grammar School of Glasgow, was teacher in Stirling, or he may have

progress in the classics that Buchanan had the strongest affection for him. And Rollock so reciprocated his teacher's fondness, that many years afterwards, when he filled the station of Principal of the University of Edinburgh, he never allowed him, when coming to Edinburgh on business, to live in any house but his, and in token of his gratitude, he dedicated to him his excellent Commentary on the first Epistle to the Thessalonians.[1] When he had made sufficient progress in the Classics, his father sent him to St Andrews to commence the more elevated studies of philosophy. He entered there the college called St Salvator's, under John Carr[2] as Regent, a man of the greatest learning, and he advanced so rapidly in the study of philosophy, that he was equalled by few and surpassed by none of his fellow students. When this course of study was completed, though his singular and conspicuous endowments had made him univer-

been an assistant teacher there. Rollock, in laudatory verses to Jack's *Onomasticon Poeticum*, published in 1592, says

——————dedit praeceptor ille olim meus
Jacchaeus.

For an account of Jack, see *M'Crie's Melville*, vol. ii., pp. 365, 478.

[1] This dedication is as follows: Eximiae Pietatis et Doctrinae viro, Thomae Buchanano Siresensis Ecclesiae Pastori, Robertus Rollocus, S. & G. per Christum. Si quae in me sit rerum aliquarum cognitio, quae quam tenuis sit et exigua, ipse mihi probe sum conscius, profecto eam tibi imprimis, ut debeo, acceptam fero, qui primus ejus in me jecisti semen: et ita quidem jecisti, ut ego adolescens, cum in schola tua educarer, quam tum Sterlini magno reipublicae nostrae bono aperuisti, non sine auspiciis Georgii Buchanani Patrui tui, viri, omnium quos tulit haec natio, literatissimi, non tantum te vulgarem habuerim informatorem, sed patrem potius, mei studiosum adeo et amantem, ut ex eo tempore in hodiernum usque diem sensus ille benevolentiae in me tuae, cujus recordatio semper mihi suavissima fuit, ex animo meo elabi nunquam potuerit: idque eo magis quod tu eundem illum in animo meo sensum assidue sic foveris et foveas, non modo cumulata subinde tua illa in me solita benevolentia, sed etiam collocata perpetuo in commune Ecclesiae Christi commodum opera tua, ut si patiar me tui unquam oblivisci, profecto inter ingratissimos homines, quos passim, ut nunc sunt tempora, quamplurimos invenias, merito queam recenseri. Quod si autem cuiquam doctrinae et cognitionis fructus aliquis debeatur, profecto ei imprimis deberi eum nemo sanae mentis non fatebitur, a quo primum in animis nostris semen ejus jactum est, et cujus ductu, non modo humaniorum literarum, sed etiam verae solidaeque pietatis stadium sumus ingressi. Quamobrem, ego, licet serius quam oportuit, fructum hunc aliquem laborum meorum, atque etiam tuorum tibi offero, et Commentarium hunc meum in Pauli Apostoli ad Thessalonicenses Epistolam priorem, in tuo nomine exire volo, idque eo fine, ut si quid ex meis scriptis boni ad quosvis perveniat, ii bona ex parte abs te agnoscant illud emanasse. Vale. Edinburgi. 1598. 14 Calend. Augusti.

[2] The name of John Carr occurs in 1574, as one of the *Procuratores Nationum* for the election of Rector in St Salvator's.

sally esteemed, yet, till a vacancy occurred, he only taught philosophy for some time as substitute for another. When elected Professor he so instilled into the minds of the youth piety in conjunction with instructions in philosophy, that he acquired great praise, and his reputation began to be extended.[1]

It so happened, meanwhile, that the Town Council of Edinburgh began to entertain thoughts of erecting a College in Edinburgh, and that especially at the instigation of James Lawson[2]—a minister distinguished for his faithful discharge of duty, and whose remarkable learning and piety are matters of unperishing record—and of William Little,[3] a gentleman of the highest integrity, and exceedingly beloved by his townsmen for his tried prudence and courage. This scheme originated in the following considerations. Not only was Edinburgh the metropolis of the kingdom, but

[1] Among the *Nomina Incorporatorum in Collegio Salvatoriano*, in 1574, appears *Robertus Rollok*, and also *Thomas Rollok*, probably his younger brother. The future Principal must have been in his nineteenth or twentieth year, a ripe age, especially at that time. In 1580 he was appointed an Examiner in the Faculty of Arts for St Leonard's College, so that he must have been a Regent at that time. In the same year he was appointed Quaestor to the Faculty of Arts. (Communicated by Professor Pyper of St Andrews.) "Then," (1580,) says James Melville, "I had the honour, of Him to whom all honour apperteins, to be the teatcher of Mr Robert Rolloc, of most worthie memorie, the Hebrew toung, wha resorted ordinarlie to my lessone and chalmer to that effect."—(*Diary*, p. 86.)

[2] James Lawson was a fellow-student at St Andrews with Andrew Melville in 1559, having been educated gratuitously by Andrew Simpson, the celebrated master of the school of Perth. The Countess of Crawford appointed him tutor to her son, with whom he travelled on the continent. In 1568, on his return, he obtained an appointment to teach Hebrew in the New College of St Andrews. In 1569 he was presented to the office of sub-principal of the University of Aberdeen.—(*M'Crie's Melville*, vol. i., pp. 23, 235, 422.) In 1572 he succeeded John Knox as minister of Edinburgh. He was Moderator of the Assembly which met at Dundee in 1580. In May 1584 he was obliged to flee to England for his opposition to the *Black Acts*. He died in London on the 12th October of the same year.—(*Calderwood*, vol. iii., p. 223; vol. iv. pp. 65, 201; *Melville's Diary*, pp. 80, 167, 219.) He was a strenuous supporter both of the High School and the University of Edinburgh.—(*Crawford's History of the University*, pp. 19, 20; see also *M'Crie's Knox*, pp. 214, 442, 4th ed.)

[3] William Little, one of the Littles of Craigmillar, was one of the Bailies of Edinburgh in 1583, (*Council Records*,) and twice Provost in 1586 and 1591.—(*Maitland's History of Edinburgh*, p. 226. See also *Wilson's Memorials of Edinburgh*, pp. 169, &c.) It was his brother, Mr Clement Little, who, in 1580, with a view to the institution of the University of Edinburgh, founded the Library—"he dedicated all his books for the beginning of ane library."—(*Crawford*, pp. 20, 26, 110.) Rollock, in 1596, dedicates to William Little, especially for the behoof of his son William, his work entitled *Responsiones aliquot de Foedere*, &c.

the Council observed that their townsmen were in the habit of sending their sons for their education to St Andrews, or other universities, not only with great inconvenience, but at great expense; and they knew that many in humble circumstances were prevented by the narrowness of their means from educating their children away from home, being thus, in very many cases, constrained to give up to mechanical pursuits talents of a high order. When the proposal was once made to the Council, they omitted nothing that could contribute to advance the work; they procured the buildings necessary for so large a scheme; what were wanting they built from the foundations, and with prudent foresight they arranged that all might be in readiness before the beginning of October, at which time candidates for the studies of philosophy are in the habit of repairing to our Universities.

Abundant provision being made in all points, they began to deliberate on the choice of a Principal who should preside over the University. Rollock, the subject of our narrative, had already, from the conversation of many, been made known to James Lawson, who also had sent to him a most courteous letter, entreating him to undertake the duty. To this Rollock replied with friendly affability, and, as he was a man in truth born to instruct others, he declared himself willing and ready, if he should receive an invitation befitting the importance of the occasion. Lawson, accordingly, went to the Council, where his influence was very great, and informed them that there was no person better qualified for the charge of the University than Rollock, of whose learning and piety he was assured from the most abundant evidence. The Council passed a resolution to send immediately for Rollock, and two of the principal inhabitants were chosen for that purpose. They visit St Andrews, and calling upon Rollock, after explaining to him the whole circumstances of the case, and earnestly entreating him not to fail the Council in so sacred a cause, they easily persuade him to accede to their wishes. On the arrival of Rollock in Edinburgh, at an interview with the Council, matters were arranged between them without the least difficulty; he undertook the management of the University, which he conducted so long as he lived in such a way that nothing ever contributed more to the advantage both of the Church and of the State.[1]

[1] The following is a copy of the contract between Rollock and the Magistrates of Edinburgh. "At Edinburgh, the fourtene day of September, the zeir of God Im.

On the 1st of October 1583, in the public hall of the University, in the presence of a crowded audience of men of all ranks, he delivered a bril-

V^c^. fourscoir thrie yeires. It is appointit, aggreit, and finallie contractit, betwixt the provost, baillies, and counsall of the burgh Edinburgh, upon that ane p^t^ and M^r^ Rot. Rollock, for the present ane of the regentis of Sanct Salvatoris Colledge, situate within the citie of Sanct Androis, upon that uyr p^t^ in manr, forme, and effect as after followes: That is to say, the said Maister Robert sall entre to the Colledge newly foundit w^t^in the said burgh for instructioun of the youth, and professing of guid leirning, as the erectioun and foundation beirs, the fourtene day of October next to cum, but furder delay, and sall exerce the office of the regent of the said Colledge, in instructioun, governament, and correctioun of ye youth and persones quhilk sall be committed to his chairge, dureing the spaice of ane yeir immediatelie following his said ētrie, and furder, sa lang as the said Mr Rot. uses himselff faithfullie yrinto, according to the ruills and injunctiouns qlk sall be given unto him be the provost, baillies, and counsall of the said burgh, quhilkes are now p^nt^. or sall happen to be for the time, to the observing and keipeing of the quhilkeis injunctiouns in all the pairtis yrof, the said Mr Robert, be yir p^nt^is, bindis and obleis him; for the qlkeis causes, the said provost, baillies, and counsill, bindis and oblesis yame and yr successores thankfullie to content and pay to ye said Mr Rot. the soume of fortie pundis usual money of yis realme, at twa termis in the yeir, Candlemes and Lambes, be twa equall portiounes, and sall susteine him and ane servand in yr ordinar expenses, honestlie as effeirs. Attour the said Mr R^t^. sall repaise and haif for his laboures to be takin in instructing everie bairne repairing to the said Colledge yeirlie, as followes: To witt, fra ye bairnes inhabitants of the said burgh, fortie schillings, and fra ye bairnes of uyeris, nocht inhabitants yairin, three pundis or mair, as ye bairnes parentis please to bestow of yr liberalitie; and furder, in cais, at the end and expiring of ye said zeir, ye said Mr Robert find himself not sufficientlie satisfeit be his said yeirlie fie and casualities, that he, upon his awin guid discretioun, declair that he has reasonable cause to meane and compleane upon that behalf, the mater being proponit be the said Mr Robert to Master James Lowsone, minister, Jo^n^ Prestoun, ane of the commisseriss, and Jo^n^ Schairp, advocate, the said provost, baillies, and counsall, and yair successores, sall follow yr determinatioun and advyse to be given yairin, quhat sall be augmentit for ye said Mr Rotis stipend the zeir foirsaid; providing alwayes yat ye said augmentatioun exceed not the sum of fortie merkes; and further, the said provost, baillies, and counsall obleiss yame and yr successores, yat as it sall happen yr said Colledge in policie and leirning to encreis, that the said Mr Rot., upon his guid merite, sall be advancit to the maist honorable roume yat sall be vaik yairin, or to the ylk ony new Regent sall be providit, he being als qualifiet as ony uy^r^ therfoir; and hereto baith the saidis pairties faythfullie binds and obleisiss yamselffes to uyris, and, for ye mair securitie, they are content, and consentis that thir p^nt^is be actit and registrat in the buikis of the Commissers of Edinburgh, and decernit to have ye strenth of yair decreit and executorialles of horning and poinding, the ane but prejudice of the uyr, at the pleasure of the pairtie pas yairupon, and to yat effect baith the said pairties makes, constitutes, and ordaines, &c.

and ilk ane of yame yr prors, conjunctlie and severallie, *in uberiori constitutionis forma, promittendo de rato*. In witness heirof both the said pairties hes subscrivit yis p^nt^ contract with yair handis, day, zeir, and place foresaids, before thir witnessis, &c. *Et sic subscribitur*, Maister Robert Rollok, ane of the Regentis of Sanct Salvatoris Colledge for the p^nt^."

liant address, which gained him universal admiration.[1] Next day, which was that appointed for the assembling of the students who had determined to commence the philosophical course, a great multitude presented themselves. For, on the news that a University had been opened at Edinburgh, many young men flocked not only from the city itself, but also from the neighbouring country; all of whom Rollock trained with the greatest assiduity in acquiring a pure Latin style, up till the day appointed for the entrance examination. The most of those who were found on examination unfit to enter on a course of philosophy, were entrusted to the care of Duncan Nairn,[2] a man of great learning and elegance of manners, that he might train them to a more accurate knowledge of the classics for the following year. But Rollock, at the very threshold of their studies, combined discipline and instruction; and as the greater part of the students had been rendered disorderly by the loose discipline of the ordinary schools,[3] he restrained them by the application of severity—which was tempered, however, by his innate mildness of temper; and he so blended with severity and mildness the first principles of religion, that their young and tender minds imbibed imperceptibly at his hands the enlivening dews of piety. For this purpose, on each Saturday, after having exercised his students till noon in disputations, in the afternoon he read aloud Beza's *Quaestiones*, of which, besides, he published a short analysis[4] to assist the memory of the students. And on Sundays, from seven in the morning till half-past eight, when they went to hear sermon, he exercised them regularly in this work; and when they had returned from the afternoon discourse,

1 Rollok began to teach in the town hall of the great lodging—the mansion of the Earl of Arran, which, after the forfeiture of the Hamiltons, had fallen into the hands of the magistrates of Edinburgh.—(*Crawford*, p. 21.)

2 Duncan Nairn was a pupil of Andrew Melville's, when Principal of the University of Glasgow. He took his degree in 1580.—(*M'Crie's Melville*, vol. i. p. 71.) He was appointed to assist Rollok on the 8th November 1583. He died in the beginning of 1586, and was succeeded by Mr Charles Lumsden, afterwards minister of Duddingstone, who translated Rollock's Commentary on Certain Select Psalms.—(*Crawford*, p. 30.)

3 For a graphic picture of the unruly condition which the High School of Edinburgh exhibited about this time, the first chapter of *Dr Stevens's History of the High School* may be consulted. The death of a magistrate at the hands of one of the boys in a "barring out," gives a striking proof of their insubordination. See also *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 349.

4 This must be Rollock's *Prolegomena in primum librum Quaestionum Theodori Bezae*, which occurs first in the list of his works appended to Robertson's Life. But I have not succeeded in procuring or seeing a copy.

after they had repeated the sermons which they had heard in church, he demanded the proofs. Then he diligently trained them in the Catechism of the Palatinate,[1] and explained with great clearness selected texts of Scripture, adding an accurate analysis, in order that they might with the utmost ease attain to a knowledge of the meaning of the Holy Spirit. In short, he omitted nothing which could impress the youthful mind with the knowledge and the fear of God. These labours of his were crowned by God with abundant success.

The attention thus assiduously devoted to the pursuits of religion, in no degree obstructed the study of literature or of philosophy. For during the whole four years of the course, after he had carefully instructed them in the knowledge of Greek, he read aloud to his pupils, on each day of the week, with the utmost minuteness and care, the text of Aristotle, beginning with the *Organum Logicum*, and going through the *Ethica Nicomacheia* and the *Physica*. To these he added also the heads of Arithmetic, instruction in the Anatomy of the human body, on the globe, —giving a careful exposition of the text of John of Holywood[2]—and in Geography; so that the extent of his instructions, and the attainments of his pupils, were both equally surprising. Yet such was the blessing with which God accompanied his labours, that their progress in their various branches of study enabled them to give as intelligent an account in each department, as if they had neglected every thing else to attend to it alone. But what was there that could not be accomplished by unwearied labour in the state of eager earnestness which then possessed the minds of the students!

When the four years of the philosophical curriculum were expired, after a careful examination of the students individually, he bestowed on them the degree of Master of Arts;[3] but first he exhorted them, with the greatest so-

[1] This Catechism was compiled at the desire of Prince Otho Frederic, by Ursin, the friend of Melancthon, and Professor of Divinity at Heidelberg, where he was the colleague of Tremellius. It was originally published in 1563.—(*Clarke's Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, p. 367; *Melchioris Adami Vitae, &c.*, vol. i. p. 255.) We find it keeping its place in the Universities of Scotland for a long period.

[2] Joannes de Sacrobosco, *vulgo*, John Holybush, or Holywood, or Halifax, is of disputed birth-place. Dempster, as is his wont, claims him as a Scotchman, from the Holywood Monastery in Nithsdale; Leland and Camden represent him to have been a native of England, from Halifax. He studied in Paris, and died about the middle of the thirteenth century. His work, *De Sphaera Mundi*, had Ramus in the number of its annotators.

[3] This took place in 1587. Forty-eight students took the degree of Master of Arts,

lemnity, regarding the duties that devolved on them. He reminded them with how much diligence and solicitude he had watched over their welfare,—with what seriousness he had always prepared their minds for that other life which is immortal,—that life to which he had brought them to direct all the thoughts of this present fleeting existence, all their studies, even those of polite literature, all their actions; how seriously he had endeavoured that each day they should more and more be possessed of some feeling of that life, in order that, allured by the foretaste of future bliss and glory, they might sighing await the fulness of joy, even the adoption and redemption of their body. He commended to them, at the same time, the arts, the sciences, and the employments appertaining to this world, and demanded of them that they should immediately enter on some fixed line of life, which should be praiseworthy and honourable, and in which they might advance the interests of either the Church or the State. But so that they should always remember the advice of Paul, and because the time to come is short, that they should use this world as not abusing it; in which, he told them, that Paul has permitted attention to all things appertaining to this life, but only in such a manner, that while they are engaged in them, they should have their citizenship in the heavens; in other words, that while their bodies were exercised about earthly things their affections should be above, earnestly beholding God, his will and glory, and looking for the coming thence of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who shall transform our vile bodies to be like unto his own glorious body. He protested that he had always regarded as worthy of abhorrence that profane and godless race which looked to themselves rather than to God—a race to whose destruction all the blessings of this life will turn. And lastly, he concluded his discourse with a serious exhortation to piety and holiness of life, and to perseverance in that true and pure religion, the truths of which they had learned, and in which they had been brought up from their childhood.

"Among these were many able wits, namely, Mr Charles Ferme, Mr Philip Hislop, Mr Henry Charteris, and Mr Patrick Sands, who were thereafter Regents; and the two last came to be principals of the College." Ferme was elected Regent in January 1589. Among his pupils was John Earl of Gowrie, who took his degree in 1593. In 1598, Ferme was called to the ministry at Frazerburgh, where he died not long after. —(*Crawford, ibid.* pp. 31, 33, 37, 42.) There are three copies of Latin verses, written by Ferme, at the beginning of Rollock's *Analysis Logica in Pauli Epistolam ad Romanos*, Edinburgi, 1594, which are not in the Geneva editions.

After the dismissal of this first class, having married Helen Baron,[1] a lady of choice worth, he renounced Philosophy, and devoted himself entirely to the study of the sacred writings, to which he had ever turned his attention from his earliest years: and Philip Hislop,[2] a young man of probity and learning being appointed to take charge of the next class in his stead, he confined himself to the control of the whole University,[3]

[1] Helen Baron was "daughter to the Laird of Kinnarde, in Fife."—*Crawford, ibid.* p. 50. Her sister Martha was the first wife of Mr Patrick Simson, minister of Stirling.—See *Row's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, Coronis*, p. 436, Wodrow Edit.

[2] Philip Hislop, the son of a sword-dresser,—a burgess of Edinburgh,—was appointed Regent in 1587, after a competition with Ferme, Charteris, and Sands. In 1589 he departed to travel in Germany, and was succeeded by Sands. He returned in 1591, and was reappointed one of the Regents. In 1593 he was called to the ministry at Inveresk, where he died a few years afterwards. He was an excellent mathematician.—(*Crawford, ibid.* pp. 32, 34, 37, 38.) He was succeeded in his Regentship by George Robertson, the biographer of Rollock.

[3] As Rollock was appointed to the office of Principal in 1595, this appears to mean, that whereas before he had executed double duty, as Regent and as Principal, he exercised the latter function exclusively during the interval between the opening of the classes of philosophy, in October 1587, and his entering on his theological course, which, we have already seen, (p. x. note 1) did not take place till after November. This time he apparently devoted to the preparation of the regular course of instruction in divinity. We append Rollock's commission as Principal:—"Letter granted to Mr Robert Rollok, maister of the town's college, 1585. Be it kend till all men be thir pnt. lettres, We William Littill, provost of the burgh of Edr., Andro Sclatter, Williame Naper, William Fairlie, Johne Weilkyne, baillies of the said burgh; Nicoll Uddert, dene of the gild; James Inglis, theasaurer, with the counsall and dekynes of craftes of the samyn; forasmeikle as be contract and appointment maid betwixt the provost, baillies, counsall and dekynes of craftis of the said burgh for the tyme, on the ane pairt, and Mr Robert Rollock, now regent of the colledge founded be the guid toune at the Kirk of Field, on the uther pairt, it was promitted unto him, yat as the said colledge sould increis in policie and learning upoun his guid merit, to avance him to the maist honourable plaice yairof, as in the said contract, of the dait, the fourtene day of September, the year of God, Im. Vc. fourscoir thric yearis, at mair length is contenit; and now we hevin sufficient proof and experience of the said Mr Roberte's lyfe and conversatioun, and of his qualificatioun and learning, as alsua considdering yt he hes withdrawn from the plaice quhairto he wes sufficientlie providit, we ar movit to performe the said promeiss and to schaw ourselffes beneficiall unto him; Thairfoir, and for dyvers uthers guide causes and considerationes moving us, tending to the weill of the said college, to haif maid, creat and constitute, lykas We be thir pnts, makis, creattis and constituttis the said Mr Robert first and principall maister of the said colledge, gevand, grantand, and disponand unto him the said office and place yairof, for all the dayes of his lyfetime, wt all fies, profeittes, dewties and casualties yt pntlie apperteins or hearaftir sall or may belang and pertine yairto, wt specill power, commission and authoritie, the schollars and studentis qlk ar or sall be committit to his chairgh, to bring up and instruct in guid vertew and lettres, as sal be fund be us and our successoures maist expedient for their weill, and for the honor and proffeitt of

in which he neglected nothing that might tend to its advantage. His devoted industry in the discharge of this duty calls for universal admiration. For it was his habit frequently to visit each class, to examine into the industry of each individual, and his progress in his studies; if any disputes or disturbances had arisen, quickly and prudently to settle them, to rouse all to a persevering discharge of duty, and daily to assemble the whole University in the Hall, and in person to conduct the public devotions. Each week he selected a day, on which

this burgh, and of the heall realme; and alswa the regentes placet or to be placet in the said colledge, wt yair classis, studentis and heal body of the samyn colledge, to command and governe acurding to the lawes, statutes and foundation yairof, and to take compt of yair doctrin and conversatioun at all tymes requisite, the offendouris to puneis in yair bodies or guides, or be deprivation or putting furth of yair societie, everie ane according to the qualitie of yair trespass; the plaisin and depryving of the maisters and regentis of ye said colledge remaining in the power of us and our successours as patrouns of the samyne; and generallie, all and sundrie uther things to do, use and exerce yat to the said office is knawin to appertene, or yat ony uyr principall or first Mr of ony colledge wtin the universities of this realme, hes or may do wtin the samyne, to be frillie and peaceblie brukit, wysit and usit be the said Mr Robert, but ony impediment, revocatioune, or again calling; Provideing always yat ye sd Mr Robert sal be subject unto us and our successours as undoubted patrones of the said colledge, to be comptrollit for randring of compt upoun the administratioun of the said office, and to obey and fulfill the comand, resolves, and injunctiounes to be given unto him, be us and our successours for the weill of the said colledge, siklyk, yat it sall not be lesum to him to depart fra the said colledge, leif or renunce his office wtout the speciall guidwill, awyse and consent of us or our said successours had and obtenit yairto; Attour we will, grantes and consentis yat thir pnts ar or sall be nawayes prejudiciall to the remanent heidis contenit in ye sd contract speciallie in yat pairt concerning the sustentatioun of him and his servand, and of his stipend and augmentatioun yairof, at the sicht of the persones namit yairin, or so mony of yame as ar or sal be in lyfe for the tyme. In witness of the qlk thing to thir pntis subscryvit be us the said provost and baillies, and be Mr Alex. Guthrie, comoun clerk of the said burgh, the seill of cause yairof is appendit at Edinburgh, the day of the yeir of God Im. Vc. fourscoir fyve years."

We may also add the following minute of Council extracted from the Council Records, vol. viii. fol. 104, as exhibiting the steps taken to procure for Rollock from the Church, authority to act as Professor of Theology. 27th August 1587: "The qlk day, the foresaid provost, bailzies and counsall, wt ye minstrs and ane nubir of the elders and deykinis of ye Kirk beand q̃ienet, and having q̃sederit yat M. Rt. Rollock, Principall of the Town's Colledge, hes now q̃pleitt ane courss of philosophie in ye said Colledge, and in respect of his lang travell and servyce yrinte of befor, and that he is thocht to be qualifiet for ye p̃fession of theologie: Thairfor, and for uyr causes moving yame, they fand it expedi̇t yat the said M. Rot. sal begyn and teach theologie in ye said College; and ordaines ye same to be p̃ponet to ye Presbitery, yt yr q̃consulȧun and ȧvyse micht be had heirinto and q̃tinewis ye frd order to be tayin in yis mater till this day viij. daves.

to the whole assembled students, he explained some text of Scripture, whence he drew forth salutary advices, entreaties, and threatenings, not darkened with a cloud of words, but from the weight and serious importance of the sentiments, efficacious in softening the minds of the young, and training them to the attainment of perfect holiness. Such was the efficacy of these prelections that they kept the students to their duty more successfully than any severer discipline would have done. When the lecture was over, he next began to ascertain from the censors appointed to mark down the faults of individuals in their classes, those whom they had noted as delinquents during that week. The students so reported he rebuked with the greatest tact; he placed before their eyes the anger of God, and struck terror into their souls from the fear of disgrace; and by these means he succeeded in bringing them to repentance and amendment of life better than if he had inflicted a thousand stripes. For, in many cases, where neither the words of others, nor blows could have occasioned grief or weeping, the youths were so daunted, shaken, and overwhelmed by the thunders of the divine wrath with which he plied them, and with the gentle promises of the gospel with which he soothed them, that sighs and sobs, and sometimes even floods of tears burst from them. He had this distinguishing characteristic, that whether he placed before them the promises of the gospel, or sternly threatened them with the judgments of God, he so insinuated himself into the minds of even the most profligate youth—and such he had sometimes under his care—even although his indignation had glowed most fiercely against him, that he roused warm feelings of affection, and led him voluntarily from error to the path of duty, not so much from fear as from love. It was also his habit each week, or as occasion offered, to assemble the Regents, that at their meetings they might consult and consider, whether any reformation or amendment of the system could be effected. Hence the University acquired a settled state, increasing in purity of discipline, in attention to study, and in completeness of system.

After he had dismissed his class of Philosophy and given himself up wholly to Theology, I can scarcely describe the assiduity, the watchfulness, the laboriousness with which he set about training in Divinity such of his former pupils as had applied their minds to the study of the sacred writings. Sometimes he dictated a logical analysis of the epistles of Paul, or the other books of the sacred Scriptures; sometimes he handled com-

commonplaces; sometimes he examined into the points of the controversy with Popery; and in these pursuits he suffered no part of the day to pass unemployed. He varied his industrious labours with frequent exhortations, in which he stirred up the students to holiness and faithfulness in the discharge of those ministerial labours for which he was preparing them. First of all, he demanded of them not to obtrude themselves on that work while their knowledge was crude and undigested. He earnestly commended zeal, but zeal tempered with prudence; urging that men are nowhere more liable to error than in the matter of zeal, which some measured by their own headlong passions, others, following the temper of the times, by the thoughtless opinions of a fanatical rabble; that, indeed, genuine zeal is to be fostered in the Church, as the fire sent down from heaven, which it is most important ever to keep alive in God's house, but that they should reject adulterated zeal, as fire derived from a source other than heavenly. Again he entreated them, with gravest pertinacity, not to seek their own private ends under the pretext of religion, and not to hunt after a character for candour, by blaming and cavilling at others; he besought them to do nothing with a view to secure the good opinion of men, but all things to secure the approbation of their own conscience. God blessed these unwearied efforts and these boundless labours to such a degree, that in a few years he sent forth to the office of the ministry very many in whom the living image of his own holiness and learning shone forth conspicuous.

To these labours pursued so industriously he added another. Seeing great crowds of people assembling early in the morning in the New[1] Church, and being unwilling that they should sit unemployed, as they were in the habit of doing, such was his anxiety to lead men to tread in the ways of the Lord, that on the Sabbath mornings at seven o'clock—a thing which had never been done in Edinburgh before—he began to preach,[2]

[1] This is that portion of the edifice now called the High Church, which originally formed the choir, and in which, to use the language of Maitland, "is the King's seat, and those of the Magistrates and Lords of Session."—*History of Edinburgh*, p. 183.

[2] The following extract from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, shows that Rollock began to preach before he entered on his theological course. 5th Sept. 1587: "Anent the desyre of the ministrie of Edinburgh, craving, that be ressoun of the leirning and qualificatioun of Mr Rot. Rollock and the good lyking that the congregation of the said toun hes of him, that a commandment be geiven to him to teich everie Sounday in the morning, in the New Kirk, ilk desyre being considerit, It is conclu-

and that with such demonstration of the Spirit and of power, with such mighty force of sentiment, and such grave impressiveness of style, that the minds of the greater part of his hearers were illuminated with a heavenly light, their affections were stirred up, and they were irresistibly impelled to admire the preacher. For he not only excited the ordinary class of hearers, but he affected men of learning to such a degree, that they distinctly felt and acknowledged that new light was thereby shed upon their minds, and that new affections were forming in their hearts.

After he had gone over, in this course of preaching, the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, he wrote his Commentary, which was printed in the year 1590.[1] About the same time, in the University, he publicly prelected to his students each Monday, on the Epistle to the Romans, of which he published a logical analysis, introducing in the course of it a treatise of great excellence on some heads of Christian doctrine, derived from that golden chain of God's blessings, which occurs in the thirtieth verse of the eighth chapter.[2] These two writings having accidentally fallen into the hands of Beza, the celebrated divine, gave him so much delight, that, in a letter to John Johnston,[3] professor of divinity in St Andrews, he could not refrain from breaking out into praises of the author. It seems proper to give here some of his remarks. "At this very time," says he, "it was my good fortune to fall in with a treasure, which, by some unhappy fate, though in the hands of every one else in this place, had till then escaped my notice. A treasure, and that most pre-

dit, and be the haill p'brie consetit, that the said M. Rot. sall teach everie Sounday in the morning in the New Kirk as said is."

1 With regard to the writings of Rollock, here mentioned, the reader is referred to the List of his Works which follows this Life.

2 When Rollock reaches, in his Analytical Commentary, the 30th verse, he thus proceeds:—Quia locus hic insignis est, continetque auream quasi catenam beneficiorum Dei omnium breviter comprehensorum, certoque ordine enumeratorum, sumpto initio a primo, et facto deinceps per media progressu ad ultimum; Ideo ad brevem illam analysin statui adjicere singulorum beneficiorum explicationem paullo fusiorem, simulque capitum nonnullorum doctrinae quae sparsim occurrunt in hac epistola, quaeque ad unum aliquod beneficiorum hic comprehensorum referri possunt. De his itaque dicemus. Then at considerable length he treats of the following subjects:—*De Praescientia et Praedestinatione Dei; Praedestinatio ad mortem, quomodo decretum vocetur; De Vocatione; De Peccato; De Libero Arbitrio; De Foedere Dei; De Fide; De Spe; De Resipiscentia; De Sacramento; De Ecclesia; De Justificatione et Glorificatione; De bonis operibus.* And after this extensive flight, he quietly resumes the analysis of the thirty-first verse.

3 See pp. 7-12 of this volume.

cious, I may well term those remarkable Commentaries of Rollock, a brother worthy of the highest honour, on the Epistle to the Romans, and on that to the Ephesians, both the most celebrated among all the apostolical epistles. For this is my settled opinion of them in my own mind, and I would wish to say it without any appearance of flattery, that I have never read in this kind of interpretation any thing exceeding them in elegance and sound judgment united with brevity; so that after I had perused them, I felt myself compelled by a sense of duty, to render hearty thanks to God, and to congratulate you, or rather the whole Church, on the possession of so great a blessing. I pray God that He may bestow on this man many new gifts from time to time, and happily preserve him, especially at this crisis, when, on account of the fewness of labourers to cultivate fully the vineyard of our God, and the very small number of survivors among the well trained veterans of a former day, Satan and his hosts were already triumphing in their victory over truth." Such are Beza's sentiments.

He afterwards published several Commentaries—for instance, one on certain selected Psalms; on the prophet Daniel; on the gospel of John; on some of the Epistles of Paul, besides an admirable Treatise on Effectual Calling, and a useful Tractate on God's Covenant and the Sacraments, all which are diligently perused by many not only in Scotland, but also in other countries, being no less advantageous to the Church, than honourable to their author.

While Rollock devoted his attention to these important matters, which might fully occupy and give abundant employment to a man of the utmost activity, there was imposed on him the additional necessity of undertaking a charge in the city ministry, on the following occasion. The whole city, by the common consent of the Presbytery and the Council, as well as by the advice of Rollock, had been divided into eight districts, resembling parishes;[1] over each parish there required to be placed a minister to take

[1] The four ministers of Edinburgh, at the time, were Walter Balcanquhall, Robert Bruce, James Balfour, and William Watson. The expression qualifying the word "parishes," (*quasi* parochias,) is necessary, as only in the sense of the superintendence of the ministers, which must have been a matter of mutual arrangement, as sometimes happens in collegiate charges at the present time, could they be so named. There was but one session for the whole, and, properly speaking, Edinburgh then constituted but one parish. Though four ministers were added at this time, any formal division into distinct parishes did not take place till 1625, when the change made in Rollock's

charge of it. The ministers of the city at that time were men of a great reputation indeed, and most watchful and faithful in the discharge of their duty, but they were not numerous enough to supply so many parishes. The eyes of all, accordingly, were turned to Rollock, and he was besought to undertake the pastoral office; they earnestly plead with him to consent himself to undertake the office of the ministry, and the charge of one of the parishes, in order to promote a work so sacred and so necessary as the parochial division; for he was held in the highest esteem and affection by all, both high and low. This esteem and affection were secured by his unfeigned candour in all his transactions, and his remarkable humility, which added a singular grace to his other gifts; for, although he stood almost alone in high endowments, yet, in his own opinion, he was inferior to all.

He had, indeed, formed the fixed resolution of remaining in retirement, and of confining himself to the walls of the University, free from all public employments, in order that he might have the greater freedom to attend exclusively to its interests; yet, contrary to his purpose, he was dragged out to take a share in most public matters, in which he conducted himself with rare and sanctified wisdom. Matters, which from the headlong zeal of the people had been thrown into great confusion, were, by his well-timed and prudent management, reduced into order. It is rare to find prudence accompanying zeal, nor is zeal always the attendant of prudence; yet He who distributes His gifts at his sovereign pleasure had bestowed on Rollock both singularly combined, the salutary effects of which were experienced both by the Church and the State of Scotland.

During the last two years of his life, he was so weighed down with public cares, that his constitution, otherwise by no means strong, began to give way, for he was excruciatingly pained with stone, and he was enfeebled by the weakness of his stomach; and yet it was the will of God

day was regularly authorised, the parishes retaining the names and churches then allotted to the divisions temporarily made.—(*City Records*, vol. cix., p. 51.) An account of the difficulties attendant upon the settlement of the four newly appointed ministers, Robert Rollock, John Hall, Peter Hewat, and George Robertson, will be found in Calderwood, vol. v. pp. 674, or Spottiswood, pp. 450, 451. Principal Rollock's colleague was Hewat, formerly a pupil; they had for their charge the south-west quarter, and preached in the Upper Tolbooth. George Robertson, the biographer of Rollock, had also been a pupil. He was the son of a burgess of Edinburgh, and, as already mentioned, succeeded Philip Hislop as Regent in 1593. He "was the first that published the Theses in print." He did not live long to exercise his functions as a minister of Edinburgh.—*Crawfurd, ibid.* pp. 37, 38, 42.

that during this very time, which was one of the greatest perplexity in public matters, he should succour the State while on the brink of ruin. As far as we can conjecture by human reason, had he not brought speedy help to the Church in its hour of need, it would have been engulfed in a sea of miseries; for, in consequence of an inconsiderate rising of the common people in arms, the rage of the King and the nobles, who had by this time left Edinburgh and gone to Linlithgow,[1] had risen to the greatest fury, and, in consequence, both Church and State were exposed to a great and twofold danger. The dismal and mournful state of things at that time presented a melancholy and fearful aspect. After many had in vain exerted their utmost efforts to settle these tumults, at last there shone forth like a star of tranquil safety, the holy prudence of Rollock, seasoned with piety, modesty, humility; which seized such hold on the royal breast, that the royal resolves against the people of Edinburgh, previously bent on harsh measures, and that, in the belief of many, beyond the reach of reconciliation, were mitigated, and Church and State were rescued from the flames of destruction. But although Rollock's reputation increased in consequence of delivering the Church from its then melancholy condition, I pass over the particulars of these proceedings, lest I should be led into writing a lengthened history of that time, and should make a longer digression than accords with my more immediate object.

Immediately after the public affairs had been quietly settled by Rollock's constant watchfulness and unwearied labours, there followed the General Assembly at Dundee,[2] which the King thought fit to honour with his presence. Rollock was unanimously chosen Moderator of the Assembly. In it, the acts which had been passed at the Assembly of Perth[3] held immediately

[1] It is unnecessary to multiply references to the various accounts of the well known tumult of the 17th of December 1596, here alluded to. Crawfurd (*ibid.*, p. 47) thus mentions the interference of Rollock: "The ministers of Edinburgh were banished; the most eminent ministers fined and confined, and the session removed to Leith, a plot being cunningly contrived, and narrowly missing the performance, for ransacking the town by the border thieves, who were secretly brought into the Links of Leith. None other willing or daring to appear in this breach, grave and wise Henry Nisbet, provost, and godly Mr Rollock, so prevailed with the King, that at length he was reconciled to the town of Edinburgh, and suffered those ministers to return.

[2] For an account of this Assembly, "haldin on the 10th day of May, 1597, in the Little Kirk, Dundee," see *Booke of the Universall Kirke of Scotland*, pp. 450, &c., Ed. 1839; *Calderwood*, vol. v., pp. 628; *Spottiswood*, pp. 443-445; *Row*, pp. 181, &c.; *James Melville's Dairy*, pp. 414, &c.

[3] The Perth Assembly was held on the 1st of March 1597.

before, and which appeared to be rather harsh, received a milder interpretation.[1] The King demands that the Assembly should appoint some individuals to watch on behalf of the Church, that she should receive no injury. A vote is immediately passed to this effect, that there should be named men distinguished for piety and prudence, to whom this duty should be committed. Of these Rollock was one. Their duties were limited, both with regard to time, and to the manner and the principle of their discharging them; and it was resolved that they should render to the subsequent Assembly an account of the manner in which they had discharged their functions.[2] This commission strenuously exert themselves, by well considered measures, and patient industry, to repair, and gradually to restore the Church, miserably shattered by the tumult already mentioned.

In the end of the winter of 1598, he had been prevented by the increasing severity of his disease from stirring out of doors. William Scott, bound to him by the dearest ties of friendship, invites him to remove to his house, that, if possible, by the enjoyment of a more temperate and a purer atmosphere, he might recover his health—an invitation of which he availed himself. At first he was a little better, in consequence of the change of air; but immediately thereafter, the disease recurring with redoubled violence confined him to his bed. When he perceived his breath failing him, and that he was drawing near the gates of death, experiencing a heavenly delight, he imparted intense pleasure to the minds of all who visited him by his sweet conversation, which bore evident marks of its divine source. But this joy was interrupted by universal bursts of lamentation, when they thought of a man of his great usefulness being cut off before he had reached the flower of his life—when they considered that the Church was about to be deprived of a father, and the

1 For a succinct and animated account of the Acts passed at the Perth Assembly, as well as the modifications which they received in the Dundee Assembly, see *M'Crie's Melville*, vol. ii. pp. 8, &c.

2 For the powers and proceedings of this Commission—"the verie needle which drew in the thread of bishops,"—see *uti supra*. The Commission itself may be consulted in the *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 460. The first Commissioners were "Mrs. Alexr. Dowglas, James Nicolson, George Gladstone, Thomas Buchanan, Robert Pont, Robert Rollock, David Lyndsay, Patrick Galloway, John Duncanson, Patrick Scharpe, John Porterfield, James Melville, William Couper, and John Clappertoune, or any seven of them." The number and some of the members were changed at the next Assembly. The account here given of the limited powers of the Commission is not borne out by the terms of its appointment. But the subject is too important and intricate to be discussed in a footnote.

State of the pillar of its safety, and that no one would be left to quiet the tumults in the Church, to reconcile to an offended prince his subjects, or restore the Church to his favour. He arranges his private affairs with his wonted prudence; then he earnestly commends to the care of his friends, particularly to William Scott,[1] of whose remarkable trustworthiness and affection he had already had many proofs, his wife, then with child for the first time, after their marriage had subsisted for eleven years without offspring. Patrick Galloway and David Lindsay[2] having come to see him, he solemnly declared his affection to his prince, which had ever been deep-seated in his heart, and declared that he would die in the same sentiments. He then demands of them to go to the King, and to exhort him to tread till his last breath, with unwavering steps, the path of religion, which he had hitherto pursued with unfaltering course, never to be led astray from it, either by any hope of extending the regal power, or by the crafty artifices of designing men, and to feel and speak of the ministers of the gospel with that reverence which was their due. "For that the ministry

[1] This is Sir William Scot of Elie, Director of the Chancery, to whom by his will he directed his posthumous works to be dedicated, see vol. ii. p. 11. This incident in Rollock's history is thus mentioned by Crawford, (*ibid.*, p. 48.) "Sir William Scot of Elie, one of the Clerks of Session, an entire friend to Mr Rollock, persuaded him to remove to his lodgings over against the long plain-stanes, now belonging to Hopetoun, for the benefit of free air." For Scot's anxiety regarding the publication of the works of Rollock, see *M'Crie's Melville*, vol. ii. p. 422.

[2] Both of these were named in the first commission, along with Rollock. The first had been minister of Perth, (*Calderwood*, vol. iv. p. 11?), and afterwards became one of the ministers in the royal household.—*Calderwood*, vol. v. p. 521; vi. pp. 60, 77, &c., *et saepe; Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ix. p. 360. He died in the year 1624. By his wife Mary, daughter of James Lawson, Knox's successor, he left a son, Sir James Galloway, who was conjunct Secretary of State with the Earl of Stirling, and in 1645 was created a peer by the title of Lord Dunkeld.—(*Wood's Peerage of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 482.) David Lindsay, when minister of Leith, had accompanied James VI. to Norway, where he solemnized the royal nuptials.—(*Calderwood*, vol. v. p. 68.) In 1600 he was nominated Bishop of Ross. We find him taking a part in the history of the Reformed Church of Scotland from its commencement. He was one of the members of the first General Assembly in 1560, was repeatedly moderator of subsequent Assemblies, and possessed great influence both with the Court and his brethren. In the discussion in the Assembly of 1575, on the question of the scriptural lawfulness of bishops, he was appointed to take the affirmative. The worst that could be said of him in the lampoon on the bishops in 1610, preserved both by Calderwood and Row, is *Ros coetus amat.* He was father-in-law to Archbishop Spottiswood, who is in these verses much more severely described; *cum vino Glasgua amores.*—(*Calderwood*, vi. p. 96; *James Melville's Diary*, p. 489; *Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland, saepe.*) For another David Lindsay, then minister of Dundee, afterwards successively bishop of Brechin and Edinburgh, see *Irving's Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. i. p. 318.

of Christ, however humble and mean in human estimation, was glorious in the sight of God; that although ministers were the filth and offscourings of the world, yet thereafter they would shine forth with transcendent glory." Then the ministers of Edinburgh came to visit him, to whom, when seated, he thus addresses himself; "Wearied with the overwhelming weight of my trouble—gasping—I breathe only with the hope of dismissal from this life. Yet I have not so learned, nor have I so taught Christ, as to find no solace for these ills. The cares of the University, my brethren, have, at all times, been most deeply seated in my breast. God is my witness, and my own conscience honestly testifies, how faithfully and assiduously I have managed that trust; you are witnesses what profit has accrued from it to the Church and the State. Soon must the thread of my life be broken, soon must I pass to my Father's house, after which I have so long and so earnestly panted; do not, I beseech you, after I have been removed from among the living, leave the College to grieve too bitterly over its bereavements. Do you—you, I repeat, act the part of a real, not of a stepfather, cherish, and nourish her in your bosom. As to the office of the ministry, it is not long since it was laid upon me, and why I undertook it at all is well known to you. That I have done any thing worthy of approbation in it, I venture not to affirm; yet I will venture so far as to assert that it was my earnest wish to do so. It cannot have escaped your memory, that at the Assembly of Dundee I was chosen with some others to watch over the Church; in which office, as I had before my eyes the glory of God and the safety of the Church miserably shaken by a sudden tumult, I declare that I have no consciousness of blame-worthiness in the discharge of my duty to torment me with the pain of remorse. A whisper has lately reached my ear that a report has gone abroad that my mind is uneasy on account of improper and unjust proceedings in that office.[1] I appeal to God, the

[1] The complaints made against Rollock and the Commission generally will be found in M'Crie's *Melville*. One objection against him which it did not come within Dr M'Crie's plan to notice, was the planting of ministers in Edinburgh. Rollock's allusion to it is omitted by Charteris, but I transcribe Robertson's words bearing upon the subject. The passage occurs between the sentences *Memoriae vestrae.....susarravit quidem*, p. 6 of Charteris' *Narratio*. In pastorum Edinburgenorum numero geminando, duobus praesertim illis qui studiorum tyrociniumsub mea ferula exercuerunt ad munus illud invehendis, cum in iis dona muneri congrua Deumque eorum laboribus propitium perspexerim, tantum abest illius facti me poeniteat, ut in hanc usque horam summo potius perfundar gaudio. P. 21, ed. 1599; p. 16, ed. 1826. "As to the doubling of the number of the ministers of Edinburgh, and especially introducing to

arbiter and the witness of all secret things, before whose tribunal I must soon be summoned, that I have no reason to grieve or vex myself, as in the whole of that business I have confined myself to the lawful object of my appointment. I do not indeed deny, that seeing that the wise Creator of the world has united the Church and the State with a loving and fraternal bond, I have laboured heart and soul that they should mutually assist each other—that the sword of the State should not be drawn to destroy the Church, nor the Church too bitterly inveigh against the King or the State, and that no unnecessary war should be kindled. I have not, however, on the other hand, been so beguiled by a love of peace as not to make a difference between that which is genuine and that which is impure, nor have I been so carried away by my affection for my prince as to incur a single stain on my conscience, even the smallest, to gratify him; but the integrity of my conduct will become more manifest even after I am no more. As for you, unite with one mind to carry on the work of the Lord. What is more inconsistent than for the heralds of peace to be torn asunder by quarrelling and discord! At such a conjuncture as this, when the enemy is lying in wait for our halting, we ought not to dissipate our strength, but peaceably to concentrate it; we ought to aim our weapons at the bosom of the enemy, and not at each other's throats. Discharge the duty which you owe to your prince. Times of rare happiness have fallen to your lot; you have had the good fortune of being ruled over by a prince who has imbibed from his earliest years a feeling of religion,[1] which has grown with his growth. He has walled round religion with sound discipline, he has protected it by his person, and undertaken the patronage of the Church in such a way, as to shew by a thousand proofs that he will not forsake it till life shall forsake him. What, then, you can obtain from him by gentleness, do not vainly attempt to extort against his will. You must seriously beware against hurling the Church from its present pinnacle of prosperity

that office the two who were trained under my own care, seeing that I had every opportunity of thoroughly ascertaining that their qualifications fitted them for the duties of the ministry, and that God smiled upon their labours, I am so far from repenting of my conduct in this mater, that to this very hour it affords me the most lively satisfaction." To the matter here alluded to, reference has already been made in the notes.

[1] In the original Principem nacti estis qui cum lacte religionem hausit. Who was James's nurse? But I have not ventured to represent James as sucking in religion with his *mother's* milk.

into ruin. Paul might have retained about his person the runaway Onesimus, yet he would not do so without the consent of Philemon, lest his kindness should appear to spring from necessity. • It is my deliberate opinion that you should tread in the footsteps of Paul in a matter of so much moment.[1] May God, the Father of Jesus Christ, encircle you with all spiritual blessings, and supply you with resistless might to strengthen you in the active discharge of your important ministry!"

On the evening of the same day, death seemed to be rapidly approaching. When he descried its oncoming, he began a discourse which was not the elaborate work of the human brain, but an emanation from the Spirit of God, and inspired all who stood by with wonder and admiration. The physicians came to his bedside, but declined[2] any attempt to mitigate the force of the disease by medical means, as he had not sufficient natural force to bear them. Accordingly, turning his discourse to God, he says, "Thou, O God, wilt heal me." He went on to pour forth supplications with the devoutest earnestness, praying first that God would be propitiated for his sins by the sacrifice of Christ alone, declaring that he reckoned every thing else, however fair in human eyes, as dung compared with the surpassing excellence of Christ's cross. Then he prayed that God would favour him with a gentle and happy departure from life, that, covered with the wings of mercy, he might leave it in Christ's bosom, and enjoy God's countenance, which he panted to behold and thirsted after. "I," says he, "have seen thee dimly in the glass of the word, bestow on me

[1] Spottiswood's version (p. 454) of this is, "In his sickness being visited by his brethren of the ministry, amongst other pious exhortations, he did earnestly beseech them *to carry themselves more dutifully towards the King, lamenting he should be so ill used by some of their number;* and gave them a most comfortable farewell." It is needless to point out the ingenuity with which Spottiswood gives this turn to Rollock's words. The reader will observe the discrimination with which Rollock addresses the various parties that visit him. Galloway and Lindsay, too prone to Court measures, he indirectly exhorts to faithfulness; the ministers, zealous supporters of the Kirk, he counsels to calmness; and to the President of the Court of Session, inclined, or suspected of an inclination to Popery, he recommends the use of his influence and power in the behalf of true religion.

[2] In the original, *renuerunt;* and so in Robertson—giving a striking proof of the weakness to which Rollock was reduced, when his strength was unable to stand the ordinary medical means for alleviating his pain. This is evident also from, "ad Deum *itaque,*" which follows—as the physicians could do nothing for him, he turned to God. Melchior Adam, overlooking this, substitutes *tentabant* for *renuerunt;* which the learned editor of the Bannatyne Edition seems to favour by printing it within brackets, as a preferable reading.

now the enjoyment of thy face—oh! how long and earnestly desired." On the resurrection and eternal life, he uttered words breathing of immortality. He took the bystanders individually by the hand and blessed them with the utmost kindliness and seriousness, while he mingled his blessing with advice wisely adapted to each one's disposition and duties. During that night he rested better than had been hoped. On the following day the magistrates of the city and several of the Judges visit him. When they were seated near his bed he thus addressed them. "As far as I am able to judge, I am about to finish the task of life, to lay aside this corruptible garment of the body, to pass hence to my Father's house. Nor is this a bitter thought to me; for I have often thirsted for the last day of my life. The University has always been my greatest source of anxiety; now that I am about to leave it, if I were to conceal who in my opinion should succeed me and preside over it, I should incur the reproach of careless indifference. Why need you traverse other countries, and assume to this charge a foreigner, who must in the meantime be ignorant of the system of instruction and discipline pursued in our University? You have at home one endowed with high gifts and already trained for this office, Henry Charteris,[1] who, under my instruction, has drunk deep of learning, and has for more than ten years discharged the office of Professor of Philosophy with high distinction. Place him at the helm of the University; you will see God smiling on him and blessing his labours. From your official situation you are bound to be the Maecenases and patrons of the University; I beseech you, let a deeper care for it than ever possess your minds. What shall I say to you of my domestic concerns? I leave behind my wife in a state of pregnancy. One thing I entreat of you beyond all others; let her feel that the love with which you ever cherished me while I was alive has not been dried up by my death. Never have I been free from bad health, day or night; and while I was shaken by the disquietments of so much distress, she has ever cherished and nursed me with a

[1] Henry Charteris, son of a worthy citizen and magistrate of Edinburgh, a printer of no small usefulness and celebrity in his day, was, as we have seen, educated under Rollock. He was appointed Regent in 1589, and, on the death of Rollock, Principal, on the 14th Feb. 1599. In 1620 he resigned, and accepted a call to the ministry in North Leith. In 1627 he was appointed Professor of Divinity, an office which, on his resignation, had been disjoined from the Principalship. He died in 1629.—(*Crawford, ibid.*) His character seems to have been that of an amiable but weak man, studious and learned, but without much vigour of intellect.

gentle hand. I declare frankly, that from all that I have received for my labours, I have not accumulated a single penny; for these earthly matters never gave me either pleasure or anxiety. I need not, however, waste more words on this subject; I entreat you let not your affection to me halt towards her."[1] The magistrates and the judges solemnly promised that they would act as he desired. He next exhorted the Professors of Philosophy[2] to persevere in their duty, and pay due respect to his successor. This being done, he exclaims in a tone of singular piety: "Thanks be to God! memory, sight, hearing, and all my other senses, are as lively and vigorous as ever they were; but my heart is away from this world—and, wherefore, Lord Jesus, shouldest thou not alone enjoy my heart, since thou alone hast a right to it? During my whole life I have striven for this end, to dedicate and consecrate it to thee; I pray thee, take it to thyself, that it may dwell with thee." After he had spoken thus, a gentle sleep steals over him, and when awakened from it, he burns with an intense desire to depart and be with the Lord. "Come," he says, "Lord Jesus, break the cord of this frail life; hasten, Lord, and do not tarry. Jesus has redeemed me, not to indulge me with this fading life, but with that which shall never end. Come, Jesus, bestow on me the life for which thou hast ransomed me." His friends standing around lament, with tears and wailing, the bereavement which they should suffer from his death; but he addressed them thus: "I have gone through all the stages of this life: I have reached the last; why should I go back? I shall finish this stage happily, through thy favour, Lord Jesus. Conduct me to that glory, which I have only seen as through a glass darkly; my prayer is, that I may take up my abode with thee." When the bystanders told him that the next

[1] The emoluments of Rollock's office were by no means great; but the city did not neglect his wife and his posthumous daughter Jean. To the widow, in 1600, they allowed a pension of 100 merks for five years. The family probably fell into difficulties after this; for we find the Town Council allowing, in 1611, the sum of 100 merks for her education and maintenance, to be paid yearly till her marriage, to which they added the sum of 1000 merks as her portion. She was subsequently married to Mr Robert Balcanquhall, (son of Walter Balcanquhall, and brother to the Dean of Rochester,) whom we find minister of Tranent in 1622.—(*Crawford, ibid.*)

[2] The Professors at the time were Henry Charteris; William Craig, (son of John Craig, one of the King's ministers,) afterwards Professor of Divinity at Saumur; John Adamson, afterwards minister at North Berwick; James Knox, afterwards minister at Kelso. And John Ray was Professor of Humanity, an office which he resigned in 1606 for the rectorship of the High School.—(*Crawford, ibid.; Stevens's History of the High School*, p. 47.)

day was the Sabbath, he broke out into these words; "May this Sabbath, Lord, begin my eternal Sabbath! may my eternal Sabbath receive its hallowed commencement from thy Sabbath!"

He enjoyed a period of tolerable repose till about midnight, which was then broken by a paroxysm of his disease, and thinking that his last hour was come, he sent for Mr Walter Balcanquall. When he came in he thus accosts him; "As you have longest discharged the pastoral office in Edinburgh,[1] and as our friendship is not of yesterday, I have caused you to be sent for, that I might testify the reverence with which, from the cradle, I have regarded the ministry of Christ. For my own part, I have, so far as I have been enabled by my humble gifts, poured forth my supplications into God's bosom; do you now engage in prayer on my behalf; I shall follow you with the desires of my heart; only do not pray for a prolongation of my life." All present fell upon their knees, and Balcanquall engaged in prayer. Among other petitions, he prayed that God would grant the longer services of so distinguished a man, since he was so much required for the welfare both of the Church and of the State. While he is thus praying, he is interrupted by Rollock,[2] who says; "I have had more than enough of this life—one thing I alone desire, the heavenly life that is now hidden with God in Christ." When the prayer was done, he broke forth into praises of the preached word. "The word," says he, "is the power of God to salvation—the wisdom, the life of God; nor has any one salvation without the word. Believe me, it is not a thing of small importance to preach the word; it is not the same thing as to expound the text of Plato or Aristotle, or to set forth a harangue, bedaubed with the colours and allurements of rhetoric. The preaching of the word depends on holiness, humility, and the efficacious demonstration of the Spirit. God knows how highly I have ever esteemed it." Then he returns to prayer. "Come," says he, "Lord Jesus, break the nerves of these eyes, give me others; I desire to be freed, and to be with thee; hasten to come, Lord Jesus, do not tarry. Depart from me, thou paltry life; let that better life, even God's, enter in thy stead. Lord Jesus introduce thy hand into this body, and take my soul to thyself."

[1] Mr Walter Balcanquhall had all along been a warm promoter of the University. As early as 1574, James Melville (*Diary*, p. 52) finds him "ane honest, upright-harted young man, latlie enterit to that ministerie of Edinbruche."

[2] The reader will call to remembrance a similar incident in the death-scene of Luther.

He remained quiet for a considerable time in the morning, but at length he broke silence with these words; "Come, Lord Jesus, tarry not; I am wearied with my loathing of day and night; come, Lord Jesus, that I may come to thee. O sweet, blessed, happy divorce from this life! Come, Lord, my sweet delight, free this soul, that it may enjoy its union unto thee." Then one of the bystanders says; "Be not anxious, thy Lord makes haste." "That is glad tidings," he replied; "I would that ye were to bury me to-morrow." Then says another, "Happy is the soul that is so near to the Lord as yours is." But he answered: "In me there is nothing which I would not count as dung that I may win Christ: Christ is the sole ground of my comfort: all my righteousness is as filthy rags." Having been asked if he wished to converse with a minister, he replied, that he would not give them the trouble, as they were preparing for preaching. "Permit me," says he, "parrot-like to babble incoherent words to my Lord." Being told that divine service had begun, "Give me," he says, "O Lord, to see those things which others are now hearing of." At Sabbath-morn one thus addresses him; "During your whole life, you have advanced the glory of God with unwearied labour and ceaseless industry:" to which he says; "My only ground for glorying is in the mercy of God—all other things I reckon as loss." Then a gentle slumber steals on him, and lasts till the evening. When he awoke, to the President of the Court of Session,[1] who was the Lord Provost of Edinburgh for that year, and who then paid him a visit, he says:—"I have anxiously commended the University to the care of the magistrates, over whom you, Sir, preside; do you also take it under your patronage. Let it find, I beseech you, in you a father and a patron. Do not, I entreat you, withhold from the Church the assistance which you can render her, from the high rank which you have in the State, and the distinguished position with which God has honoured you; exert all your powers and strength to establish her; strive with your utmost endeavours to obtain

[1] This was Alexander Seton, born about the same year as Rollock. He studied abroad, and, in 1588, was appointed an Ordinary Lord of Session, under the name of Lord Urquhart. In 1593, he was nominated Lord President. He was successively created a peer by the title of Lord Fyvie, Chancellor, and Earl of Dunfermline. He died in 1622. Though one of the detested Octavians, and strongly suspected of Popish leanings, he was Lord Provost of Edinburgh for ten successive years, from 1598 to 1607.—(*Maitland's History of Edinburgh*, p. 224; *Brunton and Haig's Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice*, pp. 198, &c.)

safety in Christ Jesus. All earthly things are fleeting, and will soon fade away; may God heap on you, your wife, and all your family, the riches of his own blessing!" That same night he dropped the following expressions:—"In a sick body I have a calm mind. Death, sin, and Satan terrify me not; they have no dominion over me; yet the burden of disease so weighs me down, that my surviving so long is far beyond all expectation. The Lord is crushing me as in the mortar of affliction, that he may form me for his own kingdom."

On the 7th of February he says; "It may appear astonishing, seeing that I am racked so cruelly with disease, that my life is protracted so long; but I shall patiently wait the good pleasure of the Lord. I will not repine; let him do with me as he pleases, I will not argue with him. What is man, that he should dare to dispute with God? Nay, should he thrust me into hell, obedience, not remonstrance, is my duty. Have mercy on me, O Lord, for Christ Jesus' sake. I am not ashamed to confess that I never attained so high a point in the knowledge of God as by means of this illness. O how dreadful to fall into the hands of the Lord! But mercy is laid up for me in Christ. Why art thou sad, O my soul? Why art thou cast down in me? Thou shalt soon see His face, and enjoy ravishing communion with Him." When it was drawing towards evening he says; "I experience the truth of the sixth Psalm;" quoting some words from it; "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak; O Lord heal me, for my bones are vexed." After a short interval, he again begins; "Christ will carry my yoke, and I shall follow, supported by his grace." When the bystanders, on perceiving him writhing under the agonies of his trouble, were weeping and lamenting, he rebuked them. "Weep not for me," he says, "but for your own sins; as no one is free from sin, so no one but has cause to weep. As for me, I shall soon behold the fulfilment and consummation of all things." In the evening one of his relations visited him, and excited his indignation by his impious remarks, importuning him when received into heaven to mediate for him and his other friends. When he heard this, burning with wrath, he suddenly raises his body, weak and almost breathless though he was: "I," says he, "renounce that office; Christ is the only mediator." A short time after, his elder brother came to see him. "Do you," he said, "rebuke our relation; warn him to betake himself to another mode of life, otherwise there is no safety for him, but sure destruction."

From this time he refused all the nourishment that was offered to him. "I shall not eat nor drink," says he, "till I shall be removed to the kingdom of heaven." He committed the charge of his funeral to William Little and William Scott, his most stedfast friends, whose unwavering affection he extolled with frequent praises. "Why," says he, "should I not care for this body, since it is to be glorified, and made like unto Christ's glorious body?" Looking on his hands he exclaimed, "these very hands shall glow with resplendent glory." After this he spoke in lower tones and in shorter sentences, yet his expressions were forcible and lively, sweetly savouring of the joys of heaven. He then fell into a gentle slumber, during which, after some time, he tranquilly and pleasantly gave up his soul to his Creator and Redeemer. The expression of his countenance was not effaced by death, and his colour remained in a considerable degree.

He died on the ninth day of February, old style, as was then in use,[1] having just completed the forty-third year of his age. He was of moderate height, of ruddy complexion mixed with a certain degree of whiteness, of reddish hair, of features equally formed to express kindliness and seriousness. His health was not strong, so that it is astonishing that he could have borne up under a life so laborious as his. He was of singular piety, holiness and integrity of life, which commanded the unwilling admiration and praises even of the enemies of the truth. In his calling he was most faithful and watchful, unceasing in his studies and meditations, shrinking from rest more than is easily credible. Yet the fact is attested by the number of learned and choice Annotations published by him in so few years, and that while his body was weakened by disease and sickness. He was an ardent lover of peace, most patient under wrongs, and ready to forgive. In estimating the sayings or doings of others, he was in the highest degree just and moderate, and, differently from other men, he was always inclined, so far as he possibly could, to give a favourable interpretation to what others said or did. In ordinary society and in the intercourse of his friends, he was particularly courteous and pleasant, faithful in his counsels, affable and gentle in his conversation. In

[1] The change to the new style took place in the very next year, 1600, which it was publickly enacted should commence with the 1st of January, instead of the 25th of March, as had been the practice previously. England did not adopt this mode of computing time till 1752.

matters of serious business he was grave and prudent—as he made clear to all in his management of the public offices of the Church—most ready in giving advice to others. And these distinguished excellencies were adorned by a wonderful humility, through which, though he excelled almost all men in many surpassing qualities, yet he did not disdain even the lowest, but rather placed himself below all. To this humility were added an incredible moderation and command of temper, so that, although in his own hearing he was publicly and undeservedly attacked by the slanderous calumnies of many, he was never heard to reproach them in turn, or to retaliate, or say a single word against his slanderers; but, trusting in the testimony of a good conscience, he remained silent. Only once did he defend himself in a public address,[1] and that with such moderation, that he upbraided none, took from no man's reputation, made no insinuations, accused no one, but only maintained his own integrity in the presence of God and the Church. He pursued his studies in common with his intimate friends, and he affirmed that this mode of acquiring learning had often been productive of good results to him. But on this theme I shall dilate no more, though much more might and perhaps ought to have been said; were it not that his virtues are conspicuously known, and that praise in moderate measure suits best the modest genius of the man.

I should hardly be believed if I were to tell the lamentations and the profound grief which the report of his death occasioned through the whole of this city and the country. The Town-Council, the University, the burgesses, the lower orders, mourned as if each had suffered a family bereavement, and his funeral was attended with a greater throng than Edinburgh had been wont to see on similar occasions. For the whole population, of the highest and of the lowest ranks, of all ages and sexes, flocked in crowds to pay due honour to his memory.

[1] This, probably, alludes to Rollock's opening address, or exhortation, at the opening of the General Assembly held at Dundee on the 7th of March 1598.—(*Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 464.)

LIST OF WORKS BY PRINCIPAL ROLLOCK.

At the end of Robertson's *Narratio* is appended the following

CATALOGUS OPERUM ROBERTI ROLLOCI, quorum aliqua excusa, alia mox excudenda.

EXCUSA.

Prolegomena in primum librum Quaestionum Theodori Bezae.[1]

Commentarius in Pauli Epist. ad Ephes.

Commentarius in Danielem Prophetam.

Analysis Logica in Pauli Epist. ad Rom.

Tractatus de foedere Dei, et de Sacramentis.

Tractatus brevis de Providentia Dei.[2]

Tractatus de efficaci Vocatione.

Commentarius in utramqu; Pauli Epist. ad Thessalonicenses, et ad Philemonem.

Commentarius in quindecim selectos Psalmos.

Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Joannem.

Conciones aliquot sermone vernaculo editae.[3]

MOX EXCUDENDA.

Cōment. in Epist. ad Colossenses.

Analysis Logica in Epist. ad Galatas.

Analysis Logica in Epist. ad Hebraeos.[4]

[1] See p. lxv. note 4.

[2] Can this be the Tractate *De Aeterna Mentis Divinae*, &c., printed at the end of this volume?

[3] The Sermons, then, reprinted in this volume, were published before Robertson's life of Rollock.

[4] This volume contains the *Tractatus de Justificatione* mentioned below, and which it was probably intended at first to publish separately.

Comment. in duo capita prioris Epist. Petri.[1]

Tractatus de Justificatione.

Tractatus de Excommunicatione.[2]

I append a fuller account of such Editions of Rollock's works as I have had an opportunity of examining.

I.

1. In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios Roberti Rolloci Scoti, Ministri Iesu Christi in Ecclesia Edinburgensi, Commentarius. Edinburgi. Excudebat Robertus Walde-grave. Anno Dom. 1590.

4to. With a Dedication to James VI. dated 1st October 1590. This Edition contains a brief Argument and an Index. It is printed in italics throughout, and is a favourable specimen of typography. 290 pp. exclusive of Index.

2. In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios Roberti Rolloci Scoti, Ministri Iesu Christi Ecclesiae Edinburgensis Ministri, Commentarius. Altera Editio, cui accesserunt NOTAE, quae Epistolae et Commentarii methodum per brevem quandam Synopsin ostendunt. Genevae. Apud Franciscum le Preux. 1593.

8vo. The Index of this Edition is different from that of Edinburgh, and it has marginal notes pointing out the substance of the text. 421 pp. exclusive of Index.

II.

In Librum Danielis Prophetae Roberti Rolloci Scoti, Ministri Iesu

[1] This is said by Watt in his Bibliotheca Britannica to have been published in London in 1603, 8vo.

[2] The same authority attributes to this, "London, 1604." I have seen neither, nor have I seen *Commentarius in Epistolas ad Corinthios*, said to be published at Herborn of Nassau, in 1600. It is difficult to imagine how such a work could have reached a place so distant in so short a time after Rollock's death. It need not be said that a work entitled "Episcopal Government instituted by Christ, and confirmed by Scripture and Reason," London, 1641, 4to, assigned by Dr Watt to our Rollock, is not by him. Is it by the Bishop of Dunkeld?

Christi in Ecclesia Edinburgensi Commentarius, Edinburgi. Excudebat Robertus Walde-grave Typographus Regiae Majestatis: 1591. Cum Privilegio Regali.

4to. The Dedication to King James and Queen Ann is dated 1st October 1591. It has an Argument and Index. 480 pp. exclusive of Index. I have noted, but cannot retrace my authority, that it was reprinted at St Andrews in 1594. "Dr M'Crie, who appeared to have studied Rollock with deep interest and profit, gave to his Exposition on Daniel the palm of his expository works."—(*Letter from Reverend Charles Bridges to the Editor.*)

III.

1. Analysis Dialectica Roberti Rolloci, Scoti, ministri Iesu Christi in Ecclesia Edinburgensi, in Pauli Apostoli Epistolam ad Romanos. Respersa est Analysis Doctrinae Theologicae quorundum capitum, quae in ea Epistola sparsim reperiuntur, explicatione quadam brevi ac dilucida. Edinburgi. Excudebat Robertus Walde-grave Typographus Regius. 1594. Cum Privilegio Regali.

8vo. 316 pp. At the end are appended four explanatory rules (*quasi regulae*) on the subject of Free Will, which, in the subsequent editions, are incorporated in the body of the work itself. The Dedication of the work—Juvenibus optimae spei, nobilitate generis et morum probitate, cum primis conspicuis, Joanni Ruthveniae, Comiti Gaureae, Domino Ruthvenio, &c. et Colino Campbello, Domino Glenurqhuae, discipulis suis carissimis—is dated Id. November 1593. This Edition has three copies of verses by Ferme (see p. lxvi, note 3,) one to Rollock, another to the reader, and the third "ad Joannem Ruthvenum et Colinum Campbellum." All the Editions have an Argument—that of 1608, a copious Index.

2. In Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos Roberti Rolloci Scoti, Edinburgensis Ecclesiae Ministri, Commentarius Analytica methodo conscriptus. Genevae. 1596.

3. In Epistolam . . . . conscriptus. Altera Editio emendatior et indice auctior. Apud Jacobum Stoer, 1608.

8vo. 467 pp.

IV.

Quaestiones et Responsiones aliquot de Foederi Dei, deque Sacramento quod foederis Dei Sigillum est. In gratiam rudiorum, collectae per Robertum Rollocum Scotum. Edinburgi. Excudebat Henricus Charteris. 1596. Cum Privilegio Regali.

8vo. Sig. D. 3. Dedicated to William Little. See p. lxii, note 3. In the inventory of the stock of the printer, Henry Charteris, (see p. lxxxi. note 1,) who died in the same year as Rollock, 1599, we find:—Item, four hundreth xxxiij Rollocus de Federe at js vid. the pece, summa xxxxij. £. ix. s. vi. d.—(*Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 241.)

V.

Tractatus de Efficaci Vocatione.[1] 1597.

VI.

1. In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Thessalonicenses priorem Commentarius Roberti Rolloci, Scoti, ministri Iesu Christi in Ecclesia Edinburgensi. Edinburgi. Excudebat Robertus Walde-grave, Typographus Regius. Anno Dom. 1598. Cum Privilegio Regio.[2]

[1] Holland's Translation, 1608.

Of each of the works reprinted in this edition, sufficient information is given in its proper place.

[2] A translation of this was published at Edinburgh in 1606, by Robert Charteris, printer to the King, with the following title. Lectures upon the First and Second Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians. Preached by that Faithful Servant of God, M. Robert Rollock, sometyme Minister of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and Rector of the Colledge of Edinburgh.

4to. First Epistle, 246 pp.; Second, 173 pp. It wants Rollock's Dedications to Buchanan and Scot, and is dedicated to Scot of Elie by H. C. and W. A., whose names occur so often in connection with the posthumous works of our author. H. C. is, beyond doubt, Henry Charteris, of whom notice has been already taken. There is little doubt that W. A. represents William Arthur, a pupil of Rollock's who was settled as one of the ministers of St Cuthberts, in 1607. He died, 1654.—(*Sime's History of the Church and Parish of St Cuthberts*, pp. 41, 64.)

8vo. For the Dedication, see p. lxi. note 1. In the same volume occurs the Commentary on the Second Epistle, with the same title, save that for *priorem*, we have *posteriorem*. . . . . Adjecta est ejusdem Autheris in Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Philemonem Analysis Logica The Dedication, which is to Scot of Elie, bears the same date as that to Buchanan. A general argument is prefixed, as well as a special Argument to each chapter. 374 pp.

2. Roberti Rolloci Scoti in utramq.. Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Thessalonicenses Commentarius; Necnon ejusdem Authoris Analysis Epistolae Pauli ad Philemonem. Additae sunt necessariae quaedam Notae per Joannem Piscatorem, Professorem sacr. literarum in illustri schola Nassovica-Herbornensi. Herbornae Nassoviorum. Ex officina Christophori Corvini. CIↃ.IↃCI.

8vo. 426 pp. The avowed object of the Notes is to correct errors in doctrine. With some useful remarks, principally verbal, Piscator inculcates his own peculiar tenets on the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and the nature of justification.

VII.

In Selectos aliquot Psalmos Davidis, Roberti Rolloci Scoti, Ecclesiae Edinburgensis Ministri, Commentarius, Nunc primum in lucem Editus.. Genevae apud Franciscum le Preux. 1599.[1]

8vo. There is no Preface, but from a Notice from the printer we infer

[1] Translated, with the following title. An Exposition upon some Select Psalmes of David, conteining great Store of most Excellent and Comfortable Doctrine and Instruction for all those that (under the burthen of Sinne) thirst for Communion in Christ Jesus. Written by that Faithful Servant of God, M. Robert Rollock, sometime Pastour in the Church of Edinburgh, and Translated out of Latine into English by C. L., Minister of the Gospell of Christ at Duddingstoun. The number of the Psalmes are set down in the Page following. Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave, Printer to the King's Majestie. 1600. Cum Privilegio Regio.

8vo. The translation is dedicated to "The Right Honorable Grave and Godlie Matrone, Lilias Gilbert, Spouse of M. John Preston of Fenton Barnes, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and Collector-General of Scotland." 503 pp. "This work exhibits admirable specimens of translations of fifteen Psalms, probably from the original, (for Lumisden, who was son-in-law to the famous Robert Pont, was a superior scholar); but when other parts of the Scripture are quoted, the translator generally adheres to the Geneva Bible."—(*Principal Lee's Memorial*, p. 25.)

that the MS. had been forwarded to Geneva for publication. A letter prefixed to Rollock's Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians, renders it probable that Simon Goulart was the Editor. (See vol. ii. p. vi.) Remarks from some of the Fathers are prefixed by the printer. The Psalms commented on are, the 3, 6, 16, 23, 32, 39, 42, 49, 51, 62, 65, 84, 116, 130, 137. The work contains brief arguments and marginal notes indicative of the contents. 365 pp.

VIII.

In Evangelium secundum Ioannem Commentarius. 1599.[1]

IX.

Certaine Sermones, &c. 1599.[2] Reprinted in this volume.

X.

Certaine Sermons, &c. 1634. Reprinted in this volume.

XI.

Commentarius D. Roberti Rolloci, ministri Ecclesiae et Rectoris Academiae Edinburgensis, in Epistolam Pauli ad Colossenses. Cum indice rerum, sententiarum et observationum dignissimarum copioso. Edinburgi, excudebat Robertus Walde-grave, Typographus Regius. Ann. Dom. 1600. Cum Privilegio Regio.[3]

[1] Lectures upon the History, &c. 1616. See vol. ii.
Five-and Twentie Lectures, &c. 1619. See vol. ii. p. xv.

[2] This and all that follow are posthumous.

[3] Lectvris vpon the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians. Preached by that faithfvll seruant of God, Maister Robert Rollok, sometime Rector of the Vniuersitie of Edenburgh. At London. Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, dwelling in Pater-Noster Row, ouer against the sign of the Checken. 16
4to, 442 pp.

8vo. Dedicated to Scot of Elie, and edited by Henry Charteris. The volume contains eight elegiac poems on Rollock's death, and the letter from Goulart, mentioned in the Preface to our second volume, pp. v., &c. 381 pp.

2. Reprinted at Geneva in 1602.

XII.

1. Analysis Logica in Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Galatas, Authore D. Roberto Rolloco, Scoto, Ministro Iesu Christi et Rectore Academiae Edinburgensis. Excudebat Felix Kyngstonus, impensis Edmundi Weaver. 1602.

8vo. Edited by Charteris, and dedicated to Scot of Elie. Dedication dated, Idibus Julii, CIↃIↃCII. 119 pp.

2. Reprinted at Geneva. Excudebat Jacobus Stoer. MDCIII.

8vo. 179 pp.

XIII.

Analysis Logica in Epistolam ad Hebraeos, Authore D. Roberto Rolloco, Scoto, Ministro Iesu Christi, et Rectore Academiae Edinburgensis. Accessit brevis et utilis Tractatus de Justificatione, eodem authore. Edinburgi, excudebat Robertus Charteris, Typographus Regis. An. Dom. MDCV. Cum Privilegio Regio.

8vo, 253 pp. Rollock had gone on to the sixth verse of the eleventh chapter, when he requested Charteris to finish the work; which he did. It is edited by Charteris, and dedicated to Scot of Elie. It has prefixed two copies of verses: one by John Ray, see p. lxxxii. note 2.

TRACTATVS

DE VOCATI-

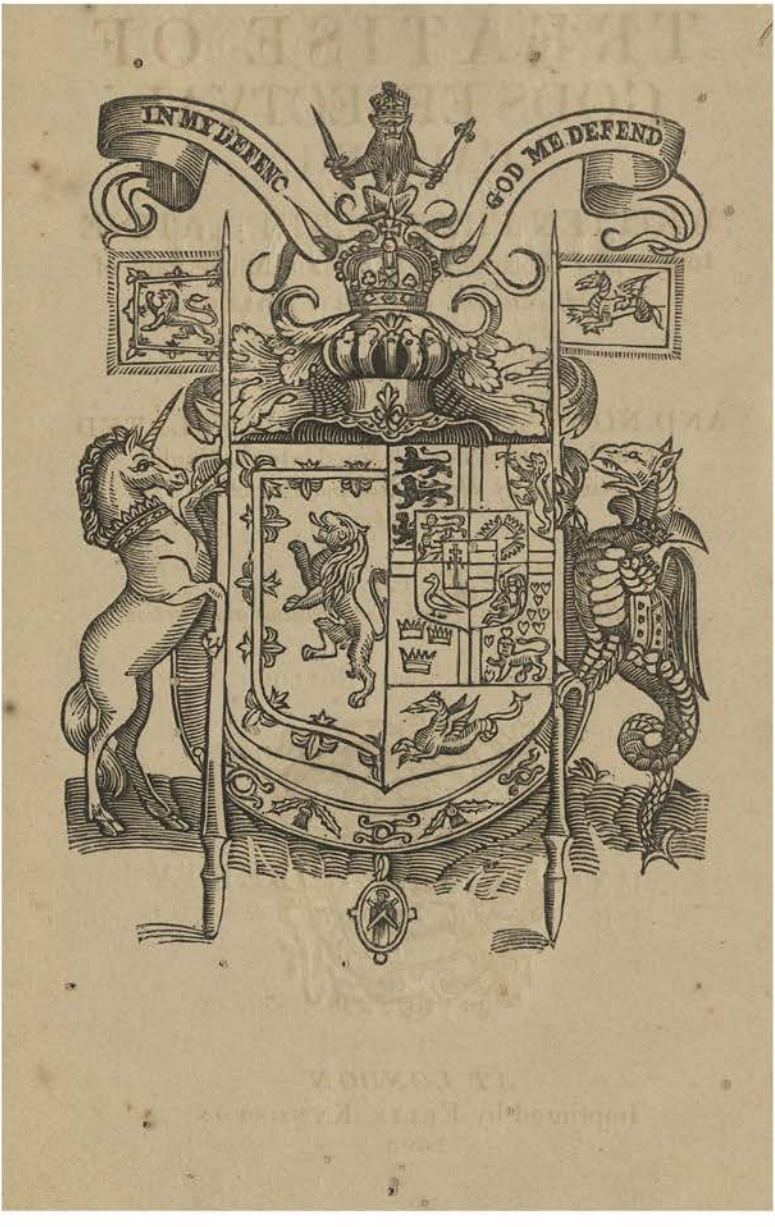
ONE EFFICACI, QVAE
inter locos Theologiæ communiſ-
ſimos recenſetur, deq; locis ſpecialiori-
bus, qui ſub vocatione com-
prehenduntur.

VT DOCTRINA DE VOCATIO-
ne illuſtrior evaderet, adjectæ ſunt quę-
ſtiones aliquot de modis illis, quibus Deo vi-
ſum eſt jam inde à principio, homini verbum vtriuſq;
fœderis ſui, revelare.

Authore ROBERTO ROLLOCO *Scoto.*

EDINBVRGI
EXCVDEBAT ROBERTVS
Walde-graue Typographus Regius.
ANNO 1597.

Cum privilegio Regio.


IN MY DEFENC
GOD ME DEFEND

A TREATISE OF GODS EFFECTVAL CALLING:

WRITTEN FIRST IN THE LATINE tongue, by the reuerend and faithfull ſeruant of *Chriſt, Maiſter* ROBERT ROLLOCK, Preacher of Gods word in *Edenburgh.*

AND NOW FAITHFVLLY TRANSLATED for the benefite of the vnlearned, into the Engliſh tongue, by *Henry Holland*, Preacher *in London.*

2. PET. 1. 10.

Giue diligent heede to make your calling and election ſure.

AT LONDON
Imprinted by FELIX KYNGSTON
1603.

IN DEFENCE

THE

AUTHOR'S EPISTLE

TO

THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE,

JAMES THE SIXTH,

NOW BY GOD'S FREE MERCY, KING OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &C., GRACE AND PEACE BY JESUS CHRIST.

AFTER some advising with myself, in whose name I should publish this little Work, your Majesty, my most dread Sovereign, above all others, came first into my mind, for that you may justly challenge as your own right the first-fruits of my labours, of what kind soever they be. Having then, heretofore, consecrated the first-fruits of the first kind of my writings unto your Highness, I thought it meet also, that this second kind of Meditations in the common-places of divinity should be presented to the same, your Majesty. From this purpose although many things feared me, among which your Princely Majesty, to speak as the truth is, adorned with rare knowledge of divine things, did most occupy my mind—your Majesty, I say, the greatness whereof, my own meanness, and the slenderness of this Work, were not able to endure; yet when I recounted with myself how great your courtesy and

gentleness was always accustomed to be toward all men, but especially towards myself, I determined rather to incur some suspicion of overmuch boldness, than not to give testimony of my duty, and of my most humble devotion towards your Majesty, even by the dedication of this small Work of mine, how mean soever it be. Respect, therefore, most noble King, not so much this small Work, as the testimony of a mind most dutifully affected towards your Majesty in the Lord, and as my duty requireth, most ready, according to my small ability, with all lowliness, to do your Majesty most humble service in any thing that I can during life. But what is there wherein I can do your Majesty better service than in striving with my God, with continual and earnest prayers, that through his grace and singular goodness, you may for ever maintain, continue, and make good that excellent opinion which you have, not undeservedly, already gotten in foreign nations amongst such men as are most eminent in this our age, both for learning and godliness? That so you may have a happy reign in this present life, and in that other life may be a fellow-heir of that heavenly kingdom,—in comparison of the glory of which kingdom,—that I may speak this by the way—I myself, a good while since, have heard you despise all these earthly kingdoms, at such time as amongst other matters, in a certain familiar conference, where there were but a few present, you discoursed of many things learnedly,—I speak the truth to the glory of God, without any flattery,—and godlily, and delightfully, concerning Christ, and of praying to Him only, and not to Angels, or Saints departed out of this life;—you may, I say, be a fellow-heir together with your Head, even that Most High King, Lord and Heir of all things, Jesus Christ, whose grace, mercy, and power defend and protect you, both in body and soul, from all your enemies, bodily and ghostly, for evermore.

Your Majesty's most dutiful Servant,

ROBERT ROLLOCK.

[Dated in the original Latin: Edinburgi: 5. Id. Jany. 1597.]

THE PRINTER TO THE READER.[1]

WHILE engaged in printing this Treatise of Mr Robert Rollock on "Effectual Calling," I chanced to fall in with a letter from Mr Theodore Beza, sent to Scotland to Mr John Johnston,[2] containing a recommendation of certain works published by the same author, and printed by me—I mean his "Commentaries on the Epistle to the Ephesians," and his "Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans." Accordingly, I have deemed it right to prefix the letter of Beza to this work, in order that, kind reader, you might learn what opinion is entertained of this author's writings, by a man most versant in the whole science of Theology, and who has deserved so well of the Church: and in order that from this opinion you might form an estimate of his other labours, either already finished or hereafter to be finished, for the Church's good. I join with Beza in praying God to preserve happily this man, and to adorn him with a succession of new gifts, and in His own good time to send other workmen like him into His vineyard. Farewell.

[1] After the Epistle Dedicatory, there follows, in the Latin Treatise of Rollock, a notice from the Printer, a translation of which is here inserted. Holland omits it.

[2] Mr John Johnston is mentioned in Goulart's letter to Rollock, which will be found inserted in the Preface to the Second Volume of this work. He was a native of Aberdeenshire, had studied for eight years in the Universities of Helmstädt, Rostock, and Geneva, (in which last place he had become acquainted with Beza,) and in 1593, was appointed one of the Professors of the New College, St Andrews. He was a divine of much learning, and he attained considerable eminence as a writer of Latin Poetry. He was an intimate friend of the Melvilles. He died in 1616, deeply regretted by both. (M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 331; vol. ii. pp. 284, 288, 441. James Melvill's Diary, p. 314. Irving's Lives of Scotish Writers, vol. ii. p. 40.)

TO THE RIGHT GODLY, LEARNED,

AND HIS REV. GOOD FRIEND,

MAISTER JOHN JOHNSTON.

I MAY seem slow in answering your letters, good Maister Johnston, for that they were long in coming to my hands. I understood by them, to my great joy, that you are safely arrived in your own country, and have found your churches there in a blessed and peaceable state, wherein I desire in heart they may long continue. And why may I not confidently hope that this my desire shall be fulfilled? Specially seeing they were from the beginning so happily, soundly, and excellently founded by those faithful and worthy servants of God, those skilful master-builders which begun the work; and they who seconded them brought no stubble or hay, but silver, gold, and precious stones to the building. Nay, which is more, the Lord himself having so clearly and apparently favoured and furthered their holy labours, that whosoever have stumbled at this building, have not only missed and failed of their purpose, but have been (as it were) by the strong and powerful hand of God, scattered and thrown out into utter darkness. To these we may add that singular and most precious gift of God, which the same good God hath bestowed on you—I mean your worthy King, whom he hath likewise miraculously preserved from many and great perils, who hath joined to his singular and admirable care and watchfulness, in defending the Gospel, and preserving the purity and unspotted sincerity of this Church, so great and exact knowledge of Christian religion from the very grounds and prin-

The blessing of God on the Churches of Scotland.

Maister Beza's judgment and commendation of the King's Majesty in the happy government of the Churches of Scotland.

Our blessed

King may in verity be well accounted a second *Solomon*, who was both King and Preacher.

ciples thereof, that the Lord, it seems, hath made his Majesty both a prince and preacher to his people: so that your realm of Scotland is now become, of all others, most happy, and may justly hope for increase of tranquillity and felicity, if only (as we are persuaded she will) she can discern and thankfully acknowledge the great blessing she enjoyeth, and, as she hath begun, so continue to direct them all, to the right scope and end, which is to His glory, who is the father and fountain of all goodness.

And I assure you, I rejoice from my heart, that occasion was given me to congratulate, by these my letters, your happy condition with the rest of my reverend brethren, both by your countryman, Maister David Droman, a man both godly and well learned, whose presence, though but for a few days, was most acceptable to us here, who is now upon his return to you with these letters; as, likewise, in that I chanced of late to meet with a great treasure, which I know not by what mishap, being frequent in other men's hands, hath hitherto missed my fingers. For why should not I esteem as a treasure, and that most precious, the Commentaries of my honourable brother, Maister Rollocke, upon the Epistle to the Romans and Ephesians, both of them being of special note among the writings apostolical? for so I judge of them. And, I pray you, take it to be spoken without all flattery or partiality, that I never read or met with any thing in this kind of interpretation more pithily, elegantly, and judiciously written: so as I could not contain myself, but must needs give thanks, as I ought, unto God, for this so necessary and so profitable a work, and rejoice that both you and the whole Church enjoy so great a benefit; desiring the Lord to increase with new gifts, and preserve in safety, this excellent instrument, especially in these times, wherein, through the scarcity of skilful workmen, which labour in the Lord's vineyard, and by the decease of those well exercised and experienced soldiers and worthy Christians, Sathan and his companions begin again to triumph over the truth.

Maister Beza commendeth Maister Rollocke's works.

Concerning the estate of our Church and school, we yet continue and proceed in our course, by the mighty hand of our God

and Saviour protecting us, which is admirable to our very enemies, being delivered from the jaw of death. But in truth, for ought we see, it is like to last but one year, our estate depending on those acts which shall be concluded in the * diet of Roan, between the French King and our neighbour Duke, either concerning peace or war, wherein we hope to be comprehended upon equal condition. In this frail and uncertain estate, that is our principal consolation, that we are sure this slender and twined thread, whereupon we rest, is sustained by the hand of our good God, who will not suffer that to be falsified which we have learned of the Apostle, that all things work together for the good of those that love him. In the meanwhile, I beseech you, brethren, continue your remembrance of us in your daily prayers. I, for my part, for some months, though I be not much pained with any fever, gout, stone, or any of those sharp diseases which be the usual companions of old age, yet I feel myself so enfeebled and weakened, that I am constrained, in a manner, to give over both my public duties, to keep house and home, looking every day for that joyful and happy dissolution whereunto age itself calleth me, being now seventy-eight years old. And herein I desire your prayer, with the rest of my brethren; by name, of my reverend brother, Maister Melvin,[1] and Maister Peter Junius,[2] whom (unless memory fail me) Maister Scringer,[3] of blessed

* Or meeting at Roan. Or the Prince our neighbour.

Rom. viii.

[1] Andrew Melville, who reached Geneva in 1569, and for five years filled the chair of humanity in the University of that place. "Melville, who had only attained the age of twenty-five, and who was not less eager to learn than willing to teach, became a student under this able and venerable Professor, [Beza.] Notwithstanding the disparity of their years, they formed a cordial friendship for each other." (Irving's Lives of Scotish Writers, vol. i. p. 175.)

[2] The Latinized name of Young. Peter (afterwards Sir Peter) Young was conjoined with George Buchanan in conducting the education of James VI. He was for some time on the Continent, with his uncle, Henry Scrimger, and attended the University of Lausanne. (M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 255.) He was of respectable attainments, but paid too much deference to the wishes of the young Monarch—by which, however, he acquired honours and gifts for himself and his family.

[3] In the original Latin *Scrimgerus*. Henry Scrimger, (written by James Melville, *Scrymgour*, oftener *Scrymgeour*,) was uncle to Peter Young, and also to James Melville—his sister Margaret being the mother of the former, and his

memory, was wont to call his cousin. Unto whom, remembering withal my hearty commendations, I desire you to communicate this my letter, desiring the Lord, my dear and loving brother, to preserve your whole Church there with his mighty and blessed hand, against all, both foreign and domestical dangers. Fare ye well. From Geneva, the Calends of Novemb., after our old computation, CIↃ.IↃ.XCVI.

Yours wholly,

THEODORE BEZA.

sister Isobel of the latter. He was a distinguished graduate of St Andrews in 1534. After studying and holding several distinguished appointments abroad, he attended in Geneva, where he was elected professor, first of Philosophy, then of Civil Law. He was a man of great learning and consideration. He had laboured in the collection of ancient manuscripts, and assisted Henry Stephens in his valuable editions of the classics. From his notes Casaubon is said to have derived valuable assistance in his Editions of Strabo and Polybius. His principal work is an edition of the *Novellæ Constitutiones* of Justinian in Greek, published by H. Stephens, in 1558. (M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. pp. 38, 425. James Melvill's Diary, p. 30.)

HOLLAND'S EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL

AND HIS VERY CHRISTIAN LOVING FRIEND,

MAISTER WILLIAM SCOT OF ELY,

GRACE AND PEACE BY JESUS CHRIST.

WHEN I had finished my last summer's work of revising and correcting Master Rollocke's "Readings on the Colossians," I was inwardly much affected with the holy spirit of the man, which I found as in that, so in the rest of his works. Then my heart desired that as foreign Churches greatly rejoice in him, and bless God for him, so the Churches of England and Scotland might, to their great joy, hear him speak yet more unto them in their own native language.

This is the cause, Right Worshipful, that moved me the winter past to gain some hours from mine ordinary labours, to give this little book a new coat, that it might be known also in all this island where it was first conceived and born.

It hath the protection of our most mighty King, for safety and free passage into other parts of the world, where it hath been entertained with kind acceptation: and so now, no doubt, it shall be no less in both these kingdoms, when as all true-hearted subjects shall see with what Christian affection our most noble King affected this faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and his holy works. Now, blessed be God, for being thus mindful of us; and for anointing his sacred breast with such a measure of the spirit of judgment,

2 Sam. xix. 27. Phil. i. 9, 10. Isai. xi. 3, 4. as an angel of God, to discern the things that differ, and so respect the meek ones of the earth, to the unspeakable joy of the good, and terror of the wicked.

Behold, now praise the Lord with us, and let us magnify his name together, for the Lord hath done great things for us: the Lord hath so set the wheels of his admirable providence, and so carried his blessed hand this year past in all his proceedings round about us, and so touched the hearts of all this kingdom, as having a purpose to accomplish a great work in the building of his Church, and in his good time to lift up such strokes as shall destroy, for ever, every enemy that doth evil to the sanctuary.

1 Sam. x. 26. Psal. lxxiv. 3. Psal. lxxxv. 3, 4. Lam. v. 21. The Lord's compassions fail not: *O Lord, withdraw thine anger, and turn back the fierceness of thy wrath: Turn us, O God of our salvation, turn thou us unto thee, that we may be turned, and cause thy face to shine upon us, that we may be saved.* Cease not to pray for us, that we may not return to our old security and unthankfulness any more, but that we may attend what the Lord saith, for now he begins to speak peace unto his people, and unto his saints, crying in their doors, even as it were in the open streets, *that they return not again to folly.*

Prov. i. Psal. lxxxv. 8.

Now we see that the counsel of the Lord shall stand for ever, and that the thoughts of his heart shall continue throughout all ages: for he hath broken the counsels of the wicked, who have ever sought to be possessed of God's habitations: but the Lord shall make them as stubble before the wind, the Lord will persecute them with his tempest, and make them afraid with his storm. *O Lord, fill their faces with shame, that they may seek thy name.* Finally, the Lord hath made our corners full, and abounding with divers sorts of blessings: he hath made the bars of our gates strong, and hath settled peace in our borders: he hath stablished his Gospel and Holy Covenant with us: he hath taught us to observe his judgments, and his wonderful administrations both of his justice and mercy: he hath not dealt so with any nation round about us. Wherefore, O praise the Lord with us: let England and Scotland now, with one heart, as with one mouth, praise God in all the

Psal. lxxxiii. 16. Psal. cxliv. 13. Psal. cxlvii. 13.

assemblies: *O praise the Lord, ye that are of the fountain of Israel, praise ye the Lord.* Psal.lxviii.26.

To return to our purpose. As touching this sweet treatise in hand, I say no more but this, (I trust the reader shall find my words true,) that so many common-places of divinity as be here briefly couched, as branches appertaining to this one head, the religious and wise, I hope, shall find them as judicially, comfortably, and compendiously set down and knit together as any one thing of this kind as yet extant in the English tongue.

Next, as for the argument of this book, our effectual calling is one principal link of the golden chain of the causes of our salvation. And it is the very first in the execution of God's eternal decree of our election which manifesteth the everlasting love of God in Jesus Christ unto the heart of every believer—that Almighty God should love him, being his enemy, seek him, and find him, when he wandered in the maze and vanity of his own mind, quicken him when he lay dead in sin, loose him when he lay fast bound in the bonds of death, enlighten him when he sat in extreme darkness, giving him the spirit of grace, and of faith by the Gospel, to attend his holy calling, and in time to rejoice with an exceeding joy therein. Rom. v. 2, 3.

Lastly, for the translation, albeit I have not followed the author's words, yet have I endeavoured faithfully to deliver his meaning in the plainest form, and in words most in use among the people. The Lord give it a blessing, wheresoever it shall rest, among God's elect of both these kingdoms. Horat. art. Non verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus interpres.

Now, right worshipful Maister Scot, I come unto yourself. Your most Christian and holy love in these cold and evil times, as unto all the saints, so specially to this good servant of Christ, like as it comforted him greatly in his latter days, so assuredly it shall much refresh your own heart, not only all your life, but also much more, I doubt not, in the very hour of death.

There be three infallible notes knit together in one Scripture to justify our precious faith unto our own hearts, that we may be truly persuaded we are possessed of that faith which shall justify us before

1. 2. 3. God:—Love to the brethren, hospitality of love, and Christian sympathy to the saints in their afflictions. Love to the holy members of Christ is often commanded and commended in Joseph, in Moses, in Nehemias, in Daniel, in David, who, being advanced to great dignities, yet esteemed they nothing more than the good of the Church, and to become serviceable, as it were, by all means to the saints. To love the servants of Christ, and to be beloved of them it is, as Saint John saith, an infallible argument that God hath taken us by the hand, loosened our bands, and translated us from death to life, and from darkness into the glorious light of God. All that talk of charity do not love the saints, that is, the living members of Christ on earth. We may discern our love to be sound by these notes. First, it is a flame which comes down from God into our hearts, kindling, as it were, within us, and giving us no rest, till we perform duties to the saints. And this is that which the Apostle meaneth, when he willeth us to *stir up one another unto a paroxysm of love*. Secondly, hence it comes to pass, that love to the saints being never cold, is never idle in well-doing, and therefore proceeds the second note which the same Apostle calls *labour of love*, for that this love travails by all means possible to do good to the members of Christ. Thirdly, next this, love is sincere void of all dissimulation. Fourthly, and lastly, it is constant consuming, as a fire, all offences, and cannot be quenched.

Rom. xv. 31. Philip. i. 9. 1 John iii. 8. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Rom. v. 5. Luke vii. 47. Heb. x. 24. Heb. vi. 10. τὸ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης. Psal. xvi. 4, 5. Rom. xii. 9. Heb. xiii. 1. Act. ii. 42, 46. Phil. i. 9, 10.

Heb. xiii. 2. Rom. xii. 10, 11. 1 Pet. iv. 9. 1 Tim. iii. 2, 15, 20. Hilariter excipere, affabiliter tractare, amicè dimittere.

The second mark, in the same Scripture, of our most holy faith is *hospitality of love*, (as the Syriac translation hath it,) not of lucre. The Lord gave often charge by his Apostles concerning this, foreseeing the necessity and afflictions of the saints in the ten bloody persecutions which even then began and were to follow. The practice of this we see commended in all ages—in Abraham and Lot receiving angels; they receive them cheerfully, they entertain and use them courteously, they dismiss them lovingly. So did Bethuel Eleazar, so did Jethro Moses, so did Manoah the angel of God, so did the good old man of Gibeah the Levite and his wife, so did Obadiah the prophets, so did the widow of Zarephath Elias, so did the Sunamite Elisha, so did Mary often receive

Christ, so did the tanner and Cornelius Peter, Lydia and the jailor the Apostles, Aquila and Priscilla Paul; Phebe and Stephanus many, and Gaius the whole church at Corinth. All these are chronicled in the Book of God as most memorable precedents for all ages.

The third note of the precious faith of God's elect, in the same place annexed, is Christian sympathy to the servants of Christ in all their afflictions. This grace is found, when love hath set on fire our very bowels, as the Holy Ghost speaketh, that in all their passions, it fills us with a feeling and a tender compassion. This stirs up men to visit the members of Christ in all their miseries, to consider wisely of their afflictions, to mourn when they mourn, to distribute to their wants, and so to proceed on to the duties of instruction, admonition, consolation, instant and fervent in prayer, and to add confession of sins with fasting, if the state and heaviness of the affliction so require.

Matth. ix. 36. Philip. i. 8. ἐν σπλάγχνοις. Matth. xxv. 36. Psal. xli. 1. Rom. xii. 15. Rom. xii. 13. Jam. v. 13, 20.

These things I write unto you, Right Worshipful, first, not so much for your instruction, as for the edification and confirmation of others in this frozen age, wherein carnal and self-love and all iniquity increaseth, and love to the saints decreaseth and waxeth cold, as Christ hath forewarned us: a manifest sign that saving faith faileth, in most places, even where it is professed most. Secondly, I write this unto you, for that you have been taught of God, as I hear, to practise these things, and to observe the canons of Christ in his Gospel concerning love to the saints. This holy servant of Christ, Maister Rollocke, if he were living, could and would testify of your sincere love, when you entertained him into your own family, respecting his wants with all compassion and tenderness of heart.

Matth. xxiv. 12.

The most provident Ruler of heaven and earth, which hath shed, by the working of his Holy Spirit, this precious love into your heart, will fully repay and recompense this your love with manifold comforts of his Spirit, even then specially, when the comforts and props of this present life shall most be wanting. Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may

abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost, that so ye may persevere in this your holy faith in Christ, and love to the saints, unto the end. Amen.

Yours to use in the Lord Christ Jesus,

HENRIE HOLLAND.

MARBURY TO THE READER.

ALTHOUGH the greater part both of authors and translators of books may be taxed of officiousness, and not a few of ungodliness, yet are there some whose merits in this kind do outweigh the demerits of the other. These are either those worthy lights themselves, or else those second candlesticks to translate the light into, which God, specially in these latter years, hath bestowed as gifts (to use St Paul's word) upon his Church, to the edification of it. It is true, indeed, in one sense, that both the one and the other are but candlesticks, for the light is God's: but otherwise, comparatively, the author is the light, and the translator is, as it were, another candlestick to translate the light into, and that for those which, through ignorance of the tongue, could not attain to the light when it shone out of the author's own lamp. Now, although there seem no great gifts to be required in a translator, yet the truth is, that if he be not of good discretion, to choose the fittest works, of good speech to express the author's sentence with fittest words, and of so great apprehension and former store, that by that which he seeth in the author, he hath attained to more than peradventure the author himself saw or minded, his defections will bring him in danger of showing what gifts are required in a translator: for a good translator is neither a paraphrast nor a periphrast, which is committed by needless changing or adding words. He so behaveth himself, that the comparing of the original will commend his fidelity, and that they, which know of no original, would take the translator for the author himself. He must naturalize his transla-

tion for the reader, without injuring the gift of the author in the native work. But these seem critic rules to the irregular, which offend against their authors, to please themselves; for as there are many translations of unworthy works, so are there many transportations of worthy works, which, like plants ill taken up, rejoice not to grow in the soil into which they are translated. And yet, nevertheless, it cannot without injury be denied, that this age hath afforded many excellent translations of excellent and learned authors to the benefit of our people: amongst whom Maister Rollocke, the reverend author of this work, deserveth an eminent place; as also this work itself is very acceptable, together with the translator's godly labour in this and other things commodious to the Church of Christ. This inclined me the rather to commend it to thee in these few lines, not as taking upon me anything, but as a poor man, where he is better known, is sometimes engaged for a rich. This labour is become ours, not only because it is thus well Englished, but also because the author is a Scottishman, which is now to the wise-hearted a synonymy of an Englishman. And it shall be to the praise of both the nations to receive both mutual and common benefits, without that emulation which was betwixt Israel and Judah. It is a comely thing (to speak in the words of that king that was so miraculously restored) to declare the signs and wonders of the high God, which we see this day, even this unanimity in receiving the king, wrought (no doubt) by divine instinct, rather than grace in some, which otherwise, *mendaciter dedunt se*, as David saith. Let us, on the other side, go out in our sincerity and meet the King of kings with Hosanna. And I beseech you by the wonder of our neighbours, which is our innocent aggregation to this sceptre, let the solution of an objection by King Henry the Seventh, of noble memory, and of so renowned wisdom, be our satisfaction, that the sovereignty is devolved where it is, not only by the providence, but also by the ordinance of God, to the comfortable uniting of that nation, rather than nations, which at the first upon the matter was indeed but one, though for some years past it were divided by conceit. Let us take up the

argument of Abraham: We are brethren, &c. And as this is a work of vocation, so let us hold the coming of our King to be the work of revocation, to call us back to unity. And so, gentle reader, I commit thee to the God of peace and unity.

Thine in Christ,

FRANCIS MARBURY.

TO THE READER.

CHRISTIAN reader, I pray thee pardon all faults in this first impression: I could not well be present with the workmen for their direction. Some school points and phrases of schoolmen do not so well relish in the English tongue, nor could be rendered to my content. Whatsoever is wanting, in word or matter, in this edition, I will amend in the next, if the Lord permit. Farewell.

Thine in Christ Jesus,

HENRY HOLLAND.

ROLLOCK'S SUMMARY OF THEOLOGY.

THAT the reader may understand the place in the science of Theology, belonging to the following Treatise on Effectual Calling, it has been deemed right to delineate the following rude and elementary outlines of a Theological system.

I. Of Theological science the two capital and most general heads are—

1. Of God.
2. Of the works of God.

II. To the first most general head regarding God, there belong subdivisions,

1. Of the nature of God, and his essential attributes, as they are called; such as his Mercy, Justice, Power, Wisdom, &c.
2. Of the Trinity, or three persons in one divine essence.

III. The second most general head, of the works of God, has, as more special subjects,

1. Of that work of God which is from eternity—as his general Providence, and his general Decree regarding all creatures, originating in eternity.

[1] Holland gives, in this place, a Table of Contents drawn from Rollock's headings of the chapters. But he omits the summary of Theology given in the original work, which is now presented, both translated and in the original Latin. It appears to be of importance that the reader should be put in possession of what was, doubtless, the system of Theology taught by our Author.

2. Of the work of God which is in time, and which is perceived in the execution of the aforesaid eternal decree and divine Providence.

IV. Under the subject of the execution of the decree, there are contained other special subjects,

1. On the creation of all things.
2. On the government of all things when created.

V. Under the general subject of the creation are contained some special points concerning the particular kinds of creatures, but particularly the subject of the rational creatures,

1. Of the angels.
2. Of man.

VI. To the division on man belong other subdivisions,

1. Of his state of innocence.
2. Of his fall and first sin.
3. Of his restoration.

VII. To the subject of the restoration belongs this subject,

Of Christ the Mediator, in whom the restoration has been accomplished.

VIII. To the subject of Christ the Mediator belong other subdivisions,

1. Of his nature.
2. Of the personal union of his two natures.
3. Of his threefold office.
4. Of the benefits conferred by him, or the spiritual blessings wherewith God the Father blesses us in his Son Jesus Christ.

IX. To the subject of his benefits, or the blessings of God in Christ Jesus, belong subdivisions regarding particular benefits,

1. Of the predestination of man to life, or his election in Christ, which was before the world began.
2. Of God's calling man in Christ, which is in time.
3. Of the justification of man by God in Christ.
4. Of God's glorifying man in Christ.

X. To the subject of predestination of man to life belongs the subject,

Of the predestination of man to death, or of reprobation.

XI. To the subject of the Calling of man belong several subdivisions,[1]

1. Of the Word of God, or of God's two Covenants, both that of works and that of grace.
2. Of the Sacred Scripture.
3. Of Sin.
4. Of Faith.
5. Of Hope.
6. Of Love.
7. Of Repentance.
8. Of Free Will, or of the Nature of Man.
9. Of the Grace of God.

XII. To the subject of glorification belong the subjects,

1. Of Regeneration.
2. Of Good Works.
3. Of the Merit of Works.

XIII. To all these subjects of the blessings of God in Christ the following subjects are supplementary,

1. Of the Sacraments, as the seals of all the blessings now mentioned.

[1] This eleventh division comprises the subject of the ensuing Treatise, and it will be found that our Author follows this arrangement, which he, probably, observed in his academical instructions.

2. Of the Church of God, which arises out of the blessings before specified along with their peculiar Sacraments, and to which all these blessings belong.

XIV. To the subject of the Church belongs the subject,
Of the Discipline of the Church.

UT INTELLIGAT LECTOR QUEM LOCUM HABEAT SEQUENS TRACTATUS "DE VOCATIONE EFFICACI" IN DOCTRINA THEOLOGICA, PLACUIT METHODI LOCORUM THEOLOGIÆ HÆC QUASI PRIMA ET RUDIA QUÆDAM LINEAMENTA DUCERE.

I. Doctrinæ Theologicæ summa et generalissima capita duo sunt,
1. De Deo.
2. De operibus Dei.

II. Capiti primo generalissimo de Deo subalterni sunt loci,
1. De natura Dei et ejus attributis, quæ vocantur, essentialibus, ut Misericordia, Justitia, Potentia, Sapientia, &c.
2. De Trinitate, sive tribus in unica Deitatis essentia personis.

III. Caput secundum generalissimum, quod est de operibus Dei, habet sub se locos specialiores,
1. De opere Dei quod ab æterno est,—cujusmodi est generalis providentia et decretum Dei generale de omnibus creaturis, quod inde ab æterno est.
2. De opere Dei quod in tempore est, quodque cernitur in exequutione æterni illius Decreti et Providentiæ divinæ.

IV. Sub loco de exequutione decreti continentur speciales alii,
1. De creatione rerum omnium.
2. De administratione rerum omnium creatarum.

V. Sub loco generali de creatione continentur speciales alii de particularibus creaturarum speciebus, nominatim vero loci de rationalibus creaturis.

1. De angelo.
2. De homine.

VI. Ad locum de homine pertinent inferiores alii,

1. De innocentia.
2. De lapsu et peccato primo.
3. De reparatione ipsius.

VII. Ad locum de reparatione pertinet locus,

De Christo Mediatore, in quo facta est reparatio.

VIII. Ad locum de Christo Mediatore pertinent loci subalterni alii,

1. De natura ejus.
2. De personali unione duarum naturarum.
3. De officio ipsius triplici.
4. De beneficiis ipsius, sive benedictionibus spiritualibus, quibus nos benedicit Deus Pater in Filio suo Jesu Christo.

IX. Ad locum de beneficiis sive benedictionibus Dei in Christo Jesu pertinent inferiores loci de particularibus beneficiis,

1. De prædestinatione hominis ad vitam, sive electione in Christo quæ fuit ante tempora secularia.
2. De electione Dei in Christo, quæ est in tempore.
3. De justificatione Dei in Christo.
4. De Dei in Christo nostri glorificatione.

X. Ad locum de Prædestinatione hominis ad vitam pertinet locus,

De prædestinatione hominis ad mortem, sive de reprobatione.

XI. Ad locum de Vocatione pertinent plures subalterni alii,

1. De Verbo Dei, sive de fœdere Dei utroque, tam operum quam gratiæ.
2. De Scriptura Sacra.
3. De Peccato.
4. De Fide.
5. De Spe.
6. De Caritate.
7. De Resipiscentia.
8. De Libero Arbitrio, sive de natura hominis.
9. De Gratia Dei.

XII. Ad locum de glorificatione pertinent loci,

1. De Regeneratione.
2. De Bonis Operibus.
3. De Merito Operum.

XIII. His omnibus locis de benedictionibus Dei in Christo Jesu subjecti sunt loci,

1. De Sacramentis, quasi superiorum omnium sigillis.
2. De Ecclesia Dei, quæ ex superioribus benedictionibus una cum Sacramentis suis consurgit, et ad quam eæ omnes pertinent.

XIV. Ad locum de Ecclesia spectat locus,

De Disciplina Ecclesiastica.

A TREATISE

OF OUR

EFFECTUAL CALLING,

AND OF

CERTAIN COMMON-PLACES OF THEOLOGY CONTAINED UNDER IT.

CHAPTER I.

OF OUR EFFECTUAL CALLING.

God's Effectual Calling is that whereby God calleth out of darkness into his admirable light, from the power of Satan unto God, in Christ Jesus, those whom he knew from eternity, and predestinated unto life, of his mere favour, by the promulgation of the covenant of grace, or preaching of the gospel. 1. God calls by his word preached.

Such, also, as be called by the same grace of God, answer, and believe in him through Jesus Christ. This answer is of faith, which is in very truth the condition of the promise which is in the covenant of grace. Wherefore our Effectual Calling doth consist of the promise of the covenant, (which is under condition of faith,) and in faith also, which is nothing else but the fulfilling of the condition. 2. Man answers by believing.

Therefore there be two parts of our Effectual Calling; the first is, the outward calling of such as are predestinate unto life, from darkness unto light, and that of God's mere grace; and that, I say, by the publication of the covenant of grace, or preaching of Two parts of our effectual calling.

the gospel. The latter part is their inward faith, wrought in them by the same grace and Spirit of God, whereby they are converted from Satan unto God; for I cannot see how this second part of our Effectual Calling can differ from faith itself.

In the first part of our Effectual Calling, first, we are to consider the persons, calling and called. The person which calleth us, properly to speak, is God himself; for he only promiseth in his covenant, calling *those things which be not as though they were.* (Rom. iv. 17.) The persons called are they whom God knew before, and hath predestinated unto life, *for whom he hath predestinated, them he hath called.* (Rom. viii. 30.) Secondly, in the first part of our Effectual Calling—the cause which moved God hereunto is his own special grace; for the cause of all God's blessings upon us is in himself. For as he did predestinate us in himself, according to the good pleasure of his own will, (Eph. i. 5,) so hath he called and justified us in himself, and shall glorify us in himself, to the praise of the glory of his grace; that all glory may be wholly ascribed unto him. Thirdly, we be to observe the instrument of our vocation, which is the covenant published, or the gospel preached. Fourthly, in this former part of our Effectual Calling, we be to consider the estate from which, and the estate whereunto, we be called. The condition from which we be called is darkness, the power of Satan, and that miserable plight, which is without Christ in sin and death. The state whereunto we be called is light, God himself, and that blessed condition of man in Christ. Hence it is evident that these common-places of divinity, *of God's Word,* and *of Sin,* and the *Misery of Mankind,* must be referred to this argument of our Effectual Calling, as to a most general head in religion.

Instrument of our vocation.

In the second part of our Effectual Calling, these branches must be noted. First, that the cause wherefore we answer God's calling, or believe in God, is God's own grace, which worketh in us this faith by the Holy Ghost, which is given us with his word; for, like as God of his mere grace calleth us outwardly unto himself, so the same—his grace and free love in Jesus Christ—kindleth this faith in us, whereby we answer his heavenly calling.

And in this second part of our Calling, (which we say doth consist in faith,) if we desire yet more deeply to search it, there is a double grace or working of God in our hearts. The first is, when he enlighteneth us by his Holy Spirit, pouring a new and a heavenly light into our mind, before so blind, as that it neither saw, nor could see, the things which do belong to the Spirit of God. (1 Cor. ii. 14.) *The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them.* In the will, which is altogether froward and quite fallen from God, he worketh an uprightness, and in all the affections a new holiness. Hence proceeds the new creature, and *that new man which is created after God in righteousness and true holiness,* (Eph. iv. 24.)

Second part of our calling, faith.

The Papists[1] call this first grace in the faith and work of the Holy Ghost, not the creation of any new creature which was not before, but the stirring up of some goodness and sanctity, which, as they say, was left in nature, after the first fall of man, which they call also free-will, which, they say, was not quite lost in the fall, but lessened and weakened. But this free-will whereof they speak is in very truth nothing else but that holiness of nature and life of God, and the spiritual light of man in his first creation and innocency. But of this more in place convenient. This they say then, that after the fall, man retained not only the faculties of his soul, but also the holy qualities of those powers, only hurt and weakened. And this is that free-will which they say is quickened by God's preventing grace, which they define to be an external motion, standing as it were without, and beating at the door of the heart.

Free-will.

In this first grace of God, which we call a new creation of divine qualities in the soul, man standeth mere passively before God, and as the material cause of God's work. For in this first renewing of the soul of man, what divine virtues hath man to work with God's Spirit, or to help the work of grace? Yet we say not that man in this new birth is no more than a trunk or dead tree: for that there

[1] Rollock here uses the term *Papistæ*. He generally employs *adversarii*, translated by Holland, "the adversaries," to denote the same thing.

is in man (that so I may speak) a passive power to receive that divine grace and life of God, as also the use of reason, which dead trees have not. The adversaries say, that in quickening of free-will, there is a liberty or strength in it to reject or to receive that grace which they call preventing grace. Therefore they give a fellow-working unto grace, and a fellow-working unto free-will.[1]

The action of faith.

The second grace, or the second work of God's Spirit in the second part of our Effectual Calling, or in faith, is the very *act of faith*, or an action proceeding from this new creature—the action of the mind, enlightened in knowing God in Christ—of the will sanctified, in embracing and apprehending God in Christ. And here the principal agent is that very Spirit of Christ, who, after the first grace and creation, abideth and dwelleth in us, not idle, but ever working some good in us and by us. The second agent working with God's Holy Spirit is the very soul of man, or rather the new man, or the new creature in the soul and all the faculties thereof. By this the Holy Ghost, that so I may speak, knoweth God; or otherwise to speak the same—to know God, the Holy Ghost useth the new creature in man, and by this the Holy Ghost doth embrace and apprehend God in Christ. Thus speaks the Apostle, Rom. viii. 26. *The Holy Ghost*, saith he, *maketh intercession for us with sighs which cannot be expressed.* Observe here how he ascribeth this action of sending forth sighs unto the Spirit, as to the principal agent.

In this second grace, which is the action or work of faith, we stand not as mere passively; but being moved by the Holy Ghost, we work ourselves; as being stirred up to believe, we believe; and, in a word, we work with God's Spirit working in us.

συνεργοι.

The adversaries say, this second grace in faith is an action of free-will, when as we by our own free-will dispose and prepare ourselves to a justifying grace, in believing, in hoping, in repenting. In this action, they say, not the Holy Ghost is the principal agent,

[1] This is not the meaning of our Author, whose words are: "Ergo operationem tribuunt gratiæ, cooperationem vero libero arbitrio," p. 5. "Therefore they assign the work to grace, but a fellow-working to free-will."

or any motion, to use their own word, of the Spirit, but free-will itself, which, as they say, goes before, when as that motion of God working together with their free-will must follow after. They speak not a word here of God's Spirit, either in the first or second grace, who works effectually in both, as is aforesaid: but instead of the Holy Ghost, they talk of, I know not what motion standing without and knocking at the door. They say this motion stirs up free-will; they say it worketh with free-will when it worketh, and prepareth us unto the grace of justice or justification. This their doctrine is strange; it savoureth not the holy Scripture of God, nor the phrase of Scripture. Thus far of God's grace in faith, or of the second part of our Calling, and of the two special branches of it.

Next, in it we are to consider of the points or conditions before noted, which are the very same with those in our Calling afore-going. To this second part of our Effectual Calling, refer the Doctrine of Faith, which in very truth is the same with it. Hope, Love, and Repentance, follow Faith; and Free-will is a common-place in divinity subaltern, or to be referred unto that of Repentance.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE WORD OF GOD, OR OF THE COVENANT IN GENERAL, AND OF THE COVENANT OF WORKS IN SPECIAL.

THE common-place in religion which is concerning God's Word or Covenant, is to be referred unto this of our Effectual Calling, as to a most general head. Next follow these points of Sin, and of the Misery of Mankind: thirdly, that of Faith; then follow Hope, Love, and Repentance.

The common-places of religion—how they follow in order.

Now, therefore, we are to speak of the Word, or of the Covenant of God, having first set down this ground, that all the word of God appertains to some covenant; for God speaks nothing to man without the covenant. For which cause all the Scripture, both old

and new, wherein all God's word is contained, bears the name of God's covenant or testament.

Covenant defined.

The covenant of God generally is a promise under some one certain condition. And it is twofold; the first is the covenant of works; the second is the covenant of grace. Paul (Gal. iv. 24) expressly sets down two covenants, which in the Old Testament were shadowed by two women, as by types, to wit, Hagar, the handmaid, and Sarah, the free woman; for, saith he, *these be those two covenants*. Let us then speak something of these two covenants;

Covenant of works; the first ground of it.

and first of the covenant of works. The covenant of works, which may also be called a legal or natural covenant, is founded in nature, which by creation was pure and holy, and in the law of God, which in the first creation was engraven in man's heart. For after that God had created man after his own image, pure and holy, and had written his law in his mind, he made a covenant with man, wherein he promised him eternal life, under the condition of holy and good works, which should be answerable to the holiness and goodness of their creation, and conformable to his law. And that nature thus beautified with holiness and righteousness and the light of God's law, is the foundation of the covenant of works, it is very evident; for that it could not well stand with the justice of God to make a covenant under condition of good works and perfect obedience to his law, except he had first created man pure and holy, and had engraven his law in his heart, whence those good works might proceed. For this cause, when he was to repeat that covenant of works to the people of Israel, he first gave the law written in tables of stone; then he made a covenant with his people, saying, *Do*

Note.

these things, and ye shall live. Therefore the ground of the covenant of works was not Christ, nor the grace of God in Christ, but the nature of man in the first creation holy and perfect, endued also with the knowledge of the law. For, as touching the covenant of works, there was no mediator in the beginning between God and man, that God should in him, as in and by a mediator, make his covenant with man. And the cause that there was no need of a mediator was this, that albeit there were two parties entering into a covenant, yet there was no such breach or variance betwixt them

that they had need of any mediator to make reconciliation between them; for, as for the covenant of works, God made this covenant with man, as one friend doth with another. For in the creation we were God's friends, and not his enemies. Thus far of the ground of the covenant of works. Note.

The thing promised in the covenant of works is life eternal first, not righteousness: for that man, in his creation, was even then just and perfect, by that original justice, as they call it;—unless you will say that the righteousness of works was promised in that covenant, for which righteousness' sake, after that man had wrought it, God would pronounce and declare him to be just. For we are to understand, that in this covenant there is a double righteousness; the first is that original justice which is nothing else but the integrity of nature in that first state of man. This justice, out of all doubt, is not promised in the covenant of works, for it is the ground of it. The second justice is that which was to follow the good works of nature in that integrity, and might be called the justice of works; for after that man had lived godly and justly, according to God's law in that integrity, then he might be said to be just again, and to be declared of God to be just by his good works well pleasing unto God, and so eternal life might be said to be given unto him, as justified by his works. For Paul to the Romans teacheth, that there may be some imputation of righteousness by good works, if so be that works be perfectly good. Hence come these manner of speeches, *Abraham was not justified by his works: by works no flesh shall be justified.* Thus far of the promise of the covenant of works, or of the things promised in the covenant of works. Rom. iv. 2.

Now to come unto the condition. The condition of the covenant of works is the condition of good works; of good works, I say, not which proceed from Christ, or from his grace, but from nature only in the integrity thereof, and being informed with the knowledge of the law, and perfectly good, as it was in the first creation, proceeding, I say, from that ground of the covenant of works. Therefore works mere naturally good only are required as the condition of the covenant of works. So, then, by this condition, do you exclude hence faith in Christ? I do so. And do ye except The condition of the covenant of works.

here from the condition of the covenant of works, all the works of grace and regeneration? I do except these also. But the covenant of works is often propounded in the gospel to such as be in grace and in Christ Jesus. For how often is the reward of eternal life promised to such as do well? Wherefore it may seem that the works of regeneration appertain also to the covenant of works, for that such works be required of them which be under grace. I answer, the antecedent is false; for if at any time we hear or read in the gospel of grace, that good works be required of them which
Note. be in Christ and justified by him, to that end that they may obtain eternal life, we may not think that God speaks unto them after the form of the covenant of works; for, in the gospel, good works are required of them which be in Christ, not such as proceed from their own nature, or such as they can yield of their own strength, but only such as proceed from the grace of regeneration. For we never find in the New Testament, that they which are in Christ be commanded to do the works aforesaid of the covenant of works, which be naturally good; or that the covenant of works is set before them, that by it, and the works thereof acted by the strength of nature, they may receive eternal life. For thou shalt never find it said to them which are in Christ, *Do this of your own strength, that so ye may live*, which is the very sum of the covenant of works.

As for that place (Matth. xix. 17) where Christ said to a certain young man, which called upon him, saying, *Master, what good shall I do that I may have eternal life?*—the Lord answered, and said, *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments;* I grant that here he understandeth the covenant of works, and that the Lord propoundeth to the young man the form of the covenant of works. But observe that the Lord so answereth to one that sought his life and salvation by the law, and which did before cleave unto the covenant of works, and trusted to works as meritorious. For so the covenant of works, and the rule of the law of works, must be set before every one which is without Christ, seeking righteousness by the law, and the works of the law; to this end, if it may be, that by the sense of sin, and the feeling of his own misery, he may be prepared to embrace the covenant of grace in Christ. For to

return unto his words, that young man said to the Lord, *What good shall I do?* Therefore he sought salvation by works, and not by faith in Christ. So then the Lord answered fitly to his question, *Do this, and thou shalt live:* which manner of speaking is never wonted to be propounded in the gospel to them which have once embraced and professed Christ. For those good works of nature be never required of them, according to the form of the covenant of works, neither be the promises made unto them under condition of any such works.

I confess good works be required of them which be in Christ, and justified by him; but all such works belong to grace and regeneration;—to grace, I say, only;—and they be not the works of free-will nor of nature. Know this then, that to such as be in Christ, the covenant of works to them is abolished, and of none effect so far forth as by it justification and salvation is obtained. I grant the law abideth which is the rule of those works, which properly and specially did first appertain to the covenant of works; but now it hath another special use; for it serveth for our direction in the works of grace and sanctification. So then the law hath ceased, as it was the rule of the works of nature required in the covenant of works; but it is still in use to them which are in Christ, as it is the rule of the works of grace. For the same justice of God is unchangeable, and the law of God is the very image of divine justice; wherefore the law of God must abide for ever, albeit it have not ever the same use, nor be not always the rule of the same works. But of this we shall speak more at large hereafter. It is a question here, whether, in the first creation, good works in the covenant of works were required of man, as meritorious for the promised life? I answer, not so. But they were due in the creation, as pledges of thankfulness in man to his Creator, for that excellent work of his creation, and to glorify God his Creator. But it may be objected, that Paul to the Romans, disputing against the works of nature, (for in that epistle he [is] disputing principally against this kind of works,) he reasoneth against them as seeming meritorious and not as duties and testimonies of man's thankfulness unto God.

How far the law is abolished.

wherefore it may seem they were commanded unto man in his creation as meritorious. I answer; true it is, Paul disputes there of them as of merits, not for that this was his judgment of them, but because the Jews had that conceit of them, which were so far blinded, that they thought the good works of nature were not only good and just, but also might merit justification and life. But of this blindness of the Jews we shall speak more at large hereafter. Thus far of the condition of the covenant of works, and[1] of this kind of covenant accordingly, and as we purposed in this present treatise.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE COVENANT OF GRACE.

1st ground of the covenant of grace.

In the free Covenant of Grace, or of the gospel, the first ground is our Mediator Jesus Christ, crucified also, and dead; or, which is the same in effect, the blood of the Mediator, the virtue whereof is twofold. The first serves to satisfy the justice and wrath of God for our sins, for the breach of that covenant of works. The second is, to purchase and merit a new grace and mercy of God for us. And this grace or mercy of God, obtained by the blood of the Mediator, is the second ground of the Covenant of Grace, whereby we stand reconciled unto God, and in grace with him. Wherefore the first immediate ground of the Covenant of Grace is God's free favour or mercy, (whereby man's misery is presupposed,) and not nature, or any good thing in it, for that all our natural goodness, after the breach of that covenant of works, is quite vanished; that is to say, nature, as touching holiness, justice, and wisdom, is utterly lost. For we are not to approve their judgment which say, that the freedom of will, that is, the goodness and holiness of nature, is much worn and weakened, as they speak, in this corrupt nature.

2d ground.

[1] Rather, "And this is all we have to say of the covenant of works, as far as it accords with our purpose in this treatise."

And thus far of the ground of the Covenant of Grace. Upon this ground, I say, first of the blood of Christ, next of God's free mercy in Christ, the covenant of grace (usually so called) is founded.

The first and principal grace promised in this covenant is righteousness; which must necessarily here have the first place, for after the breach of the covenant of works, that one first original justice, as they call it, was quite lost, and injustice did succeed into the place thereof. And this justice, which is here promised in the Covenant of Grace, is no inherent righteousness, as that original justice was, but is the righteousness of our Mediator Jesus Christ, which is ours by faith, and by the imputation of God. For which cause the Apostle calls it *the righteousness of God;* for without this imputative justice we cannot possibly stand before the tribunal of God, and by the imputation of this righteousness are we said to be justified before God. Next after this kind of righteousness, which is by imputation, there is another kind of inherent justice promised in the Covenant of Grace, even such a sanctity and goodness of nature as was lost in the fall of man, and this is but begun in this life, but perfected in another. And this inherent justice is nothing else but life eternal in us, begun, I say, in earth, and perfected in heaven. And this heavenly and spiritual life doth proceed from that righteousness of Christ, which is imputed unto us by faith. For that righteousness of Christ is effectual in us unto eternal life by the Spirit of Christ, who sanctifieth and quickeneth us. And thus far of the promise, which is in the Covenant of Grace.

Rom. iii. 21.

Now it followeth that we see what the condition is of this covenant. The very name of the Covenant of Grace might seem to require no condition, for it is called a free covenant, because God freely, and, as it might seem, without all condition, doth promise herein both righteousness and life; for he which promiseth to give any thing freely, he bindeth not to any condition. But we are to understand that grace here, or the particle freely, doth not exclude all condition, but that only which is in the covenant of works, which is the condition of the strength of nature, and of works naturally just and good, as we may call them, which can in no wise stand with God's free grace in Christ Jesus. For neither that freedom

The condition of the covenant of grace.

of will, which doth import some purity and holiness in nature, nor the works of free-will, as they call them, can agree with the grace of God in Christ Jesus. What is the condition then which this word *grace*, or *freely*, will admit in this Covenant of Grace? I answer, assuredly none other than that which may stand with Christ, and with God's free grace; and that is Faith only, which is also by grace, (for it is God's free gift, Phil. i. 29, *It is given unto you, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake*,) having Christ first the object thereof, and next God's free mercy in Christ, for faith embraces God's mercy in Christ, and makes Christ effectual in us unto righteousness and life. For this cause Paul (Rom. iv. 16) saith, our inheritance *is by faith, that it might come by grace;* (Eph. ii. 8,) *Ye are saved by grace, by faith, and that not of yourselves*, that is, as he after expoundeth it, *not of works*. So he concludeth, that
Rom. vi. 23. salvation, because it is of God's free grace by faith, is the free gift of God. Wherefore we see faith stands best with the grace and mercy of God, as, without which, Christ and God's mercy in him cannot be effectual unto righteousness and life. For if we receive not Christ by faith, and God's mercy in Christ, Christ and the mercy of God can profit us nothing unto justification and life. Howbeit we be here to remember, that whereas God offereth righteousness and life under condition of faith, yet doth he not so respect faith in us, which is also his own gift, as he doth the object of faith, which is Christ, and his own free mercy in Christ, which must be apprehended by faith; for it is not so much our faith apprehending, as Christ himself, and God's mercy apprehended in him, that is the cause wherefore God performeth the promise of his covenant unto us, to our justification and salvation. Wherefore
The condition of the Covenant of Grace. the condition of the Covenant of Grace is not faith only, nor the object of faith only, which is Christ, but faith with Christ, that is, the faith that shall apprehend Christ, or Christ with faith, that is, Christ which is to be apprehended by faith. Note then briefly this, how these three are one in substance, the ground of the Covenant of Grace, the condition of it, and the cause wherefore God performeth the condition. Yet in reason they differ something. For Jesus Christ is the ground, being absolutely considered, without

any respect of application unto us. But Christ is the condition of the covenant, as he is to be applied unto us, and must be embraced by faith, for every condition is of a future thing to be done. And the cause also of the performance of the covenant is Jesus Christ already embraced, and applied unto us by faith. Whereas Paul then saith, that we are justified by faith, his meaning is, that we are justified by Christ applied unto us by faith already in our effectual calling; which, by order of nature, goeth ever before the benefit of justification.

It may be here demanded, whether the works of grace and regeneration (as they are called) have not some place in the condition of the Covenant of Grace; for all the good works of nature are hence excluded. I answer, that the very works of regeneration are not contained in the condition of the Covenant of Grace. First, for that the Covenant of Grace is made with the unjust and unregenerate: now, how can their works be just and good? Next, in the Covenant of Grace both regeneration itself, and all the holy fruits thereof, are promised, for in it all the benefits of Christ be promised the believers. Now then, the promise of the covenant must necessarily differ from the condition of the covenant. But Objection.
this you will say; It is evident, and that in many places of the New Testament, that life eternal, or, as they say, the reward of eternal life, is often promised under the condition of good works, that is, the works of regeneration, as, (1 Tim. iv. 8,) *Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promises both of this life, and of the life to come.* (Luke xiv. 14,) *It shall be repaid thee in the day of the resurrection of the just.* (Matth. v. 12,) *Your reward is great in heaven.* (Matth. xix. 29,) *He shall not lose his reward.* (Gal. vi. 19,) *Let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.* (Eph. vi. 8,) *Knowing this, that what good soever every man doth, that he shall receive of the Lord.* (Heb. vi. 10,) *The Lord is not unjust to forget your work, and the love which ye ministered unto the saints.* (2 Thess. i. 6,) *Notwithstanding it is a righteous thing with God to render affliction in like manner to them which afflict you, and unto you which are afflicted rest with us.* To these I answer: In my judgment, there are three distinct kinds Answer.

Three kinds of promises in the gospel.

of promises in the gospel. The first is the promise of the covenant of works, wherein eternal life is promised under condition of works done by the strength of nature. The second is the promise of the Covenant of Grace, which is propounded under condition of faith. The third kind of promises are those particular and special promises which are to be referred to the Covenant of Grace, found every where in the gospel, and made under condition of the works of grace and regeneration.

These three kinds of promises differ first in condition; next in propriety; thirdly, in subject; fourthly, in end and use. First,

First difference.

then, they differ in condition; for the promise in the covenant of works is under condition of the works of nature, and the strength thereof. In the Covenant of Grace, the promise is under condition of faith in Christ. In the promises which I call particular or special promises, there is a condition of works indeed, but of the works of grace and regeneration, and not of the works of nature, or any natural

Second difference.

faculty. Secondly, these promises differ in propriety; for the promise in the covenant of works is merely legal, and requires the condition of works done only by the strength of nature, commanded in the law, and to be done according to the strict rule of God's law; and the works of nature, or wrought by natural strength, are properly called the *works of the law,* (Rom. ix. 32.) And the promise in the Covenant of Grace is not legal, but merely evangelical; for the condition here is not of any work moral and natural, but of faith in Christ, and of Christ himself to be apprehended by faith. Lastly, those particular promises, they are partly evangelical, partly legal; for the condition is of works which proceed from grace and regeneration, and, therefore, of such works as, in regard of their original, may truly be called evangelical works, but because the law moral is the rule of

Third difference.

them, in this respect they may also be called legal works. Thirdly, these promises differ in subject, because the promise in the covenant of works is propounded to them, which now, after the breach of

Eph. ii. 1.

that first covenant of works, *lie dead in sins and offences,* having, notwithstanding, for the time no sense of sin nor death. The promise in the Covenant of Grace is given to them which are also dead in sins and transgressions, but having some feeling of sin, of

death, and of their own misery, wrought in them by the law and legal covenant; and, as for those particular promises, they are proposed to them which are already justified and renewed by faith in Christ. Lastly, these promises differ in use and end; for the end of the covenant of works is, that wretched sinners, which are void of sense of their sin and misery, may be awakened to feel and acknowledge their own sin and misery, that is, (as the Apostle speaketh, Rom. vii. 9, 10,) that sin may revive in them, and that they may die, that is, they may feel that they be dead in sins and offences. Of this use of the law, see Rom. iii. 19, 20; xi. 32; Gal. iii. 22; and v. 23. This is the use then of the covenant of works, to work in us the sense of sin and misery, and to prepare men to receive grace. Therefore the doctrine of the gospel begins with the legal doctrine of works and of the law moral; for the gospel should preach and promise in vain righteousness and life to the believers, if they were not first prepared by feeling their own corruption and miserable condition, to hear and receive grace by the gospel. For this cause Christ himself first (Matth. v. 17, and after) freeth and restoreth the law as pure from the leaven of the Pharisees, expounding the perfection and exact severity thereof, for this very cause, that men by this light of the covenant of works and law moral, might acknowledge how miserable they be by nature, and so might hereby be prepared to embrace the Covenant of Grace. So did Christ prepare that rich young man (which came unto him to be schooled, as he made show) to entertain the Covenant of Grace. *Wilt thou* (saith he) *enter into life? Keep the commandments.* Paul begins his doctrine in the Epistle to the Romans, from the law and covenant of works, and spends near his three first chapters of his Epistle in this doctrine, to this end, that he might conclude all under sin and condemnation, and so might prepare men to the doctrine of grace, which begins, Rom. iii. 21. So (Gal. iv. 21) he teacheth the Galatians that would be under the law, (as he speaketh,) their miserable servitude, which be in that condition, and how at the last they are cast out of God's kingdom, for this very cause, that the Galatians, renouncing all confidence in that righteousness

Fourth difference.

ἀκριβοδίκαιον.

which is by the law and covenant of works, might lay hold on that righteousness which is by faith and grace. This might appear by many arguments which now I willingly pass over. The end and use of the promise in the Covenant of Grace is, that men cast down and humbled in the sight of their own sin and misery by the legal covenant, might be raised up and comforted by hearing and receiving that righteousness and life, which is freely promised and offered to the believers in the gospel. Of this use, read Rom. v. 1, *Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God.* This is the proper end of the evangelical doctrine. Therefore, the second and principal part of the gospel doth consist in the doctrine of the Covenant of Grace, which is properly and principally to bear this title of an evangelical doctrine; teaching us what Christ our Mediator is; what his humiliation first, next his glorification; and then what benefits, life, and righteousness, we get by him: and these be the special branches of the gospel, and of that joyful message of our salvation. Last of all, the use of those particular promises is, that God's elect, justified, renewed, comforted, and quieted in their consciences, may testify their thankfulness by their holy obedience and good works. The Apostle noteth this end, (Titus ii. 11, 12,) *For that grace of God which bringeth salvation unto all men hath shined; teaching us, that renouncing ungodliness and worldly lusts, we live soberly, justly, and godly, in this present world.* And, for that this is the end of these promises, they have also their place in the third part of the doctrine of the gospel, which concerns the life and Christian conversation of the saints; for which cause ye have these promises often in the gospel, annexed to exhortations, admonitions, and instructions concerning manners, as (Gal. vi.) after that (ver. 6) he had given in charge, that he which is *catechised in the word, should minister unto him which teacheth him of all his goods;* he forthwith addeth (vers. 7 and 8) a promise and a threatening. Again, (ver. 9,) having warned them not to wax weary in well-doing, he addeth this promise, *We shall reap in due time, if we faint not.* So, (Eph. vi.,) after that his charge given to servants to serve their masters in all uprightness, (ver. 5, 6, 7,) he addeth a promise, (ver. 8,) *Whatsoever*

good thing every man doth, that shall he receive of the Lord. The like testimonies are everywhere, in which ye may find admonitions, exhortations, and instructions, confirmed with promises and threatenings. Of this kind, then, are all those promises before mentioned, which must be carefully discerned, first, from the covenant of works; next, from the Covenant of Grace, wheresoever we find them in reading the New Testament.

And, finally, concerning the aforesaid promises, we are to observe, first, that the condition of the works of regeneration and grace is required of believers, not as merits, but as duties only, and testimonies of their thankfulness to God their Redeemer; like as the condition in the covenant of works is not of merits, but of duties only, and of testimonies of their thankfulness to God their Creator. I grant that the works of regeneration are necessary unto eternal life promised in the gospel, but not as merits or meritorious causes, but as the means and way wherein we are to proceed on from justification and regeneration unto glory and life eternal. They may also be said to be causes, after a sort, for they please God in Christ, and in some respects move him, but not as merits, but as effects of the only merit of Jesus Christ, whereof they testify. But of this we shall speak in place more convenient. Secondly, note in this third kind of promises, that the condition therein is of the works of regeneration, which are also most perfect in their kind, for the great justice of God cannot bear the least defect. The rule also of all works is the justice of God, whereof ye have a certain express image in the moral law. Wherefore the condition here is of works most absolute, but not in themselves, but in Christ, and in the perfection of his satisfaction and merit. If ye object, doth not the law require that perfection of works which is in works themselves? I answer; it doth so of them which are under the covenant of works, under the law, and without Christ; but as for such as be in the Covenant of Grace and in Christ, it doth not require a perfection in the works of regeneration, but is content with the good beginnings which the believers have, the perfection of whose obedience is supplied, and to be found, in Christ Jesus. For like as he justified us of his mere grace in Christ, and by his merit,

Note. Rom. v. 9, 10, 11, 12. being his enemies, so now much more will he accept us, being justified and regenerate; I say, much more will he accept us being his friends, and our obedience in Christ even for his merit sake. For so the Apostle concludeth, (Rom. v. 9,) *Being justified therefore by his blood, we shall now much more be preserved from wrath by him.* And thus far of these three kinds of promises which are distinctly set down in the New Testament.

And here this might also be demanded, whether these three kinds of promises be not as distinctly to be found in the Old Testament? I answer, they may so be found, yet not without some difference; for that the Old Testament did serve specially to prepare men to receive Christ, which in his appointed time was to come. For the law was a schoolmaster unto Christ,[1] (Gal. iii. 24.) Therefore the greatest part of the Old Testament is spent in propounding, repeating, and expounding the covenant of works. And because Christ was not as yet manifested in the flesh, therefore the doctrine of the Covenant of Grace is more sparingly and darkly set forth in it. Finally, as touching the faithful in the Old Testament, which embraced Christ the Mediator of the Covenant of Grace, howsoever then but shadowed before their eyes in types and figures—to them, I say, being justified in him which was to come, and regenerate by his grace, the promises of eternal life were made under condition of the works of regeneration, as this promise made to Abraham, (Gen. xvii. 1,) *Walk thou before me, and be thou upright, and I will make my covenant with thee.* This promise was made to Abraham, being before justified by faith and renewed by grace. The like promises are often in the Old Testament annexed to moral precepts, as in the books of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. And thus far of the Covenant of Grace, the ground thereof, the promise thereof, and the condition thereof.

Rom. iv.

Now it remaineth that we answer a question or two concerning this covenant. The first, whether the covenant of works be abolished, and of none effect to such as be under the Covenant of Grace? I answer, the covenant of works hath two ends and uses. The first

First use of the covenant of works, or of the moral law.

[1] Original—Paedagogus ad Christum ducens.

and proper end and use of the covenant of works is, that men by it may be justified and saved, or otherwise condemned. The covenant of works had this use in Adam before his fall, that Adam by it might be justified and live. After the fall it hath the same use in the unregenerate, elect and reprobate, to wit, to justify and save them, or to condemn them. And forasmuch as it cannot justify them because of their corruption, (Rom. viii. 3,) it followeth that it must necessarily condemn them. And the very unbelieving and unregenerate do otherwise feel this condemnation in themselves. Of this use, read Rom. iii. 19; where he saith, that by the law, *Every mouth is stopped, and made obnoxious to the condemnation of God.* And of the experience of this condemnation, read Rom. vii. 10; *I*, saith he, *when the commandment came, was dead*, that is, condemned in my conscience, so that I felt in myself present condemnation and death. And albeit this first use of the covenant of works be common to all unregenerate, elect and reprobate, yet this wants not some difference; for, in the elect, the acknowledgment of sin and condemnation which they have by the covenant of works, is unto them a preparative to embrace the Covenant of Grace; but in the reprobate it is the way to extreme desperation. Thus far of the first use.

Second end of the covenant of works.

The second end of the covenant of works is this, it serves to drive on, and to stir up all believers to march on forwards in all faith and godliness. This use it hath, I say, in the regenerate, who, in the legal covenant or moral law, do desire principally to behold, as in a glass, evermore, first, the holiness, majesty, and justice, of God. (Rom. vii. 12,) *Therefore the law is holy, and the commandment is holy, just, and good.* Next, they see here that which they call the original holiness and justice of man, to wit, the same which was in the creation, which is defined to consist of justice, holiness, and wisdom. Thirdly, they behold here that life eternal which was to follow that first original justice. Fourthly, they see that corruption and unrighteousness which is now in nature after man's fall. But this they see by consequent; as we say, one contrary is discerned and known by another. For, while we consider first, that infinite

1. The use of the moral law to the believers.

2

justice of God, next, our original justice,—which are properly discerned by that glass of God's law and covenant of works,—by the light and brightness of these, I say, we may take a view of the gross darkness, filthiness, and deformity of our corrupt nature. For this cause it is said, (Rom. iii. 20,) *By the law cometh the knowledge of sin.* Fifthly, they see herein God's wrath kindled against that deformity of nature, so contrary both to God's justice and to man's original justice. For this cause it is said, (Rom. i. 18,) *The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men;* and, (Rom. iv. 15,) *The law causeth wrath.* Sixthly, and lastly, they behold how present death followeth that wrath of God, (Rom. i. 32,) *Which men, though they knew the law of God, how that they which commit such things are worthy of death, yet not only do the same, but also favour them that do them;* and, (chap. vii. 9, 10,) *When the commandment came, I died.*

The regenerate, when they consider these things in the law and covenant of works, they are forthwith terrified with that heavy spectacle, 1. Of their sin; 2. Of the wrath of God against sin; 3. Of eternal death which followeth God's wrath. And then do they more and more relinquish and renounce, 1. That legal righteousness required in the covenant of works; 2. That original justice and all opinion of free-will; 3. That life and safety which followeth that legal righteousness of works. And having renounced all confidence in these things, with like endeavour they follow hard after Christ by conversion and faith, to this end, that they may find in him, first, that mercy of God in Christ, contrary to that justice of God; secondly, they seek for that imputative justice, as they call it, so contrary to their own righteousness, and to that original justice of the law, or of works. Thirdly, they labour for that sanctification and regeneration, that so they may bring forth the fruits of the Spirit. Fourthly, they wait for to attain that life eternal, which is given us of God's free grace, in and by that imputed righteousness of Christ.

A perfect faith we have not.

If we were possessed in this life of a perfect faith in Christ, and so of perfect holiness, then I grant the believers should not need

this terrible glass of the law, and of the covenant of works. But because unbelief still resteth in this our nature, and the relics of that inherent contagion still abide in us, and for that so long as we live here, neither our faith nor holiness can be perfected; therefore, to weaken more and more our unbelief and inherent sin in us, and more and more to increase faith and holiness, we have ever need of this terrible glass, as a continual severe schoolmaster, which, ever casting many fears before us, may drive us to the faith of Christ, and to sanctimony of life.

Now, then, seeing it is evident that there is a double use of the covenant of works, the answer to the question aforegoing is easy. For this we avouch, that, as touching the former use, the covenant of works is abolished to them which are under grace. To this the Apostle pointeth when he saith, (Rom. vi. 15,) *Ye are not under the law, but under grace.* (Gal. iv. 5,) *That he might redeem them which were under the law.* (Rom. vii. 6,) *Being dead to the law, we are now free from the law.* (2 Cor. iii. 11,) *For if that which should be abolished was glorious.* But as for this second use, it is not abolished. This distinction is commonly received, that the law and legal covenant is abolished, as it is a condemning tyrant, and not to be abolished as it is a schoolmaster to chasten us, and with terrors to drive us unto Christ. For this second use we have an example in Paul after his regeneration, (Rom. vii. 14, &c.) For when he considers in the glass of God's law the spirituality, (that so I may speak,) the holiness and goodness of the law, first; next, his own carnality (to use that word) and rebellion; and, lastly, death itself; first he breaks forth into these words, *Miserable man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* Next, he flieth to the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, saying, *I give God thanks in Christ Jesus.* And, (2 Cor. v. 11,) Paul saith of himself, he was enforced and moved forwards to do duties in his calling, because of the terrors of the Lord set down and offered unto him in and by his law: *Knowing, therefore, the terror of the Lord, we bring men to the faith.* The same Apostle, (Gal. iv. 21,) when he saw that the Galatians which began to believe in Christ, notwithstanding not to cleave unto him only

by faith, but to make a mixture of the law with Christ, he sets before them this glass of God's law, or of the covenant of works, wherein he layeth open, first, the miserable bondage of such as are under the law; next, their final rejection, to this end and purpose, that they might be moved by this fearful speculation to stick to Christ only, and to the Covenant of Grace.

Hereunto refer those comminations which we find partly annexed to the Covenant of Grace in the second part of the evangelical doctrine: partly put to the particular promises, instructions, exhortations, in the third part of the doctrine of the gospel. For this is the duty of the moral law and of the covenant of works, to contain the believers with threatenings and terrors within the bounds of the grace of Christ, and of his gospel. John iii. 18, we have a commination of the law, or of the covenant of works, added to the Covenant of Grace; *He that believeth in him is not condemned;* this is the Covenant of Grace. *He that believeth not is condemned already;* this commination doth properly appertain to the law or covenant of works. Rom. viii. 13, he conjoineth a threatening of the law or covenant of works with a particular promise, wherein life is promised unto sanctimony; *If ye live according to the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye mortify the deeds of the body by the Spirit, ye shall live.* See Gal. vi. 8. And thus far of the first question.

Note the office of the law to believers.

The second question, whether the law be abolished to the regenerate.

The second question is this: Whether the moral law, which we call the Decalogue, be abolished to them which be under the Covenant of Grace? I answer by way of distinction: The moral law, as it commandeth works done by the strength of nature, and as it is the rule of all works of this kind, to wit, of such works as be required in the covenant of works, that is, in respect of the first and proper use thereof—for it concerns properly the works of nature, which make the condition in the covenant of works—in this respect, I say, the moral law itself also is abolished to them which are in Christ, even in like manner as the covenant of works is cancelled, and of none effect against them. For which cause Paul useth these phrases, *We be not under the law, we are dead to the law, we are freed from the law,* to wit, either as touching justification or con-

demnation. And look how far the covenant of works serveth for their use which be in grace, so far the law of works is in use for them. And what use the believers have of the covenant of works, we have already showed. Again, look how far forth the same moral law serves to give rules for the works of grace, and attendeth not on the covenant of works, but of grace and of the gospel, so far it resteth in use for the servants of Christ. For there is but one rule and law of all good works whatsoever, whether they proceed from nature or from grace; like as there is but one and the same justice of God, ever like itself, whereof the law of God is a very express image, or a lively representation. Thus, then, the law moral abideth for such as be under the gospel, yet in some respect—that is, in use—changed: for like as all things are become new in Christ Jesus, so also the law itself after a sort is renewed. And that the law serveth and is in use for them which be under the Covenant of Grace, it is very clear by many scriptures. This may appear by those very testimonies which are before produced for the covenant of works, and other scriptures many, where the works of the law are commended. (Rom. xiii. 8,) *Love one another; for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law.* (Gal. v. 13, 14,) *By love serve one another; for all the law is fulfilled in one word, which is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* See James ii. 8, &c. And thus far, as we purposed, have we spoken of the Covenant of Grace.

CHAPTER IV.

OF SUCH AS BE COMPREHENDED IN, OR MAY TRULY BE SAID TO BE UNDER, THE COVENANT OF GOD.

Now it followeth that we speak briefly of such as be under the Covenant of God, or, if I may so speak, confederates with God. Every reasonable creature must of necessity be liable to one of both covenants, either that of works, or this of grace. For the very angels are under the covenant of works: but because the

Scripture speaks so sparingly of them, therefore we say this only in a word, that they also be under the covenant of works. Again, man must be under some one covenant. Adam, in the state of his innocency, was under the covenant of works. Man, after the fall, abideth under the covenant of works; and to this day, life is promised him under condition of works done by strength of nature. But if he will not do well, death and the everlasting curse of God is denounced against him, so long as he is without Christ, and without the gospel. And being freed from the covenant of works, he is not become a libertine, or not subject to any covenant, or as it were lawless, but forthwith he is admitted to the Covenant of Grace, and thenceforth liveth under it. Therefore, concerning angels and men, it is evident that they are under some one covenant.

God's people in grace be not lawless libertines.

It is a doubt indeed concerning Christ, whether he were then under any covenant, when he dwelt among men, and did converse on earth? I answer, there be two natures in Christ, a divine and human. Christ, as he is God and the Son of God, is not under the covenant of works or of grace; for that he is no creature, but the blessed Creator, to whom, to whose covenant and law, every creature is and must be subject. But as he is man, he is under the covenant of works; and that in two respects. First, in respect of himself, because he is a creature, because he is a servant, and made man, and was in the loins of Adam when that covenant of works was first made with him. But we be to speak sparingly of that state of the man Christ, which is in respect of Christ himself, whether that his human nature, as touching itself, were under the covenant of works? whether this nature did purchase for itself life eternal by observation of the covenant of works? Next I say, the human nature of Christ is under the covenant of works in respect of us; for being united to that divine nature, it is become a mediator for us, to make intercession and peace between God offended and man offending. For Christ our Mediator, albeit he be God and man in that personal union, yet was he made subject to the covenant of works, and to the curse

Christ under the covenant of works, in what respect.

Or Christ the Mediator hath subjected himself in his humanity to the law for our sake.

of the law for us, properly in respect of his human nature, that, as the Apostle speaketh, he might redeem us from the law, and the curse of the law. See Gal. iv. 4 and 5. *After that the fulness of time was come, God sent his Son, made of a woman, made subject to the law, to redeem them which were under the law.* And Gal. iii. 13, *But Christ* (saith he) *hath redeemed us from the curse, while he was made a curse for us.* Christ, therefore, our Mediator, subjected himself unto the covenant of works, and unto the law for our sake, and did both fulfil the condition of the covenant of works in his holy and good life, even in the highest degree of perfection, as being God and man—even that most Holy One of God—in one person: and also he did undergo that curse which was denounced against man in that covenant of works, if that condition of good and holy works were not kept;—for in the covenant of works ye have, together with the promise of life to him who doth well, a commination of everlasting death to him who doth not well. For this cause Christ our Mediator both did well according to the promise, and died also according to the curse denounced. Wherefore we see Christ in two respects, to wit, in doing and suffering, subject to the covenant of works, and to have most perfectly fulfilled it, and that for our sake whose Mediator he is become.

It may be demanded, Had it not been sufficient for our good, and to the end he might redeem us, if he had only lived well and holily, and not also so to have suffered death for us? I answer, it had not sufficed. For all his most holy and righteous works had not satisfied the justice and wrath of God for our sins, nor merited the mercy of God, reconciliation, righteousness, and life eternal for us. The reason is, for that the justice of God did require for our breach of God's covenant, that we should be punished with death eternal, according to the condition denounced and annexed to the promise of that covenant. Therefore, no good works of our own, or of any mediator for us, after the breach of that covenant of works, could have satisfied the justice of God, which of necessity after a sort required the punishment and death of the offender, or certainly of some mediator in his stead. If, then, all the good and holy works of the Mediator could not satisfy that wrath and justice

of God for sin, it is clear they could not merit any new grace or mercy of God for us.

But you will say, that the good and holy works of Christ our Mediator have wrought some part at least of that satisfaction, whereby God's justice was appeased for us, and some part of that merit whereby God's favour was purchased for us? I answer, these works did serve properly for no part of satisfaction or merit for us; for that, to speak properly, the death of Christ and his passion only did satisfy God's justice, and merited his mercy for us.

If any will yet farther demand, May we not divide the satisfaction and merit of Christ into his doings and sufferings, that we may speak on this manner, Christ by his death and passion hath satisfied God's justice, and by his good and holy works he hath merited God's mercy for us, that so satisfaction may be ascribed to his death, and merit to his works; that the righteousness wherewith we are justified before God may be partly the satisfaction which Christ performed by his death for us, partly the merits which he obtained by his works for us? I answer; to speak properly, the satisfaction and merit which is by the only passion of Christ, both was and is our righteousness, or the satisfactory and meritorious death of Christ,[1] or the satisfaction which was by Christ's death, or the merit of his death, or the obedience of Christ, as being obedient to his Father unto the death, the death also of the cross, [or] to be short, that justice of Christ which he obtained when in his passion he satisfied his Father's wrath—this is our righteousness. For we may say, that either the death of Christ, or his satisfaction, or his merit, or his obedience, or his righteousness, is imputed unto us for righteousness. For all these are taken for one and the same thing.

He saith, we are justified only by the passive righteousness of Christ.

But here it may be replied, If the works of Christ cannot properly procure for us any satisfaction nor merit, nor any part of satisfaction or merit, then it may be demanded, What hath been, and what is the use of Christ's works, or of his active obedience,

The active obedience of Christ, or the

[1] This is not quite correct. It ought to be rendered thus:—"I answer, that to speak properly, both the satisfaction and the merit belonged to Christ's passion exclusively, and that our righteousness is constituted by either Christ's satisfactory and meritorious death, or," &c.

or of the obedience of his life? I answer, that the holiness of the person of Christ, and of his natures, divine and human, and of his works, is the very ground or foundation of the satisfaction and merit which we have in the passion of Christ. That is, the excellency and worthiness of that person and of his works did cause that his passion was both satisfactory and meritorious: for if this person which suffered had not been so holy and excellent, as also his life so pure and godly, it is most certain that his passion could neither have satisfied God's wrath nor merited mercy for us. For which cause the Apostle, (Heb. vii. 26,) speaking of this ground of this meritorious passion of Christ, saith, that *such an high priest it became us to have, which is holy, blameless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens.* And thus far of Christ, and how he may be said to be under the covenant of works.

righteousness and holiness of his person and life, how it is the ground of the satisfactory and meritorious passion of Christ.

And that he was not under the Covenant of Grace, the matter is so clear, that it needs no disputation. For the Covenant of Grace was made in him, and established in his blood, and the promise in the Covenant of Grace is made to them which were unjust and dead in sin, because of the breach of that covenant of works; and, lastly, the condition in the Covenant of Grace is faith in Christ the Mediator. Wherefore, if ye respect either the ground or condition or promise of the free covenant, Christ cannot be said to be under it. And thus far of both covenants, and of them which are under the Covenant of God, either of Works or of Grace.

Christ not under the covenant of grace.

CHAPTER V.

A COMPARISON OF OUR JUDGMENT AND OF THE ADVERSARIES CONCERNING BOTH THESE COVENANTS.

Now we be to compare a little our assertion with the adversaries', and to consider which of both sides is of soundest judgment, touching both these covenants of works and of grace. A rule to try the opinion of the adversaries and ours by, can none better be found

than the doctrine of Paul, specially that in the Epistle to the Romans, and namely, in that disputation which he hath of justification in the three first chapters, against the Jews of that time. If, after conference, we shall find that our assertion doth consent with Paul's mind and doctrine, and that the adversaries are of the same mind and judgment with the Jews which lived in Paul's time, then it shall plainly appear, that our judgment is better than the adversaries concerning the covenant of God.

Wherefore, in this disputation of Paul, we are to consider, first, the mind and purpose of the Apostle; next, by Paul's doctrine, we shall gather what the opinion was of those Jews against whom he disputed: this done, we will apply both his and their assertion to ourselves which live in this age, and to the doctrine and conclusions which we maintain concerning both these covenants. By this means, if it shall appear that our doctrine is agreeable to Paul's mind, and that our adversaries follow the Jews, themselves being witnesses, it shall, I say, be manifest, that our judgment is better than theirs in this argument.

To come then to the point: Paul in that place to the Romans disputeth against those Jews which were obstinate and perverse, defending, first, Christ and his merit, which is the first ground of the Covenant of Grace. Next, he disputeth for grace or the mercy of God, which is the second ground of the free covenant. Thirdly, he avoucheth against those adversaries that the Covenant of Grace was founded in Christ, and in the grace of God. Fourthly, he proveth the justification of man, and so, consequently, the salvation, which is according to the Covenant of Grace. He disputeth, I say, for these things, first, against nature, which is the ground of the covenant of works; next, against the very covenant of works itself founded on nature; thirdly, against the justification of man, and salvation which is by it, arising of the just and good works of nature, according to that covenant of works. I grant he doth expressly fight against that justification and salvation, which is by the works of nature required in the covenant of works, and for the justification of faith, which is required in the Covenant of Grace; but by one

Paul's disputation. Rom. i. ii. iii. chap.

and the self-same disputation he concludes both against nature and the covenant of works, and for Christ and for God's grace in him—that is, for the Covenant of Grace. For the doctrine of antecedents must necessarily be included in the doctrine of the consequent.

By this purpose of Paul we may see what was the drift of those adversary Jews, and what was their judgment against whom he disputeth in the Epistle to the Romans. Those Jews, they on the contrary part did strive for nature, as being the ground of the covenant of works, as also for the very covenant of works or of nature,—for justification and salvation by works, and according to the form of the covenant of works. They did, I say, contend for these things, against Christ, against the grace of God in Christ, and against the Covenant of Grace, and against justification and salvation of men, which is according to the Covenant of Grace. I grant, that, as is aforesaid, the question was of this last point, which is justification: but this question includes all the former branches, as is before showed. Wherefore, let us consider again that old controversy, and the very ground thereof.

The state and blindness of the Jews in Paul's time.

In this controversy, by the way, note how great the blindness was of the Jews of those times: first, they did not understand that man's nature after the fall was lost, as touching goodness: they saw not their own corruption, neither were they touched with any sense of sin or of their own misery. Next, they knew not Christ the Mediator, and the mercies of God in him. Thirdly, being so blind in the premises, they could not conceive also how that covenant of works was abolished in Christ. Fourthly, they understood not that there was any Covenant of Grace made with man in Christ Jesus. Fifthly, they did not consider that those works of nature, whereby they would be justified, according to the prescript form of the covenant of works, they did not consider, I say, that they were but duties only, and testimonies of thankfulness, according to the first institution of that covenant; but they did ascribe some meritorious virtue unto them: for which cause the Apostle disputeth against the works of nature, as against merits, because of this blind conceit of the Jews. And that they

were of judgment that these works were meritorious, may appear by their glorying in works, against which the Apostle speaketh often: *Where is then the glorying or rejoicing? it is excluded,* (Rom. iii. 27.) *If Abraham were justified by works, he hath wherein to glory,* (Rom. iv. 2.) *Not by works, lest any should glory,* (Eph. ii. 9.) For he which glorieth doth not deem that he hath received that of God for which he glorieth; and, therefore, he judgeth it to be meritorious. *What hast thou that thou hast not received? And if thou hast received it, wherefore boastest thou as if thou hadst not received it?* (1 Cor. iv. 7.)

Thus far of the question in controversy, which was between Paul and the old Jews of his time, concerning the covenant of God. How like to this is that which at this day is controversed between us and the Papists? We in this age conclude wholly for the only merit of Christ, for the sole and mere grace and mercy of God in Christ, for the Covenant of Grace, for justification and salvation by Christ only, by grace only, by faith only, (for all these phrases serve to one effect;) we dispute, I say, for these things against the strength of nature, the liberty of free-will—that is, the goodness and holiness of nature—against the covenant of works, against justification by works, even that which is according to the rule of the covenant of works. The Romanists of this age defend that nature is holy in itself, yet hurt, impoverished and weakened, for this is their freedom of will; they defend, I say, the covenant of works, and the works which proceed from free-will, justification by works of free-will, meritorious also according to the covenant of works; for they say, the ground of every merit, whether it be of congruity or condignity—to use their own terms—is free-will. These things, I say, they strive to defend, against Christ only, and his merit, against the only grace of God and mercy in Christ, against the only Covenant of Grace, against justification which is by Christ only, by the grace of God only, by faith only; for all these have one respect and purpose.

Our defence at this day against the Papists.

Free-will.

Observe then here, by the way, what the palpable blindness of the Papists is, in this clear light of the gospel. First, they see not

Popish blindness.

how nature is plainly lost, as touching sanctity. Secondly, they know not the sole grace and mercy of God, neither do they understand what the excellency is of Christ's merit. Thirdly, they perceive not how that covenant of works is abolished to them which are in Christ, as touching justification. Fourthly, they conceive not that the only Covenant of Grace is made with mankind after the fall, specially now after the incarnation of Christ in the gospel, and that unto justification and life eternal. Fifthly, they see not that the works of free-will, as they call them, if there were any such, to be duties only and testimonies of thankfulness, according to the first institution of the covenant of works, which be done by the strength of nature, but ascribe some special meritorious virtue unto them. Wherefore, we conclude concerning these men, that albeit they be not just of one mind with those old Jews, against whom the Apostle disputed in the Epistle to the Romans; yet they hold much on their side, striving to defend that nature is in part good and holy, so contending against the pure and only grace of God, and to divide justification and man's salvation between Christ and God's free grace and the virtues and works of nature: whereas, notwithstanding, these two, nature and grace, can never stand together in the work of our salvation. For whosoever shall conjoin or make a mixture of grace and nature in this matter, shall quite overthrow and extinguish grace, which either is alone or not at all, as Rom. xi. 6, *If it be of grace, it is no more of works; for, otherwise, grace were no more grace.* And in the Epistle to the Galatians, he doth purposely dispute against those Jews which did couple together, in the matter of justification, the gifts and works of nature with Christ, with the grace of God and with the gospel. And these Jews (as I judge) the Papists seem most to resemble—I mean those Jews against whom he wrote in the Epistle to the Galatians. For in that other Epistle to the Romans, he disputeth against such Jews as did openly deny Christ and reject him: but to the Galatians, his disputation is against such Jews as were not content with Christ only, but would have Christ and the law joined together. Thus far of the comparison between Paul and us on the one side, the old Jews and the Papists on the other.

The Popish Justification.

Now, because it will be demanded, what Paul thought of the works of regeneration, and what we, and what the adversaries think also; therefore, I will touch this question in few words. Here, then, some one will say, Did Paul, then, in that disputation to the Romans and to the Galatians, oppugn the works of grace and regeneration? I answer, Paul's chief purpose in that disputation is against the works of nature, which the Jews thought to be holy and just, and also meritorious: he did not reject the works of regeneration, as they be duties and testimonies of thankfulness unto God, but in that respect commends them, Rom. vi. vii. viii. chapters, and in other places. But, as touching the cause of justification, he would not have these works, as we call them, of regeneration, coupled with the grace of God, or with Christ, or with faith, as any cause, or as part of any meritorious cause of salvation. To this purpose, he saith, Rom. iv., that Abraham himself, being regenerate, was not justified before God by any works of his regeneration. And, Rom. vi., having commended the works of sanctification, in the end, verse 23, where he attributeth death to the merit of sin, he doth not there, notwithstanding, ascribe life eternal to the merit of the works or fruits of sanctification; but when he had said, that "the wages of sin is death," he doth clearly avouch it, that eternal life is the free gift of God in Christ Jesus. In which place, if the Apostle had been of this judgment, that the works of regeneration be in any respect meritorious, assuredly he would not so pass over the commendation of the works of regeneration, specially for that this here is principally intended. Wherefore, the Apostle to the Romans, so rejecting the works of nature, which the covenant of works requireth, yet he understandeth also all kinds of works, moral and natural, going before grace and faith; as also, all ceremonial works, and the very fruits of regeneration which follow grace and faith; that faith only, Christ only, grace only, may herein be all in all. Thus far of St Paul's judgment.

We at this day are of one and the same mind with the Apostle concerning works of regeneration. Our adversaries, granting there be such works, ascribe too much unto them; for they will not

have them to be duties and testimonies only of thankfulness unto God, but also that they be meritorious causes of that justification which they call the second justification.

Again, we are to remember, that the adversaries' judgment concerning works of regeneration is, that they proceed not only from infused grace and first justice, as they speak, but also from nature and free-will, which works together with that justice, in respect whereof also they account good works meritorious, as was before showed; so ascribing their good works in part to that their first grace, and in part to free-will. And thus far of this comparison; whereby it appears, whether we or our adversaries have the better or the more sound judgment concerning both covenants, of the grounds of both, nature, grace and Christ; as also of the effect of both, which we call man's justification. And, lastly, for that this is the most fundamental point of true religion, we may hereby discern also whether we or the adversaries have the religion and worship of God the more purely and soundly established amongst us.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE WRITTEN WORD, OR OF THE WRITTEN COVENANT OF GOD.

THE Word in both covenants was for a long time in the world, even from Adam's time till Moses, unwritten, delivered as from hand to hand, and continued by a lively voice. For I pass over such matters as Joseph records to be engraven in columns before the flood, as also the Apocryphals of Henoch.

And when as in continuance of time corruptions grew by these traditions, and the purity of the doctrine of the covenant could not thus be preserved, and that God would no longer follow the former course only, he began in Moses' time to ordain and to publish another form, to-wit this, to preserve and to continue the purity of

the celestial doctrine in written books, approved and sealed by divine authority and testimony; and the more to commend his Written Word unto men in all succeeding ages, God himself with his own hand did first write in tables of stone the words of the Decalogue. Next, after this, he gave it in charge unto Moses, that he should afterwards write and record all things which he received at God's own mouth; and that the people of God might be assured that the books of Moses came not by man's will, but were given
2 Tim. iii. 16. by divine inspiration, the Lord sealed and testified these writings to be his heavenly oracles, by many great wonders, before they were written, when they were written, and after they were written. And Moses wrote the word of both covenants; of both, I say, legal and evangelical: but whereas he gave but, as it were, the first lineaments of the evangelical covenant, he set forth the legal covenant clearly and in full measure. For the legal covenant in the books of Moses is clearly recommended and urged, but the evangelical more darkly set before us. For which cause all the doctrine of Moses is said to be legal: "The law came by Moses," (John i. 17.)

After Moses, God stirred up his prophets, whose writings also he confirmed with his great miracles, and gave them great authority. Yet were they not to set forth anything diverse or contrary to the doctrine of Moses and the Patriarchs, nor to publish anything but what was grounded in the books of Moses; but by divine revelation they did add more clear interpretations, as the morning star of the New Testament did more nearly approach. These holy men wrote the sum and chief heads of their doctrine, even so much as God himself thought meet to be reserved for posterity. And these records, being written, were laid up with the holy books of Moses, which were kept in the side of the ark. (Josh. xxiv. 26.)

Finally, after the incarnation of Christ, the evangelical doctrine or the gospel, first began for certain years to be delivered by voice and to be preached by Christ himself; and then after by his apostles; and, lastly, the same was written by the apostles. The works of God's law and nature are commanded in the books of the

New Testament, and the very moral law is expounded by Christ himself, and freed from the leaven and corruption of the Pharisees; but the works of the law and nature are not recommended, to the end that by them men might be justified and saved; but they be commended, either to prepare men to entertain grace offered, or to quicken them to proceed and grow in grace received, as is before showed. Again, the works of regeneration be commanded, not for justification, but as testimonies of that justification which is by faith, and of thankfulness unto God: for which cause, so soon as the Apostle hath taught the doctrine of faith, he descends to the works of the law, teaching men that their life and conversation must be worthy that high calling, whereunto we are called in Christ Jesus, (see Eph. iv. 1; 1 Thess. ii. 12.) But faith in Christ is that which is principally required in all the books of the New Testament. And thus far generally of the Written Word of the covenant.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NUMBER OF THE CONTROVERSIES WHICH ARE CONCERNING THE WRITTEN WORD: AND OF THE FIRST CONTROVERSY, WHETHER THE SCRIPTURE BE THE WORD OF GOD.

THERE be two kinds of controversies concerning the holy Scripture. The first kind is of such controversies as be more essential, that is, which concern the very essence (if I may so speak) or being of the Scripture. The second kind is of those controversies which be more accidental, and do not so nearly concern the essence of the Scripture. Of the first kind there are ten controversies or questions. The first is, "Whether the Scripture, prophetical and apostolical, be the word of God?" The second is, "How it may appear that this Scripture is God's word?" The third is, "Of the antiquity of it." The fourth is, "Of the perspicuity or clearness of it."

The fifth is, "Of the simplicity or plainness of it." The sixth is, "Of the vivacity, quickening power, or life of it." The seventh is, "Of the simple and evident necessity of it." The eighth is, "Of the perfection and sufficiency thereof, that it is sufficient and perfect in itself, without all unwritten verities or traditions whatsoever." The ninth is, "Whether the Scripture may be the judge to determine all controversies?" The tenth is, "Whether the Scriptures, prophetical and apostolical, must have the chief place of excellency, and be in authority above the Church?"

As for those eight controversies which follow the two first, they are touching the properties of the holy Scripture; and these, when we shall have proved that the Scripture is God's word, will appear evidently, for they are necessary consequents of that theorem. For grant we this, that the Scripture is God's word, then these things must follow necessarily; first, that it is most ancient; secondly, most clear; thirdly, most simple or pure; fourthly, most powerful; fifthly, most necessary; sixthly, most perfect; seventhly, the greatest and best judge of all controversies without exception; eighthly, most excellent. But for as much as the adversaries deny these eight properties, therefore (as is aforesaid) there is of every one of them a special controversy.

We are then to handle these controversies in order. And, first, of that which by due right and naturally is to have the first place, whether the Scripture be the word of God? The adversaries grant, generally, that the holy Scripture is the word of God; but, when they are brought from the general to a special, they break from us. To speak more plainly, the word of God at this day is twofold in the Church of God, 1. immediate, 2. mediate. I call that the immediate word of God which doth proceed immediately out of God's own mouth; and that I call mediate which the Lord speaks by his preacher or minister. We hold, then, and avouch, that the holy Scripture is that immediate and primary word of God, and to be unto us instead of that first immediate and lively voice of God himself; yea, that it serves us in place not only of that lively voice of God, but also of the secret and unsearchable mind of God, and of God's

unspeakable mysteries. Our arguments are these: 1. For that this is the very will of God. *They have Moses* (saith he) *and the Prophets*; that is, the books of Moses and the Prophets. (Luke xvi. 29.) 2. If we had nothing to supply the defect of the lively voice of God, then doubtless our state were worse than that of the old Church of the Jews, which had the oracles of God; but it is against all light of reason so to affirm. 3. Our third reason is this; the first ground of our faith must be either the lively voice of God, or the very mind and counsel of God, or something to supply the want of God's lively voice, and of the secret mind of God, which must also be unto us no less certain and firm than if we heard God himself speak, or did behold and read the very mind of God, yea, the very divine oracles written in God's own breast. But now we have not the lively voice of God; now we see not the secret mind of God. Therefore it must follow that we have something to supply the want of the lively voice of God, even means to reveal unto us the secret mind of God; and nothing can do this but the sacred Scripture. Therefore, God's holy written word is, and must be, unto us as the very voice, and as the very mind or will of God himself manifested unto us. The fourth reason: The Scripture contains all those things which God hath spoken in elder ages, and what God himself hath decreed in his secret counsel, so far as is meet for us to know, concerning our life and salvation: *Ergo, &c.* Thus far of the immediate word of God. The mediate voice of God, we call the voice of the holy and true Church of God; for albeit men speak, yet the word spoken is the word of God himself.

Rom iii. 1, 2.

Here the adversaries rise up and contend, that the voice of the Church must have the priority of excellency, and that it supplieth the want of God's lively voice, and the manifestation of his mind, rather, or better than the Scripture: "For," say they, "the voice of the Church is a Scripture written, not with the pen of any scribe, but by God's own finger in the heart of the Church; therefore, the voice or testimony of the Church ought to be accounted the principal voice of God. For it is a lively voice, proceeding from the living heart of the Church, wherein God hath engraven all

Popish objection concerning the testimony and the authority of the Church before the Scripture.

truth with the finger of his own Spirit; whereas the Scriptures of the Prophets and Apostles, albeit they were delivered and spoken by God himself, yet they were not written by God's own hand, but by the Prophets and Apostles, which were the penmen. Again, they were not written in the living hearts of men, but in papers and books, or tables. Hence, therefore, it followeth that this Scripture, which is found in the heart of the Church, is the principal Scripture of God, and that the voice of the holy Church is that most excellent voice of God, and ought to be unto us as the immediate voice of God, and instead of the secret counsel of God."

I answer, true it is, the testimony of the Church is a lively voice, proceeding from a living heart, sanctified by the Holy Ghost, for we speak of the true Church. But first, I say, that the only[1] Scripture, prophetical and apostolical, is to be accounted that Scripture which was written by God's own finger, and that immediate word of God. Next, I say, that the heart of the Church is taught and sanctified by the spirit of the Scripture; and that the Scripture, which is in the heart of the Church, is nothing else but a certain transcript, that so I may speak, or a copy, which the Holy Ghost hath written in our hearts, according to that ancient and authentical copy, which is the holy Scripture. For the Holy Ghost teacheth the Church nothing now but that which is written, and doth, by the Scripture, after a sort, beget the Church; and the Scripture is the mother, the Church the daughter; the Scripture is the mistress, the Church is the scholar. Thirdly, I add, that the knowledge of the truth which is in the heart of the Church by means of the Scripture, is not so perfect nor so absolute as is the Holy Scripture. And, lastly, I say, that the Church being enlightened and renewed but in part, may err from the truth, even in the greatest matter of weight, and that it doth err, so often as it forsakes the canon and rule of the sacred Scripture.

Their former assertion being thus cast down, it is evident that the voice of the Church,—I understand here the true Church only, not that whorish Church of Rome,—the voice of the Church, I say,

[1] *i. e.*, The Scripture alone. Scripturam solam.

is not that primary and most excellent word of God, nor ought to be unto us instead of the lively and immediate voice of God, nor to be reputed for God's mind and counsel; but this prerogative is due only to the sacred Scripture. I add, further, that if thou doest first not so much respect the truth itself, which the Church speaketh, as the instruments of the speech uttered, which are men; next, if ye compare the voice of the Church speaking with the sacred Scripture itself, it doth not deserve at all to be called by the name of God's word, but may more properly be called the word and testimony of man. For Christ himself calls that testimony which John the Baptist gave of him, the testimony of man. "I receive not," (saith he,) "or desire not, the testimony of man," (John v. 34.) Be it so, that the testimony of the Church be true, and agreeable to the holy Scripture, notwithstanding, it is truly called a human testimony, whether ye respect the men which speak, or compare their testimony with that which doth proceed from the mouth of God and Christ himself.

But it may be replied, that the very Apostles and Prophets which wrote and spake all these things which we have in the Scriptures were men in like manner; and, therefore, all the Scriptures are but a human testimony. I answer, that I deny not all is objected, if we were to esteem the words or writings of an Apostle or Prophet as they are instruments and ministers, or if this were to be compared with the very lively voice of God and Christ himself. For in respect of the instruments, if we compare the words or writings of these men with the words and writings of God himself, theirs, I say, must come after and give place unto this, and must bear the name of a human testimony; for so the testimony of John Baptist himself, as being an instrument in comparison of Christ the Lord of life, was called the record of man. Wherefore, when we avouch that the prophetical and apostolical Scripture is the immediate testimony of God himself, we make no comparison with the lively voice of God himself, neither do we so much respect what organs the Holy Ghost used to set forth the Scriptures; but we consider the matter itself, and the divine oracles which be written, and we ponder in what estimation God himself will have us to

accept the sacred Scripture, not as the writings and sayings of men, but as the writings and words of God himself. And we consider this also, as in a comparison made with the Church. For, to use that comparison again, the voice of the Scripture is God's own voice; but the voice of the Church of Christ is called a human testimony, as the word or writing of a Prophet or an Apostle, compared with the lively voice of God, is called *the record of man*, as Christ himself testifieth, (John v. 34.) And thus far of the first controversy.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW IT MAY APPEAR THAT THE SCRIPTURE IS THE WORD OF GOD.

THE second controversy is, By what argument may it appear that the Scripture is the Word of God? Like as then the first question was this, Whether the Scripture be God's word? so the question in hand is this, How and by what evidence this may appear, that the Scripture is God's word? To this I answer on this manner: That we have no need simply of any other light, or of any one special evidence to demonstrate this matter, but that very light which is in the Scripture. For the Scripture (being the first and immediate word of God) is of authority sufficient in itself, and so likewise of itself most clear and evident, and the only cause of all that light which is in the Church and in the hearts of men. For like as the light of the sun is not perceived nor to be seen by means of any other light, for that it so far exceeds all other bodily and external light, so, that spiritual light of the Scripture hath no need in itself of any other light to set forth the same, for that of all spiritual lights to enlighten the mind withal, it is the most bright and most beautiful in the world. But whereas evidences and demonstrations be here demanded for the proof of this matter, to confirm the Scripture to be God's word,

Scriptura est αὐτόπιστος.

[1] By this letter, I presume, Holland means to point out the *Simile* in the text.

that is, to be the very light, the cause of this doubtfulness is in ourselves, for that we be so blear-eyed and so blind by nature. Wherefore, the arguments which are brought for this purpose add no light to the light of the Scripture, which is of its own nature so clear, and cannot be made to shine more bright by any addition; but all serve to this end, to make that thing manifest unto us which is most evident in itself, and that our eyes may be opened to see that most full and most glorious light of the sacred Scripture: that is, to behold the divine majesty of God shining bright, and speaking unto us in the holy Scripture. Like as if a man were to prove to a blind man that the sun did shine, he would not produce arguments to commend the excellency of the light of the sun, but rather provide such things as whereby, if it were possible, he might open the eyes of the blind, that with his own eyes he might look on the glorious light of the sun. Wherefore, in a word, whatsoever arguments men ask of us to demonstrate the light of the Scripture, they ought not to be demanded because of any defect in the Scripture, but in respect of us, because we be so blind, having need of all arguments and helps every way to open our eyes, that our sight may be quickened to behold this glorious light.

The arguments and helps whereby our eyes may be opened to behold the light of the Scripture, or God speaking and shining in the Scripture—these arguments, I say, which the godly and learned use for this purpose, be not of one sort, but many in number. But if the Holy Ghost, speaking in the Scripture, do not first of all inspire our minds, and open the eyes of our understanding, for he alone can do it, assuredly it is but lost labour to speak of any other argument or help; if we be not taught of God, and by his Holy Spirit, all other means shall profit us nothing at all. Wherefore, the first and most principal cause to effect this, that we may behold the light of the Scripture, so bright in itself, must be the Holy Ghost teaching us inwardly in our hearts, and opening our understanding, that we may behold that light of the Scripture, and may acknowledge the voice of God, and of Christ himself, speaking in the Scripture. And the Holy Ghost also himself in this work

Eph. i. 16, 17.

Isaiah.

gives no new light to the Scripture, which is clear and glorious in itself, as is aforesaid, but enlightens our minds, to this end, that we may see the great light of the sacred Scripture. Again, the Holy Ghost, in this great work of our illumination, effecteth it by certain means and instruments, whereby it pleaseth him to work in our hearts and minds.

The means which the Holy Ghost useth for this work are of two kinds. The first is internal; the second is external. The inward mean is in the very Scripture itself; the outward is without the Scripture. The internal mean is the principal organ or instrument of God's Spirit in this work, and it is that very light which shineth in the Scripture. The Holy Ghost, then, doth first of all open the eyes of our understanding, by the light of the Scripture, to discern that light of the Scripture, so bright in itself, and so unknown unto us. And he cleareth our understanding, to see the light of the Scripture, by the very Scripture itself and by the light of the Scripture, many ways. For partly he effecteth this by producing certain testimonies of Scripture which plainly testify of this great light of the Scripture, and of God speaking in the Scripture, as that place, *All Scripture is given by divine inspiration;* (2 Tim. iii. 16;) partly by suggesting into us, that we observe the spiritual matters which are therein described; partly by admonishing that we note the spiritual words whereby the same spiritual matters are expressed and set before us; partly by warning us to observe the truth of the divine oracles by the complement of the prophecies. Again, he sets before us the beautiful harmony of the Scripture in the Old and New Testament, the one sweetly testifying of the other. And here he omitteth not the miracles which he recordeth therein, whereby the celestial doctrine had in the beginning a confirmation. He putteth us also in mind of the martyrs which sealed the same truth with their blood, as we read in the same Scripture. By these means, and such like, the Spirit teacheth us out of the very Scripture, that the sacred Scripture is God's word, by clear evidence manifesting that great and excellent light which is in the Scripture. Add also unto the aforesaid means,

How the Holy Ghost first teacheth us to know the Scriptures.

Inward means to see the light of the Scriptures.

the worth and holiness of those men which wrote the Scriptures, as the same is testified and recorded in the Scriptures. And this is the internal and principal mean and instrument of the Holy Ghost, whereby he teacheth us and breedeth faith in our hearts, whereby we be certainly persuaded that this Scripture is the very word of God.

External means to prove the Scripture to be God's word.

There are also other means without the Scripture, whereby the Spirit proveth the same thing; as the constancy of the martyrs, which daily seal with their blood the truth of this heavenly doctrine; and the persecution raised by the enemies of the Church against it, and the enmity of Satan against it, and the preservation of the divine oracles of God unto our times; and, to be short, the testimony of the true Church of God for it. All these are without or beside the Scripture, and give us a secondary kind of demonstration, whereby the Holy Ghost worketh also, as it pleaseth him, and openeth the eyes of our understanding, enlightening us to see and hear God himself speaking and shining in the Scripture.

God rather by these means, the testimony of the Church and conversation of the saints, prepareth us to receive the precious faith. John iv. 1 Pet. iii. 2, 3.

But here we be to observe, that the Holy Ghost doth not beget faith in our hearts, properly and principally, by this second kind of external means,—for the proper and principal instrument of God to breed faith is the very word of God himself, for it must be, necessarily, either the lively voice of God or the sacred Scripture, which serveth us instead of the lively voice of God himself,—but either prepares our hearts only to receive faith afterwards by the word of God, or to confirm the same in some sort, being already engendered in our hearts by God's word. For this cause, this second kind of means sometimes is sent before the voice of God in the Scripture, whereby the Holy Ghost otherwhiles makes men's minds ready to entertain faith and grace offered. This we read of Augustine, for he speaks it of himself, *I would not have believed the gospel, but that the authority of the Catholic Church moved me thereunto;* by which words he meaneth, that when he was a Manichee, he was prepared by the authority and testimony of the Church to believe the gospel. Afterwards, notwithstanding, the same Holy Spirit which thus prepared him by the testimony of the

Church,—I say, the same Spirit did beget faith in Augustine's heart by the very Scripture of the gospel, whereby he did believe that the gospel was the very word of God. For this cause he speaks elsewhere of himself. *And let us follow them* (saith he) *which do invite us first to believe that which we cannot behold as yet, that being strengthened by faith itself, we may be worthy to understand what we believe, not by the relation of men, but by the grace of God himself inwardly confirming and enlightening our minds.* So the woman of Samaria, (John iv. 39,) as a member of the Church, did, by her kind of preaching, prepare the Samaritans to the faith of Christ, and they having heard Christ himself, said to the woman, *We believe no longer because of thy sayings, for we have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world.* By which words they plainly testified, that they were prepared only by the woman's testimony to embrace the faith, and that faith was engendered in their hearts by the powerful voice of Christ himself. Wherefore, it is clear that sometimes this kind of mean and argument, as is aforesaid, goes before faith, is begotten in the heart to prepare us. And sometimes this follows faith for confirmation. And sometimes, also, this kind of argument [both] goes before faith, and follows after it: it goes before, I say, for preparation; it follows after for confirmation. For the Spirit teacheth us many ways, applying himself to divers men in divers manners, as it seemeth good unto himself, and as men's infirmities do require.

Augustine's words.

John iv. 42. 1 Pet. iii. 1, 2. Win them with your conversation, which are without the word.

Note well John iii.

And here we be to observe, that there is no absolute necessity of this secondary kind of argument, which is external and less principal, to beget faith in us; for it ought to suffice us, if the Spirit teach us only by God's word. But to help our weakness the same Spirit addeth the other secondary kind of argument, as Christ plainly teacheth us, (John v.,) where he saith, the testimony of John Baptist concerning him was not simply necessary, but that God so provided to help their weakness and unbelief; (verse 33,) *John gave testimony to the truth, but I desire not the testimony of man. Nevertheless, these things I speak, that ye may be saved.* And that John's testimony was but a secondary argu-

ment only, and that Christ's own record of himself was the first, he showeth plainly in the words following; (verse 36,) *But I have a greater witness than the witness of John: for the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me that the Father sent me.* And this is our judgment concerning this argument, whereby we prove the Scripture to be the word of God, and our answer to the question, wherefore it is so as we avouch it.

How the Papists prove the Scripture to be God's word.

What the Papists think in this matter, it is easily seen by their words and writings. Their judgment briefly is this: The mean and principal argument, and, in a manner, the only way with them to demonstrate the Scripture to be God's word, is the testimony of the Church, not only the Catholic, as they speak, but also those of their church which have preserved the faith, as they speak, by continual successions from the Apostles unto our times; and here they understand principally the Popes, who, as they say, succeeded Peter and his chair. These men will have the Church the judge and interpreter of all Scriptures, from whose judgment it may not be lawful for any man to depart for an appeal to any other judge. And they ascribe this dignity and prerogative to the testimony of the Church, because they will have the Scripture, which is written in the heart of the Church, to be the principal Scripture, and that we account and esteem of the voice of the Church as the very lively voice of God himself; as if God now spake first principally in his Church, and by the voice of his Church. If they will have it so, that the voice of the Church be the primary voice of God and the primary Scripture of God, it is evident that they deem the greatest light we have is to be found in the voice of the Church, and the same to be most clear and demonstrative, not only to us, but also in and by itself; and, therefore, that this light enlightens the sacred Scripture, not in respect of us only, but in respect of themselves[1] also. For which cause one of them hath said, that the Scripture is of no more validity, without the authority of the Church,

The blasphemy of Papists.

[1] Incorrect. It should be: In respect of its own nature also. The original is: sed etiam ratione sui. P. 74.

than Æsop's Fables. For the voice of the Church being unto them the primary voice of God in all respects, forasmuch as it is lively and vocal, and for this cause both by nature and to us most manifest; it followeth, according to their judgment, that it yields light unto the Scripture, not only in respect of us, but also in respect of the Scripture itself; and yet is it in verity but a certain secondary Scripture, and a certain secondary voice.[1] For, as they avouch it, the voice of the Church is as God's own voice soundifig from heaven, serving to confirm the voice of the Scripture, which now is but man's voice only, and to ratify and make authentical the very Scripture, as being written but by certain scribes, and published only by the hands of men. This must be the consequent of their principles, or conclusion of their premises, albeit other men be of another judgment.

As for ourselves, like as we deny the conclusion which they infer upon the former principles, so we reject also their very principles. For we deny and refuse their first ground, to wit, that the voice of the Church is to be accounted the lively voice of God himself, and that the Scripture, written in the heart of the Church, is to be accounted for that Scripture which was written by the very finger of God. And we affirm, that the only prophetical and apostolical Scripture is to be esteemed as the lively voice of God; we avouch it, I say, that this prophetical and apostolical Scripture only serveth us instead of that Scripture which was written by God's own finger. We add, also, that the sacred Scripture is unto us a book of revelation of those divine mysteries which were hidden in God's own breast from eternity; for this is the very will of God, that we attend on him speaking in the Scripture as it were in his own lively voice. *They have* (saith he) *Moses and the Prophets*, (Luke xvi. ver. 29;) that is, the books of Moses and the Prophets. And God will [not] have this Scripture in no less account than that Scripture which he wrote in times past with his own finger in tables of stone. The voice of the Church—I mean the true Church, not the lying

[1] Incorrect. The last clause should be: Which is a certain secondary writing, and a certain secondary voice.

papistical synagogue—is but as the voice of the handmaid or as the voice of a crier, which is to publish and to proclaim that voice of God, full of excellency, speaking in the Scripture. But the Scripture in the heart of the Church, that is, the maxims of God's truth written in the hearts of the faithful, they be nothing else but a certain secondary Scripture, taken out by the Holy Ghost out of that primary and most sacred Scripture, and engraven in the minds of men. For how much, think you, of that full measure of the prophetical and apostolical Scripture is there taken forth and engraven in our minds? I say, that if all men's hearts were bound together, yet all they could not comprehend all those things fully and perfectly, which be recorded in the prophetical and apostolical Scriptures. For the Catholic Church, so long as it is conversant on the earth, is not capable of all that light which shineth in the sacred Scriptures of the Apostles and the Prophets. Let their first principle be thus beaten down, and their corollary or second conclusion, to wit, that the voice of the Church is most manifest both in itself and unto us, will fall to the ground of its own accord; and so both principles being shaken, their conclusion which they infer is of no strength to stand, but must fall away.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE FIRST PROPRIETY[1] OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURE.

The first propriety of the Scripture, most ancient.

WE are now to proceed, and to make it manifest that the holy Scripture is of greatest antiquity; and this is the first propriety before ascribed to the Scripture. Here, first, we be to find out the divers acceptations of this word *Scripture*. This word Scripture may be taken either for the matter only, and the very substance which is contained in the words and letters; or not only for the matter and substance, but also for the very writing itself, or the form

Acceptation of the word Scripture.

[1] *Proprietas* is Rollock's word, *i.e.*, peculiar characteristic; in which sense Holland uses *Propriety*, interchangeably, as will be seen, with *Property*.

wherein that substance is expressed and set before us. Now, if by this word Scripture ye understand the very substance itself, it is without all controversy that the Scripture is most ancient, because it is the substance of those divine oracles which not only patriarchs and prophets have spoken, but also God himself uttered; which things also were hidden in God's mind from eternity. But if ye understand by this word, not only the substance, but the very writing, and in this respect also, the Scripture may be said to be most ancient. For, as touching the prophetical and apostolical Scriptures, in respect also of the writing and manner of revealing of them, as we said often before, it is God's will that we so esteem them, not only as the lively voice of the Prophets and Apostles, nor only as the lively voice of God himself, or as a book written with his own hand, as the Decalogue was set down with his own finger in tables of stone, but also that we so accept them as the very mysteries, and, if I may so speak, as the very divine notions which were engraven in God's own mind from eternity.

To clear this point a little. The verity kept secret in God's mind from eternity was in time manifested many ways, or in divers forms; for it was revealed partly by the lively voice of God himself, partly by the voice of the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles, to pass by Angels in silence, and partly also by the Scripture which was written by the Prophets and Apostles. The lively and immediate voice of God did cease long since; neither have we that copy which God himself wrote. The Patriarchs also, and the Prophets, and the Apostles, have ceased to speak; the writings only of the Prophets and Apostles remain to this day. Wherefore this we hold as necessary unto faith, that we accept these writings or books, first, instead of the lively voice of the Prophets and Apostles. Next, in place of the lively voice of God himself. Thirdly, of the Scripture written with God's own finger. Fourthly, and lastly, as that holy verity and divine mysteries which are recorded in God's own breast; which oracles being simply, without comparison, of greatest antiquity, it is very manifest that the prophetical and apostolical Scripture is after a sort most ancient.* For what may

How to esteem of the written word of God.

be avouched of the lively voice of God himself, or of the oracles of his mind, the same in some respect may be said of the Scripture supplying unto us their defect. For if I may truly say, in some sort the Scripture is the lively voice of God himself, do I not as truly speak also in like manner, the Scripture is most ancient, forasmuch as the voice of God is most ancient? But it shall suffice us to commend the antiquity of Scripture, to consider the substance only of the Scripture, which, without all controversy, is most ancient. But the very Scripture and writing itself hath his excellency also, for that the Scripture, in respect of the very writing, is said to be given us also by *divine inspiration*. For there is not a jot or prick in the very writing which is not by the inspiration of God.

Substance of the Scripture simply most ancient.

Scriptura est Θεόπνευστος.

Here the adversaries take exception, and, as elsewhere often, so here they prefer their Church before the Scripture, and they affirm the Church is more ancient than the Scripture. For they say there was a Church two thousand full years before Moses, the first writer of the Scripture; and, since Christ's coming, the Church for many years wanted the Scriptures. But that which hath been already written, and is aforesaid, can easily solve this objection. For if we understand by this word Scripture, not only the characters and books, but also that substance and matter contained in them, for we have the Prophets and Apostles speaking in the Scriptures, and we have their lively voice, we have, I say, the lively voice of God himself, and the very express mind of God contained in them;—if, I say, we understand by this word that substance, it cannot then be denied but the Scripture is more ancient than the Church, which was *born not of mortal seed, but of immortal, even by the word of God, who liveth and endureth for ever.* (1 Pet. i. 23.) I say, the premises well considered, it shall appear the Scripture is not only more ancient than the Church, but to be of greatest antiquity, and to have been with God from everlasting. But if by this word ye understand both the matter and writing, in this respect also it shall be no disparagement to avouch it to be of greater antiquity than the Church, yea, to be most ancient, as we have at large before showed. And thus far of the first property of the sacred Scripture, and of the third controversy.

A Popish objection.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE SECOND PROPERTY OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURE, WHERE BEGINS THE FOURTH CONTROVERSY.

THE second property of the sacred Scripture is opened sufficiently, in a manner, already, in the second controversy before handled. This property is this, that the Scripture is most clear in itself, and most easy to be understood: for, it being the very word of God, which word every man must necessarily grant to be in itself most clear, most manifest, and most perspicuous, whether you respect the words or the matter contained in the words, if men will not offer extreme injury to God's Holy Spirit, assuredly it must follow, I say, that the Holy Scripture is in itself and of itself, most clear and evident in every part and in every respect. Of this great perspicuity of the Scripture, the Holy Ghost testifieth often. (Psalm cxix. 105,) *The word of the Lord is a lantern to my feet.* (Psalm xix. 9,) *The precept of the Lord* (saith the Psalmist) *is clear, and enlighteneth the eyes.* (Prov. vi. 23,) *The commandment is a lantern, and the law is a light.* The Lord by the Prophet Isaiah (chap. xlv. 19) saith, *I have not spoken in secret:* and, (2 Peter i. 19,) he saith, *We have a most sure word of the prophets, to the which ye do well that ye take heed, as to a light that shineth in a dark place.* Wherefore the whole Scripture, and all places of the Scripture, are by themselves, and in themselves, most manifest, most clear, and applied also to the capacity of the vulgar sort, and of the most unlettered among the people. For it is certain that the Lord in the Scriptures doth, as it were, lisp with us. (John iii. 12,) *If I have spoken to you of earthly things, and you believe not;* that is, I have spoken unto you after an earthly and plain manner, and I have applied myself to your capacity.

All the Scripture clear and easy to the weakest believer.

I have avouched that the sacred Scripture is in itself clear and easy. True it is, if ye respect men as they are men, that is, natural and carnal, the holy Scripture unto such is altogether

obscure and strange; *for the natural man doth not conceive the things which appertain to the Spirit of God.* But if ye consider the spiritual man and such as be taught of God, I grant to such it is partly obscure, because they be as yet in part carnal. And for this cause the godly put up continually supplications unto God, as feeling the reliques of their natural blindness and corruption, and making requests, that the eyes of their understanding might be opened, that they may behold the bright shining light of the Scriptures and of every place and portion of the Scripture, being otherwise most evident in itself. All the religious and godly in their prayers are so far from laying any imputation of hardness and obscurity on God's word, that they do ever accuse and condemn themselves and their own blindness and dulness. 1 Cor. ii. 14.

And, albeit this be true that all the Scripture and all places of the Scripture be simply and in themselves most clear and easy, and only dark and hard by reason of our corruption and blindness, yet this cannot be denied, but that some places of Scripture be more clear in themselves than others, more easy and more evident—as those Scriptures concerning faith and manners, which be so necessary unto salvation. They be, I say, so clearly set down, so often repeated and in so many places expounded, that we need not many rules for interpretation or to find out the knowledge of them. But these places also require the grace of God's Holy Spirit; for, without him, spiritual things, which be most perspicuous and evident, cannot be understood of any man on earth. Wherefore he that is ignorant of the most clear Scriptures, which do so much concern his salvation, is altogether blind, and lieth as yet in the woeful state of perdition, for so the Apostle speaketh, *If that the gospel be hid, it is hidden to them that are lost.* (2 Cor. iv. 3, 4.) Note.

As for other Scriptures which are more hard in appearance, for that they do not so much concern the necessary articles of faith, and rules of life and conversation, we may be ignorant of them without danger of faith and salvation; albeit the knowledge of such places might bring some light for the better understanding of the Scriptures, which of necessity must be known concerning faith and manners. And we may attain some tolerable interpretation of How to interpret and expound hard Scriptures.

these Scriptures, analogical unto faith, if we observe those rules of knowledge and interpretation which are commonly recommended by the learned, ever making God's Holy Spirit our first and princi-
Rules. pal guide for our inward illumination and instruction. The rules which follow this are but the means which the Holy Ghost useth, and they are borrowed partly out of the Holy Scripture, as by conference of places of the Scripture, either the very same, or the like in sense and phrase; partly from elsewhere, as of the common-places of divinity, of the testimony of the Church, of the grammar itself, especially the Hebrew and Greek; and good rules and helps are had from rhetoric and logic, which teacheth us to consider not only of simple arguments set apart, but also of the disposition and connection of arguments, bound and knit together in axioms or propositions, in syllogism and method. For logic teacheth us the coherence of antecedents and consequents, which serveth not a little for the unfolding and opening of hard places. And to pass over other things, some little insight in ethics and physics, &c., may give some help hereunto. But, above all things, we must remember to put up unto God continual and fervent prayers, to open and to enlighten our minds by his Holy Spirit. If men observe these means for the interpretation and understanding of the Scriptures, and hard places of the Scripture, we shall not lightly err from the truth of God.

The drift of Papists in affirming the Scriptures to be obscure.

Here fume the adversaries, and endeavour to prove by many arguments, that the Scriptures in themselves and of themselves are obscure, even in those places which are necessary, and appertain to salvation, to this end and purpose, forsooth, to withdraw men's minds from reading the Scriptures, that they may attend and trust to their dreams, and that they may obtrude their glosses on the Church, even what please them, and what for the most part they prefer before the text itself; writhing, as it were, and drawing rather the text of Scripture to be their gloss, than giving any light of interpretation by or from the text itself.[1] And here they contend

[1] Obscure. It should be: Rather distorting the text of the Scriptures to agree with their gloss, than drawing the interpretation from the text of the Scriptures.

against us with testimony, first, of the Scriptures themselves; next, of the doctors and fathers of the Church; and, lastly, with arguments of their own; all which may easily be answered, if we observe well the grounds before set down. It shall suffice us now to hear only one or two of their arguments refuted.

They demand, whether for these Scriptures now extant of the Old and New Testament, we have no need of commentaries, which are now in the world very many, written by many men? I answer, That the divine Scriptures of themselves have no need of the comments and interpretations of men; for the Scriptures we account them to be the lively voice of God himself: and what is there that can make this voice more clear and evident in itself? Can either man or angel speak any thing more clearly than God himself? or doth God purposely affect obscurity? both which to avouch is very blasphemous. As for the commentaries or expositions of the godly learned, which have spent some good time in the Scriptures of God, we grant they help the ignorant and the common sort very much, and that they serve well to dispel the clouds of our natural corruption. Commentaries.

But this may seem a greater question and more doubtful, touching the preaching of God's word, and the expounding of the Scriptures, by pastors and preachers in the public assemblies: whether preaching be not necessary—I mean the lively preaching of pastors and teachers? I answer, The Scriptures of God, which we account as the lively voice of God, have no need of this means in themselves; I say, that God and his word in themselves need neither this preaching nor interpretation of the Scriptures; but the necessity of the ministry and of preaching is only in respect of us, and of our blindness and ignorance, which be but as children, yea, as infants in a manner, all the days we live on earth, Eph. iv. 20; 1 Cor. xiii. 11. And when, as we shall become men in the world to come, then shall we have need of no such ministry: for we shall rest contented, being filled with that only light of God and of Christ, without any further instruction of men and angels. And thus far of the second property of the Scripture, and of the fourth controversy. The state of the elect in heaven.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE THIRD PROPERTY OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURE, WHEREOF ARISETH THE FIFTH CONTROVERSY.

Simplicissima.

THE third property of the sacred Scripture is this: It is most plain and pure, whether ye respect words or phrase; neither hath it any ambiguity or doubtfulness in it. This property differs from the former herein, for whereas perspicuity extends itself, and concerns words and matter; this simplicity or plainness, as I may so speak, is of words only. This we avouch, then, that the sacred Scripture is of itself most single and plain, void of all ambiguity and amphibology, or that it containeth nothing doubtful in one place which is not expressed in another, if there be any obscurity in it. For the word of the Lord and his Spirit be ever single and sincere; neither doth God at any time speak to catch men with ambiguous and doubtful speeches, as do devils and sophisters; but to teach men his holy truth. *For the Spirit of truth leadeth us into all truth*, John xvi. 13. And the Scripture is given of God by inspiration, and is the very word of God, as is before showed. Wherefore, if we will not offer God extreme injury, we must necessarily grant that the Scripture in itself is most plain and simple in sense and signification. I say, the Scripture in itself is plain, as touching the sense: for if there be any ambiguity in any words of Scripture, that diversity or darkness may not be imputed to the Scripture, but to the blindness or ignorance of men, even of such also, which do not of any evil purpose of heart pervert the Scripture. For there be many which impiously wrest the same to the one side and the other, when as they know right well, notwithstanding, the sense of the same Scripture is only one, plain and evident. To approve this plainness and simplicity of the Scriptures, first the Son of God himself, in his disputations against Satan and all his adversaries, borroweth hence his weapons, by his own example

Circumlocution by speech.

If the Scriptures seem doubtful, condemn thine own sin and corruption.

recommending the sacred Scriptures to all men. Next after him the Apostles and their successors, and the Fathers themselves have drawn their arguments from the sacred Scriptures against heretics, both for confirmation of truth and confutation of error.

The adversaries here contend against this property of the sacred Scripture, and they hold that that is doubtful, ambiguous, and blasphemously report that it hath a nose of wax, and may be turned here and there: For which cause they affirm it is the book of heretics, and that of it spring heresies, and that all men seek to maintain their errors by it. But these blasphemies are easily answered by that which is before showed. For this ambiguity and flexibleness is not to be imputed to the Scripture, which is given of God by divine inspiration, and serveth us instead of God's own voice; but must be ascribed either to the ignorance or malice, or malapertness of men, who either cannot apprehend the simple and true sense of Scripture, or maliciously pervert and turn the same into a strange sense. Aluta instar.

Here they object, that the Scripture is full of tropes, allegories, parables, words of divers significations, amphibological sentences, visions, all which have their ambiguity. I answer, That this matter may the better be cleared, we are to look a little more soundly into it. The ambiguity which is contrary unto simplicity, being in the words and not in the matter—for the words are ambiguous, and not the matter—let us reduce all ambiguity which is in the words into five principal heads. For, first, there be simple or common words of divers acceptations: secondly, there be tropical or figurative words: thirdly, there be whole speeches or sentences which carry a doubtful signification: fourthly, there be allegorical speeches consisting of the continuation of tropes: fifthly, there be also typical words and sentences, concerning types and figures. Ob. A. Five principal heads

Of all these, this I say generally, that in all such places the Holy Ghost hath but one only simple sense and meaning. For as touching words of divers significations, if any such words be found in Scripture in the originals, Hebrew and Greek, (as that cannot be otherwise, but there must be such in the Scriptures,) first, I say,

that such words have but one signification only in such places, and that the Holy Ghost purposeth and intendeth but one thing by them. For the Holy Ghost desireth not to use any fallacion or sophistication. Next, I answer, That we may deprehend that one signification, and that one plain meaning of the word, we desire to find, either by the drift of the Holy Ghost in that place or text, where any such word is, or by conference of other places of Scripture where the like word is to be found; or by other Scriptures, expressing the same sense and matter in other words; or by observation of grammatical accidence, accents, points, or pricks, and such like. And where we find tropes and words borrowed and drawn from their proper and native signification in any text of Scripture, I say that these such words are used by the Holy Ghost purposely, to express in a more significant and lively manner but one sense and meaning. As where it is said, "This is my body," by the metonymy, which is the word "body," the Spirit speaketh more significantly than if he had said, "This is a sign of my body:" for by that metonymical phrase, the Holy Ghost plainly avoucheth the sacramental union which is of the sign and of the thing signified. Next, I say, if the trope seem somewhat obscure and strange, that ye may find the signification of the same trope by a word of proper signification, either in the same Scripture, or in some other Scripture where the like trope may be found.

How to understand a doubtful word, phrase, or sentence in Scripture.

If ye meet in Scripture with a sentence seeming ambiguous, first be well assured that God's Spirit doth not purposely speak doubtfully, as sophisters do, but hath ever one single and plain meaning; but men do both give and receive an evil construction of the context, either ignorantly or maliciously. Next, I say, that other places of Scripture do more clearly set forth the self-same matter. Finally, if you find allegories in Scripture, of them this I affirm, that first they serve for illustration: next, that they have but one signification or sense; and the same is either manifest, and needeth no further exposition; or if it be obscure, it is more clearly expressed somewhere else in the Scripture. And as for Scripture concerning types, I say of them also, first, that they have but one

A sentence in Scripture seeming ambiguous.

A typical speech in Scripture.

signification, and signify types only, and not also the matter signified by them: next, that one very sense of the types is applied to signify another thing, that is, the body itself; for the types themselves carry in them the significations of the things signified, and shadowed by the types, and not the words themselves which are used to set forth the types. For in that history recorded, Gal. iv., this name Sarah signifieth Abraham's wife, that is, the type only: next, the type signifieth the covenant, that is, the thing shadowed, figured, and signified by the type. And thus far of the third property and fifth controversy.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE FOURTH PROPERTY, AND SIXTH CONTROVERSY.

THIS we say also concerning the sacred Scripture, that it is most effectual, most lively, and most vocal, sounding to every man an answer of all things necessary unto salvation. The life, which here I understand is not any fleshly or carnal life, as the life of man, but that spiritual life, as the life of God: and by a lively voice I mean a spiritual voice, speaking not so much to the ear as to the mind of man. For, first, if ye respect the substance of this divine revelation, this, which I avouch, is without all controversy. For the Scripture contains in it *the word of God, which is lively and powerful*, &c., (Heb. iv. 12.) Next, in the form of the revelation thereof, that is, the very writing of God, this is evident in like manner. For it was given and written by *divine inspiration*; and whatsoever is of this kind must necessarily be in itself both lively and spiritual. Again, this Scripture is unto us, if not the lively voice of God, yet certainly instead thereof. For we have none other lively voice of God but this: for, as for the voice of the Church, pastors and teachers in the Church, the same may err; neither may it properly be called the voice of God. The

voice of God we must avouch of it, that it is a lively voice: *Ergo*, &c. Thirdly, the very Scripture speaks of itself as having a lively voice, as we may read, Rom. ix. 17, *The Scripture saith*, &c. Again, Isaiah's Scripture is said *to cry concerning Israel*, (Rom. ix. 27.) Fourthly, so many as propound questions of any matter necessary to salvation, be sent to it: Isa. viii. 19, 20, *Should not a people inquire at their God: from the living to the dead? Turn rather to the law and to the testimony: If they speak not according to this word, there is no morning light in them.* Again, the Son of God himself, so often as any propounded questions unto him of the law, of divorcement, of the Sabbath, of the Messiah, of regeneration, and of the resurrection, or how to attain eternal life, he always gave them answer out of the sacred Scripture, and ever he sends such as move any such doubts unto the Scripture. "How readest thou?" saith he: and "Have ye not read? Have ye never read? How is it written?"

Again, the Apostles of Christ, for all their assertions, bring proofs and testimonies out of the Old Testament. Apollos was a man *mighty in Scriptures. He strongly confuted publicly the Jews with great vehemency, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was that Christ*, (Acts xviii. 24, 28.) The men of Berea *received the word with all readiness, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so*, (Acts xvii. 11.) Thus the primitive Church and the Fathers refuted heresies by the Scriptures. To conclude this point, most memorable is that worthy fact of Constantinus the Great, who, propounding the Bible to the Fathers, assembled in the Nicene Council, spake on this manner:—"Here I set before you the writings Evangelical, of the Apostles, and the sanctions of the ancient Prophets, which can inform us concerning the sacred law of God. To beat back, therefore, the dint of the sword of the adversary, let us learn how to answer all objections of the adversary, out of the words which are given us of God by divine inspiration." Lastly, this I have said, that the Scripture is in itself lively and vocal; for, as concerning deaf and dead men, that is, the natural never taught of God, unto such, I say, it is but as dead and mute.

Here the adversaries blaspheme and reply, saying, that the

sacred Scripture is but as a dead letter, mute, and not able to give answer to any man, not able to decide questions and controversies in religion: and, contrarily, they glory that the voice of the Church, which proceeds from the Scripture, (as they speak,) which is engraven by God's own Spirit in the hearts of men; they boast, I say, that this is vocal, and able to answer the demanders of all questions appertaining to salvation, and that this cannot be wrested nor perverted, but ever abides the same in all respects. The answer to this calumniation and blasphemy is clear, of that which is before showed; for we made it clear and manifest, that the sacred Scripture is most lively and vocal in itself. And whereas controversies are not so soon decided by the Scriptures, the cause is not in God's word, but in men, which be either so naturally blind and dull, that they cannot hear and understand the Scripture, speaking and answering, yea, crying in their ears: or they be so malicious and obstinate, that they will not hear and understand; yea, that they will full often, against their own conscience, wrest the voice of the Scripture into another sense, and that to their own perdition. 1 Pet. iii. 16. Wherefore we conclude this point, that the Scripture is in itself, and by itself, most lively and vocal.

And, further, we be to remember, that to the end it may speak as a lively voice unto us, and to the end we may understand it concerning all controversies in religion, we must use the means before mentioned, and our very grammar is one special instrument for this purpose. For our eyes and ears are opened by such means to understand the Scripture, and to attend unto God's voice, speaking in the Scripture, if it shall seem good to the Holy Ghost to work effectually by them in our hearts and minds. If so be that the Spirit work effectually by the aforesaid means, then the Scripture shall answer to all controversies concerning faith and religion, with a more clear, lively, intelligible, and distinct voice, than all the men in the whole Church shall answer, who can avouch nothing sound and certain, unless, first, they have received it from the mouth of the Scripture, and answer in the very words of the Scripture. For whereas these men say, the voice of the Church

Means to be used for the understanding of the Scripture.

is lively and vocal, heard of all men, and cannot be perverted and wrested: to this I answer, first, That the voice of the Church (as is aforesaid) doth depend on the voice of the Scripture. Next, that the voice of the Church is subject to errors and change, so that they may this day answer one thing, and to-morrow another; and this serves no better, in a manner, than a Lesbian rule to decide controversies concerning faith and religion. As for the Church of Rome, they have so long and so corruptly answered concerning faith and religion, that they have carried the world from the truth to lies, and errors, and infinite heresies; that there is now no cause wherefore these men may so put forth to sale, the voice and sound of their Church, which is become so corrupt and adulterous.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE FIFTH PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH, AND OF THE SEVENTH CONTROVERSY.

Fifth property, Scripture is most necessary.

Now it resteth that we prove that the sacred Scripture is simply most necessary. Here, then, I say, that if by Scripture ye understand the substance and the very matter contained in the words written, it cannot be denied that the Scripture is so necessary that without it there can be no Church in earth, for the Church is born and bred, *not of mortal, but of immortal seed, which is the word of God*, 1 Pet. i. 23. But if ye understand by the Scripture the very writing and form of revelation, I say, that in this respect also it is so necessary, that without this there cannot be a Church. For the lively voice of God is simply necessary. The Scripture, after a sort, is the lively voice of God: Therefore, simply necessary.

I grant it, that when as the lively voice of God did sound, and was heard in the Church, this writing, and this form of revelation,

was not then so necessary; but when as God did cease to speak, and that the Scripture came in place of God's own voice, then the Scripture was no less necessary than the lively voice of God. For the voice of God must ever be in the Church, that the Church may have her being, and may continue on the earth; yea, this voice must be heard by the Church, either by itself or by that which may best supply the want of the lively voice of God. Before Moses' time this voice itself was heard. After his time this voice sounded and spake in and by the voice and writings of Moses and the Prophets. When Christ has come, his own lively voice was heard. After Christ's ascension, for a time the preaching of the Apostles, and the books of the Old Testament, were received for the lively voice of God himself, and of his Son Jesus Christ. Then followed the Apostolical Scripture, which, together with the Holy Scripture of the Old Testament, continue in the Church, to supply not only the lively voice of the Apostles, but also of God, and of Christ himself. By the premises it is evident, that it is simply necessary at all times that the lively voice of God sound ever in the Church of God, either by itself or by this supply, which we now avouch to be only the sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Wherefore, we plainly conclude, the Scripture is most necessary.

2 Cor. v. 19.
1 Pet. i. 12.

The adversaries oppose themselves against this assertion, as against the former, and they deny that the Scripture is simply necessary: it is necessary, (say they,) that is, it is profitable or commodious for the well-being of a Church; but it is not so necessary for the being, nor no such thing, as without which the Church can have no being. And for this cause do these men deny the necessity of the Scripture, that they may open the door to their authority and traditions, that is, to their own dreams, which they say be simply necessary, and prefer them before the Scripture. They are easily answered by the rules before set down. For if by Scripture they understand the substance of the Scripture, it cannot be denied that the Scripture is simply necessary. But if they understand not the substance only, but also the very writing, in

this respect also, we have showed it by clear demonstration that the Scripture is simply necessary; for that it is unto us in place of the lively voice of God himself. Wherefore, their assertion is false, howsoever they take this word Scripture either in this sense or the other.

But they say, the Church wanted the Scripture near two thousand years, all which time religion was preserved by tradition only. Therefore, the Scripture is not simply necessary. I answer, If you understand by Scripture the very substance of the Covenant, then your argument followeth not: for the substance of the Scripture was in those very traditions, whereby the Church was edified and kept. But if by this word ye understand the very writing, then I grant the Scripture was not extant so many years; and I say, that it was not then necessary, for that then the lively voice of God itself was heard. If they conclude that because it was not then necessary, therefore it is not now necessary, or that it was not necessary, after that God had commanded it, and after that it began to be extant; surely the consequence is very evil: for as ages and times have changed, so divers forms of revelation were necessary.

Or we may more briefly set down this Controversy in this form.

The Scripture is necessary not only for the well-being (as Popish schoolmen speak) but also for the being of the Church: *Et hactenus est simplex necessitas.* And this necessity is in respect of time only: for there was not a necessity of the Scripture in all ages. I understand by the word Scripture, not only the substance of the written word, but also the manner or form of revelation; but this simple necessity must be avouched of the substance and form of revelation in divers respects. For the Scripture, as touching the substance of it, was necessary to the Church in all ages, but in respect of the manner of revealing the same, it was necessary for a certain time only, to wit, until it seemed good unto Almighty God to teach his Church by the Scripture. ARG. 1. For the Lord God had not given his Church the Scripture, if he had not thought it

The word written not necessary in all ages. Heb. i. 1, 2.

necessary even for the being of his Church. ARG. 2. The lively voice of God was necessary in the time appointed for it: *Ergo*, the Scripture also is necessary in the time the Lord hath decreed for it: for there is but one and the same reason of both. ARG. 3. It is necessary that God's will be revealed and communicated to the Church at all times, in one form or other, either by God's own lively voice, or by writing, or by both; but now the lively voice of God hath ceased: therefore now the word written is necessary.

The adversaries deny this absolute necessity, moved hereunto with these arguments following:—First, From Adam to Moses there was no Scripture: *Ergo*. I answer, The Lord God thought it not necessary for all that time. But when as the Lord himself began to write, and that the holy men of God were acted and moved by the Holy Ghost, first Prophets, then Apostles; then the Scripture began to be necessary, and even simply necessary. 2 Pet. i 18, 19, 21.

ARG. 2. From Moses unto Christ, Job and his friends both believed and were saved without the Scripture. I answer, It is most like these also read the Scriptures, as may appear by the eunuch's story, Acts viii. Next, I answer, That so many as were called without the visible Church, God dealt with them in an extraordinary manner. ARG. 3. They did more attend the traditions of the Fathers than the written word, even in the second age. I answer, This is false. ARG. 4. In the third age there was no Scripture of the New Testament extant for a long season: *Ergo*. I answer, The Apostolical Scripture began not long after Christ. Next, all that time I grant it was not necessary; but when the Apostles were dead, and when their lively voice ceased, then began it to be necessary.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE SIXTH PROPERTY OF THE SCRIPTURE, AND THE EIGHTH CONTROVERSY.

THE Scripture is perfect, containing in it all things necessary for faith and manners, not only sufficiently, but also abundantly: for this is the perfection which here we do avouch. The sense, then, of the proposition is this: This kind of revelation contains all things, &c. The proof is this. ARGUMENT 1. The lively voice of God contained all articles or instructions concerning faith or manners: *Ergo*, So doth the Scripture. The reason of the argument is evident; for that nothing in respect of substance was spoken by that lively voice which is not recorded in the Scripture. ARG. 2. If the Scripture contained not all things necessary perfectly, then evil were the condition of our Church, and of our time, which heareth not the lively voice of any man speaking by divine inspiration, nor of any prophet or apostle. ARG. 3. The religious, and such as be taught of God, have a holy experience of the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and of the fulness of it. Add to these arguments these divine testimonies: Deut. iv. 2, *Ye shall not add to the word that I speak, &c.* Rev. xxii. 18, *If any man shall add to these things, God shall add unto him the plagues which are written in this book.* Albeit these sayings are to be understood properly of particular books, yet the same reason serves for all books of the canonical Scripture; and surely the reason binds more strongly: for if we may not add to particular books, how much less is it lawful to add to the whole canon? Prov. xxx. 6, *Thou shalt add nothing to his words.* This seems to be understood of the whole Scripture: Matt. xxviii. 20, *Teaching to observe all things which I commanded you;* Gal. i. 8, *If we, or an angel from heaven, shall preach unto you another gospel, or otherwise than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed;* John xx. 31, *These things are written that ye may believe, &c.*

And as for the judgment of the adversaries in this matter, which affirm that the Scripture is lame and maimed, chiefly note Bellarmin and his arguments for this purpose. They teach the Scriptures to be defective and weak, that we might give place to their traditions and forgeries. Wherefore, let us a little consider this matter of tradition. The word *Tradition* is general, and signifieth any doctrine written or unwritten; and so this word is used in the sacred Scriptures, and in the ancient writers: albeit the Papists affirm that the Fathers use this word only to signify a doctrine not written. Testimonies of Scripture which clear the general acceptation of the word are these: Acts vi. 14, *And shall change the ordinances which Moses gave us*, or, *which we had from Moses by tradition.* 2 Thess. ii. 15, *Keep the tradition or doctrine delivered unto you, which ye were taught, either by word, or by our Epistle.*

Of Traditions.

Quos nobis tradidit Moses: ἃ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν.

Traditam doctrinam. κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις.

The word tradition in Scripture is given other whiles to things necessary and continuing; and sometimes to things not necessary and temporary. The testimony which is 2 Thess. ii. 15, is of necessary doctrine. The place which is cited out of the Acts, xvi. 14, is of ceremonies: for here the Spirit speaketh of a decree of the council holden at Jerusalem, *concerning blood, and things offered to idols, and that which is strangled:* of which, Acts xv. 29. As touching traditions which concern necessary points of faith and manners, they were first delivered by the lively voice of Christ and his Apostles; and then the short sum of them recorded in books, as may appear by that speech of the Apostle concerning the Lord's Supper, 1 Cor. xi. 23. And, again, 1 Thess. iv. 2, where he giveth rules of an honest conversation. And, again, 2 Thess. ii. 15. And as touching traditions which be not necessary, but ceremonial, they were either recorded, as of ecclesiastical, 1 Cor. xi. 14, or not recorded, 1 Cor. xi. 34. *Other things will I set in order when I come.* He promiseth here to set in order but ceremonies, and namely such as did concern the Lord's Supper. Of ceremonies only this I will say, they did no way exceed; neither were they unprofitable; neither were they delivered with any opinion of necessity to bind men's consciences; neither were they

παραγγελίας.

Of Ceremonies.

Good Rules.

1.

2, 3.

4.

contrary to those things which were written. Yea, this I avouch, that there was nothing delivered by way of tradition, or touching ceremonies by the Apostles, which have not good ground and warrant in God's word, that is, in the books of the Prophets, and in the doctrine of Christ, which not long after was written by the Evangelists and Apostles. And as for Popish traditions and ceremonies, there is no end of them; they are unprofitable, they are like old wives' fables; all for the most part delivered with an opinion of necessity; and most of them most repugnant to the apostolical doctrine. And thus do we distinguish traditions.

Popish traditions and ceremonies.

The adversaries understand by *Tradition* their unwritten verity; not that which is no where found written, but that which is not written by the first author thereof, that is, by him which delivered the same by his own lively voice. This, then, the Papists do here profess, that they cannot find their traditions in the Scriptures, nor prove them by the Scriptures.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE SEVENTH PROPERTY, AND NINTH CONTROVERSY.

THE sacred Scripture is the judge of all controversies: I mean such controversies as are concerning religion. Now there be two principal controversies concerning religion: the first is of the Scripture itself, who shall be judge here, or how it may be tried, that the Scripture is the word of God. The second is of the sense and interpretation of the Scripture, who shall judge of that, or how it may appear that this or that is the very natural sense of the Scripture. I mean by judgment here a definitive sentence pronounced and given with such authority, as that all men must therein rest. By the word Scripture, I mean not only the substance thereof, but also the form of revelation, which is also by divine inspiration. Again, this manner of speaking is improper,

The judge of the Scripture.

when we say of the Scripture that it is the judge of controversies. For to speak properly, the Holy Ghost is the judge; for the judge must be a person, and the Holy Ghost, he is the third person in Trinity. The Scripture, therefore, is not properly said to be a judge; but it is the voice and sentence which the judge hath given, the principal instrument or mean whereby the Spirit sets forth his judgment, and whereby he teacheth us, and worketh faith in our hearts. And the Spirit here judgeth freely in and by whom he pleaseth, being not tied to any one kind of men, as pastors and doctors, but in and by whom it seemeth good to him. Here then three things must be considered of us. First, Whether the Holy Ghost be a judge? Secondly, Whether the Scripture be his principal voice, whereby he giveth sentence, or determineth any question? Thirdly, Whether he judge in and by any man without difference or respect of persons, or be bound to one certain kind or sort of men? For the first question, I answer: The Holy Ghost is a judge; First, for that he was promised of Christ unto his Church, at his last departure from the Apostles, and is given, and, as it were, deputed Christ's vicar on earth, both to teach and to judge, &c. Secondly, For that among other offices of the Holy Ghost, this is one, to judge. But because the adversaries do not much gainsay this assertion concerning God's Spirit, that by him all things are to be judged and tried, and that by him the Scriptures are to be interpreted, therefore we will be brief on this point. Now for the second point: that the Holy Scripture is the primary voice of this judge, judiciary, and proper to him, whereby he begets faith in our hearts, may appear by these reasons following. First, The Scripture is the word of God. Secondly, It is most ancient. Thirdly, It is most clear or evident. To these I add the testimony of the Scripture itself. John xiv. 26, *He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to remembrance which I have told you.* And hereunto may be added the common experience of the saints. There are other means to prove this, but less principal, among which the testimony of the Church is one. The adversaries withstand this conclusion, and infringe it with these arguments. First, The Scripture is not written in men's hearts with the finger of

First, Whether the Holy Ghost be a judge?

John xiv. 16. Matt. xxviii. 20. Mark xvi. 15.

John xvi. 8.

Secondly, That the Holy Scripture is the principal voice of the judge.

Suggeret.

God, neither is it the primary voice of God. Secondly, The Scripture is of no antiquity. Thirdly, It is obscure. Fourthly, Ambiguous, &c. Bellarmin adds more to these, of which ye may read in him. They conclude that the voice of the Church is the principal and proper voice of the Holy Ghost, as he is the judge of controversies. Their proof is this: The Scripture is written in the heart of the Church with God's own finger, and this is the primary voice of God. And whatsoever excellency we do ascribe to the Scripture, that they attribute to their own Church, which is nothing else but a den of thieves.

And that the Spirit being this great judge, is not bound to one sort of men as those of the ecclesiastical function, the Pope and councils, (as they speak,) but doth perform this office without all respect of persons, in whom and by whom soever it seemeth good unto himself; this is manifest: First, For if the Holy Ghost be not the judge[1] both of the very context of the Scripture, whether it be God's word, and of the interpretation of Scripture; if he be not (I say) in man himself, assuredly there can be no faith. For the Spirit only begetteth faith in man's heart. Secondly, The Holy Ghost executeth his other offices freely in and by any man; therefore, so may he this function of judging. For I demand, what else is to judge, but to enlighten, and to teach that the Scripture is given of God by inspiration, and that this is the natural sense of this Scripture? Thirdly, The same we be taught by our experience: for we find it true by experience that he doth freely judge in and by whom it pleaseth him. Testimonies of Scripture prove also this assertion. 1 Cor. xii. 11, *And all things worketh, even the self-same Spirit, distributing to every man severally as he will.* And Isaiah liv. 13, *All thy children shall be taught of God.* Jer. xxxi. 33, *I will write my laws in their hearts.* The adversaries impugn this truth of God with some argument of their own, of which ye may read in Bellarmin. And these men bind the Holy Ghost to the Pope, and to councils confirmed by him; which point our men impugn also, and refute with many arguments, of which this

What is meant by judging in the Holy Ghost.

[1] Incorrect. It should be, For if the Holy Ghost, judging both, &c.

is one: that of their conclusion, this must be the consequent, that the Pope and his Councils must be above the Scriptures, which thing is absurd to be granted. See more arguments of this subject in their disputations.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE EIGHTH PROPERTY, AND THE TENTH CONTROVERSY.

Tenth Property.

LASTLY, We avouch that the sacred Scripture is of highest authority, excellency, and dignity, on the earth. Here, again, by this word Scripture, we understand both the substance of it and the writing. And here we mean it hath such excellency as makes it most worthy of credit, and whereby also it gains authority and estimation to the Church. For which cause the Church is called the *pillar and ground of truth*, 1 Tim. iii. 15. And it hath many other titles, which are given to it often in the Scriptures. This is proved by the former demonstrations as these:—The Scripture is *the word of God;* it is most *perspicuous;* it is most *pure and simple, &c.: Ergo.*

The adversaries vary in judgment touching this authority of Scripture. For some of them detract from this sovereign authority of it, affirming that of itself it is not authentical, but takes authority and estimation from the Church. Of this mind are these:—Eckius[1] *in Enchiridio*, Pighius[2] in his book *De Hierarchia*,

[1] Eckius, John, Professor of Theology at Ingolstadt, a well known opponent of Luther. The work referred to is *Enchiridion Controversiarum.* He died in 1545, leaving several other works.—(Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, lib. i. c. 6; Ladvocat's *Dictionnaire Hist., &c.* Paris, 1760, *s. v.*)

[2] Pighius, Albert, was celebrated as a furious opponent of Luther and the early reformers. He died at Utrecht, where he had an ecclesiastical charge, in 1542. The work referred to is entitled *Assertio Hierarchiæ Ecclesiasticæ.* His doctrines are censured by the Roman Catholics themselves as too ultra-montane.—(Ladvocat, *uti supra*, *s. v.*)

and one Hermannus,[1] an impudent Papist; he with a black mouth avoucheth it, that the Scripture is of no more validity, without the testimony of the Church, than Æsop's Fables, &c. Others, more late writers and more subtile, say, that the Scripture hath authority in and by itself, and is authentical, but not to us, before the Church approve it, and ascertain it to be so.[2] Of this judgment be these: Bellarmin,[3] Coclæus,[4] Canus,[5] Stapleton,[6]

[1] There are two writers of this name, the works of both of whom were published before our author's time. Hermannus Contractus, (the paralytic,) a Suabian, died A.D. 1054. He wrote a work called *Chronicon de sex Mundi Ætatibus*, which has been repeatedly reprinted.—(Cave's *Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit.*, p. 552, ed. Genev. 1720.) Hermannus de Petra, a Belgian, and a Carthusian monk. He died in 1428, having written fifty sermons on the Lord's Prayer, which have been printed.—(Cave, *ibid.* p. 73, A.)

[2] Si interdum Catholici aliqui dicunt, Scripturam pendere ab Ecclesia, sive a Concilio, non intelligunt quoad auctoritatem, et secundum se, sed quoad explicationem, et quoad nos.—(Bellarmini *Opera*, vol. ii. p. 86, c. ed. Paris. 1620.) "If it is occasionally said by some Catholics, that the Scriptures depend on the Church or its Council, they do not mean with regard to their authority and in their own nature, but as to the exposition of their meaning, and as far as they affect us."

[3] Bellarmin was born at Montepulciano in 1542. He was nephew to Pope Marcellus II., and entered the Order of the Jesuits in 1560. In 1599, after discharging various confidential offices under the Pope, he was made Cardinal by Clement VIII., and Archbishop of Capua in 1601. He died at Rome in 1621. He is the most able and plausible of the Roman Catholic controversialists. He wrote a Hebrew Grammar, a Commentary on the Psalms, a brief History *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*. But his principal work is one embracing all the points of discussion between the Reformers and the Roman Catholic Church. It is entitled, *Disputationum Roberti Bellarmini Politiani S. R. E. Cardinalis, de Controversiis Christianæ fidei, adversus hujus temporis Hæreticos.* 4 vols. folio.—(Bellarmin, *uti supra;* Moreri, *Dictionnaire Historique, s. v.*)

[4] Cochleus, a native of Nuremberg, and actively engaged, both personally and by his writings, in controversies with Luther and his adherents. He was Canon of Breslaw, and died there in 1552, aged seventy-three years.—(Ladvocat, *ibid. s. v.*)

[5] Melchior Canus, a Spanish theologian, member of the Council of Trent, Professor of Divinity at Salamanca, and, ultimately, Provincial of Castille. He belonged to the Dominican Order, and died at Toledo in 1560. He wrote in Latin some theological works much esteemed by the Roman Catholics. —(Ladvocat, *ibid. s. v.;* Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, lib. xii. c. 2.)

[6] Thomas Stapleton, an Englishman of high connections, who acquired a dis-

Canisius,[1] &c. They which speak thus, that the written word of God is not authentical to us before the judgment of the Church be manifested, these men (I say) have this meaning, that we be not bound to believe that the Scriptures be authentical before the judgment of the Church be past of it, and that we sin not at all if we believe them not, before the definitive sentence of the Church. But we hold this to be false also, to say that the Scripture is not to us authentical without the authority of the Church: for it is the Holy Ghost that teacheth every man to know and believe that the Scripture is authentical, and hath sovereign authority in itself. And this he teacheth, not by any external mean first, but by the very sacred Scripture, by which alone he properly breeds faith in our hearts to believe and apprehend this truth of God. And so we, resting on this illumination of the Holy Ghost, teaching us by the Scripture, that this is the excellency and authority of the Scripture, do believe this to be so, albeit the whole world did oppose itself against us. And thus far of the more essential questions concerning Scripture.

How the Holy Ghost teacheth us what authority the Scripture hath.

CHAPTER XVII.

QUESTIONS, MORE ACCIDENTAL, CONCERNING THE HOLY SCRIPTURE: AND FIRST OF THE BOOKS WHEREIN THE SAME IS CONTAINED.

THE first question is concerning the books of the Holy Scrip-

tinguished reputation as a Roman Catholic controversialist. He was born at Henfield in Sussex, and was a canon of Chichester. The severity of the measures taken by Queen Elizabeth against the Roman Catholics drove him abroad. He first taught at Douay, and, after the influence of Elizabeth had reached that seminary, he became Royal Professor of Divinity at Louvain, where he died in 1598. His collected works were published at Paris in 4 vols. folio.—(Ladvocat, *ibid. s.v.*)

[1] Peter Canisius, a native of Nimeguen, provincial of the Jesuits, and a distinguished member of the Council of Trent. He died in 1597, aged seventy-seven years. His principal work is entitled, *Summa Doctrinæ Christianæ*.—(Ladvocat, *ibid. s. v.*; Pallavicino, *ibid.* lib. x. c. 2; lib. xx. c. 4, &c.)

ture. These books are commonly called (for the excellency of them) *The Bible.* The Bible, as it is commonly received and carried in hands, contains in it two sorts of books. The first is of books Canonical, and the second is Apocryphal. Regular or canonical books, are such as give rule or direction touching faith and manners. The books of Moses are the first Canon or precedent sent from God, which may not be judged or tried by any other external canon whatsoever. For there was no book extant before the books of Moses. The authority of the writer so holy, and the evidence of the Spirit so powerful, and the holiness of these books (to pass by other arguments) so great, hath gained these books this high estimation and authority in the Church. The books of the Prophets make up the second Canon: which be adjudged canonical by that external canon of the Mosaical books, by which they were examined. Next they were, and are discerned of such as be taught of God inwardly by the Holy Ghost, by the great evidence of God's Spirit, which is manifested in them both in words and matter. The third Canon are the apostolical books of the New Testament, which are adjudged and approved as canonical, partly by the canonical books of Moses, partly by the books of the Prophets, partly by the spiritual evidence they carry in themselves, which the sons of God, instructed by his Holy Spirit, can easily discern. The canonical books of the Bible are either of the Old or of the New Testament. The canonical books of the Old Testament are these:—

First Canon.

Second Canon.

Third Canon.

1. The five Books of Moses.
2. Joshua, one Book.
3. The Book of Judges, one.
4. Ruth, one Book.
5. The Books of Samuel, two.
6. The Books of Kings, two.
7. The Books of Chronicles, two.
8. Ezra, one Book.
9. Nehemiah, one Book.
10. Esther, one Book.
11. Job, one Book.
12. Psalms.
13. Proverbs.
14. Ecclesiastes.
15. The Book of Canticles.
16. Isaiah.
17. Jeremiah.

18. Ezekiel.
19. Daniel.
20. The Twelve Small Prophets.

THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT ARE THESE WHICH ARE COMMONLY RECEIVED.

1. The Gospel according to St Matthew.[1]
2. The Gospel according to St Mark.
3. The Gospel according to St Luke.
4. The Gospel according to St John.
5. The Acts of the Apostles.
6. St Paul's Epistle to the Romans.
7. St Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, two.
8. The Epistle to the Galatians.
9. The Epistle to the Ephesians.
10. The Epistle to the Philippians.
11. The Epistle to the Colossians.
12. The Epistles to the Thessalonians, two.
13. The Epistles to Timothy, two.
14. The Epistle to Titus.
15. The Epistle to Philemon.
16. The Epistle to the Hebrews.
17. The Epistle of St James.
18. The Epistles of St Peter, two.
19. The Epistles of St John, three.
20. The Epistle of St Jude.
21. The Book of the Revelation of St John.

And whereas some have doubted for a time of some of these books, as of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of St James, the last of St Peter, the second and third of St John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse, yet they were never utterly rejected, but for a time only doubted of, whether they might be accepted as

[1] In the original, simply, *Evangelium secundum Matthæum;* and so in all the other names of the writers of the New Testament Scriptures.

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canonical. These canonical books of the Old Testament were written by holy men, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, 2 Pet. i. 21. And of these some are called the Prophets, which wrote the books of the Old Testament, so called, because they were governed by the spirit of prophecy; some be called Apostles, so called because of their function, and these wrote the books of the New Testament. The books of the Old and New Testament some have their writers' names expressly set down, or noted by special characters or signs. Some have no names at all annexed, whereby the Holy Ghost would signify unto us that these men were but instruments only, and not the very authors of such books. Wherefore, we be not so much to respect their names, nor so busily to inquire after them, if they be not expressed. Thus far of the canonical books.

Now, as concerning the apocryphal books: they be so called because the Church would have them kept hid, and not to be read or taught publicly in the Churches; the private reading of them was only[1] permitted. The apocryphal are such as were found only annexed to the Old Testament, and they be eleven in number:—

Apocryphal Books.

1. Judith.
2. Tobit.
3. Esdras, third and fourth Books.
4. The Wisdom of Solomon.*
5. Ecclesiasticus
6. Baruch.
7. The Epistle of Jeremiah.
8. Additions to Daniel.[2]
9. The Prayer of Manasses.
10. The Two Books of Maccabees.
11. The Supplement of Esther, from the third verse of the tenth chapter.

* Falsely so called.

Among these, some there are which the very adversaries account to be apocryphal. First, the Prayer of Manasses. Secondly, the third and fourth books of Esdras. Thirdly, the third and fourth books of Maccabees, whereof Athanasius maketh mention in his

[1] *i. e.* Only the private reading of them was permitted.

[2] This includes the Song of the Three Children, Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon.

Synopsis.[1] But we are to prove that all these before named be apocryphal. The first argument is from the writers: All the canonical books of the Old Testament were written by the prophets; but these were not written by the prophets. Therefore, they be not canonical but apocryphal. I prove the proposition. Luke xvi. 29, *They have Moses and the Prophets;* that is, the books of Moses and the Prophets. Luke xxiv. 27, Of Christ it is written, that he began at Moses, and at all the *Prophets*, and interpreted unto them, in all the Scriptures, the things which were written of him. Therefore Moses and the Prophets were the writers of the Old Testament. To the Romans, (xvi. 20,) he calls the Scriptures of the Old Testament the *Prophetical Scriptures*. And, 2 Pet. i. 19, *The most sure word of the Prophets.* And for the assumption— "But these were not written by the Prophets"—I prove it: Malachi was the last of the Prophets; and between Malachi and John the Baptist there arose no prophet. But these books were written after Malachi's time, and this cannot be denied of some, as of Ecclesiasticus, and the books of the Maccabees: *Ergo.* SECOND ARG. This is from the language wherein all the canonical Scriptures were written. They were written (I say) in the language of Canaan, in the Hebrew tongue, which was the speech of the prophets, wherein they wrote their prophecies. But these books be not written in the Hebrew tongue, but all for the most part in Greek: Therefore our proposition or assertion is manifest. The assumption is evident, that I shall not need to cite either the testimony of the Fathers, or the adversaries' own confession. ARG. 3 is from the testimony of the old Church of the Jews. If these books were canonical, the old Hebrews had heard something of

λόγου προφητικοῦ.

[1] "By some it [this Synopsis] has been reckoned genuine; but, for the most part, it is supposed by learned men to be falsely ascribed to him," [Athanasius.] "After which Athanasius adds:—'There are also divers other books, both of the Old and the New Testament, some contradicted, and some apocryphal. The contradicted books of the Old Testament, spoken of before, are the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobit; with which also are reckoned four books of the Maccabees, &c.'"—Lardner's Works, vol. iv. pp. 161, 163, ed. 1829.

them; but they never heard of them: Therefore they be not canonical. The proposition is clear: I prove the assumption. In Ezra's time, all the canonical books were gathered into one volume, and the Jews' care was such of them, that they numbered all the letters which were found in the prophets, and set down the sum of them. How much more would they have had care of these whole books if they had heard of them? The fourth ARG. is from the testimony of the late Church of the Jews, which was in Christ's time. If these books were canonical, then the later Rabbins or Jewish writers would have accepted them; but they did not receive them, but reject them: Therefore they be not canonical. I prove the proposition: For out of all question, if they had not received the canonical books, Christ would have taxed them for it, for that he so reprehends them for their sinister and false representations of the canonical Scriptures. The adversaries grant the assumption. The fifth ARG. is from the testimony of Christ and his Apostles. If these before-named books were canonical, then Christ and his Apostles would have cited them somewhere for confirmation of their doctrines; but that can never be found they did, no, not in all the New Testament: Therefore they be not canonical. The proposition is manifest: The matter itself will make sure the assumption. The sixth ARG.: These apocryphal books contain some things differing from the canonical Scriptures, some things contrary, some things false, some things fabulous, and some things impious: Therefore these books be not canonical. I prove the antecedent: Tobit iii. 8; and iii. 17; v. 12; and xi. 11. Judith viii. 6; and ix. 2; and ix. 10; and xvi. 7. Baruch vi. 3. The additions of Daniel, xiii. 1, [The History of Susanna;] and xiv. 32, [Bel and the Dragon, verse 33.] The additions to Esther, xv. 1. [?] 2 Macc. ii. 1, 7, 8, 27; and xii. 43; and xiv. 37; and xv. 38. The seventh ARG.: These books contain contrarieties, and points repugning one another. Confer 1 Macc. vi. 8, with 2 Macc. i. 16; and 2 Macc. ix. 5. Confer 1 Macc. ix. 3, and 2 Macc. x. 1. [?] Confer 1 Macc. iv. 36, and 2 Macc. x. 1. Confer

1 Macc. vi. 17, and 2 Macc. x. 11.[1] The eighth ARG. is taken from a human testimony: first, of Councils; secondly, of Fathers—the ancient first; next, the later writers. The councils which give canons touching the canonical books, and the apocryphal, are these for the most part: The Laodicean Council, which was held in the year after Christ's incarnation 300;[2] the third Council of Carthage in the year 400;[3] the Trullan in the year 600;[4] the Florentine in the year 1150;[5] the Tridentine in our age.[6] By these we may

[1] The references are here given according to the authorised translation, our author having followed the version of Tremellius and Junius. Some of the passages seem to be incorrectly referred to, nor is it easy, in these cases, to recover the original allusion. It will be better, however, to give the references as in the original. "*Tobit.* 3. 8. *et* 3. 25. *et* 5. 15. *et* 11. 12. *Judith.* 8. 6. *et* 9. 2. *et* 9. 13. *et* 16. 8. *Baruch.* 6. 2. Adjectiones ad *Danielem.* 13. 1. *et* 14. 32. Adjectiones ad *Hester.* 15. 1. 2. *Machab.* 2. 1. *et* 7. 8. 27. *et* 12. 43. *et* 14. 37. *et* 15. 39. Argumentum. 7. Hi continent ἀσυμφώνα et pugnantia inter se: Ergo. Probatur antecedens. Confer. 1. *Machab.* 6. 8. *et* 2. *Machab.* 1. 16. *et* 2. *Machab.* 9. 5. Confer. 1. *Machab.* 9. 3. *et* 2. *Machab.* 10. 1. Confer. 1. *Machab.* 4. 36. *et* 2. *Machab.* 10. 1. Confer. 1. *Machab.* 6. 17. *et* 2. *Machab.* 10. 11."—P. 117.

[2] For the proceedings of the Laodicean Council regarding the Canon—that Council omitting, for the Old Testament, the books of Baruch, Judith, Tobit, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, the Maccabees, and, probably, Esdras; and, for the New, the Revelation—see Lardner, vol. iv. p. 182, &c. He thinks that it met in A. D. 363; Cave, (*ibid.* p. 231,) A. D. 367. But the date is admittedly uncertain.

[3] This is sometimes called the sixth Council of Carthage. It met A. D. 397. (Cave, p. 235.) It included in the Canon five books of Solomon, Tobit, Judith, and the two books of the Maccabees. For this Council, so far as the Canon is concerned, see Lardner, vol. iv. p. 486, &c.

[4] There were two Constantinopolitan Councils of this name, (Cave, *ibid.* p. 399,) which is derived from the fact that the palace, or room in the palace, in which they met, was covered with a dome, (*Trulla.*—Moreri, *s. v. Trullan.*) The Council referred to by our author is the second of these, the seventh Œcumenical Council (called also the fourth) held at Constantinople in A. D. 691. It is also called the *Concilium Quinisextum.* (Cave, *l. c.*) There seems to have been nothing in its proceedings directly affecting the canonical books of Scripture.

[5] Held 1055. (Cave, p. 548.) Another, 1105. (Cave, p. 604.) Another, 1439. (Bellarmin, vol. ii. p. 9, d.) There seems nothing in the acts of any of them touching the canonical books.

[6] On the 8th of April 1546, all who were present at the fourth session of the Council of Trent adopted the Canon of Augustine, and it was declared, "He is also to be *anathema*, who does not receive these entire books, with all their parts, as

reason thus: The Laodicean Council (the most ancient here numbered) rejects these books as apocryphal. See the fifty-ninth canon of that Council: *Ergo.* But the adversaries object here, that at this time, before the third Council of Carthage, the canonical books were not distinctly known. I answer, first, that this Council was not held till four hundred years after Christ; but it is absurd to say that there was no canon known, or that the canonical books were not discerned till this time: *Ergo.* Secondly, I answer, that Council was not general, but provincial. But a provincial Council may not prescribe any canon for the Catholic Church: *Ergo.* But, they say, this Council was confirmed by that of Trullan. I answer, that the Laodicean Council also was approved by this; and that the Trullan Council is rejected by the Papists themselves in many things.[1]

Thus far of Councils: now for the ancient Fathers; they also did reject these books as Apocryphal, *Ergo.* I prove this by an induction. 1. Athanasius in his Synopsis.[2] 2. Cyril of Jerusalem.[3] 3. Hilary, Bishop of Pictavia.[4] 4. Melito, Bishop of Sardinia.[5]

they have been accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church, and are found in the ancient editions of the Latin Vulgate, as sacred and canonical, and who knowingly and wilfully despises the aforesaid traditions."—(Kitto's *Cyclopedia*, vol. i. p. 556.) The Canon of Augustine, here referred to, will be found in Lardner, vol. iv. p. 493, &c. It includes the Apocryphal books. For the interesting discussion on the canonical books, which took place in the Council of Trent, see Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council, lib. ii. c. 43, &c. The Decree itself is prefixed to the editions of the Vulgate published since the Council of Trent.

[1] For the objections made by the Roman Catholics against this Council, which is placed in the list of those *partim confirmata, partim reprobata*, see Bellarmin, vol. i. p. 660, c. &c.; and for its defence as a legitimate Council, see Cave, *ibid.* p. 399.

[2] See before, page 103, note 1.

[3] Bishop A. D. 350. Our author's reference may be verified by turning to "Cat. iv. n. 33-36, ed. Bened., n. 20-22, edit. Milles."—(Lardner's Works, vol. iv. p. 172.)

[4] Hilary of Poictiers flourished about A. D. 354. "Prol. in libr. Psalm., p. 9, Paris, 1693."—(Lardner's Works, vol. iv. p. 178.)

[5] This should be of Sardis. Original, *Sardensis.* Bishop A. D. 177. "Ap. Euseb. H. E., l. iv. c. 36."—(Lardner's Works, vol. iv. p. 429.)

5. Nazianzen in his poem.[1] 6. Hierom in his Prologo Galeato, which is prefixed before the book of Kings.[2] 7. Gregory the Great.[3] 8. Joseph against Appion.[4] 9. Ruffin in the exposition of the Symbol Apostolical.[5] 10. Augustine.[6] The adversaries here except, saying, But these men have spoken of the canon of the Old Testament of the Hebrews (say they) and not of Christians. I answer, first, as if the Hebrews had one canon and the Christians another. Secondly, they did approve that very canon of the Hebrews. But it may be (say they) that then peradventure there was no canon known or determined of by the Church. I answer, and I demand then: When was this decreed? and in what council? was this done in the Council of Trent? but this is too late, for this council was even in our age. Was it decreed in the Florentine Council? that is but little elder. Was this canon agreed upon in the third Council of Carthage? But that council, 1. was but provincial; 2. and this is rejected of the very Papists themselves in some things, as in the canon of the High Priest, which in number is the twenty-sixth.[7] They will say, this council was confirmed by the Trullan

[1] Gregory Nazianzen flourished about the year 370. "Carm. 33, T. ii. p. 98."—(Lardner's Works, vol. iv. p. 286.)

[2] Should be Prologus Galeatus. St Jerome (Hieronymus) died A. D. 420. His *Prologus Galeatus* may be seen prefixed to most editions of the Vulgate.

[3] Pope Gregory I. of Rome A. D. 590. See Lardner's Works, vol. v. p. 126.

[4] Original, *contra Appionem*. Our author is not singular in this method of spelling the name, which, however, should be *Apionem*. (See Vossius, *De Hist. Græc.* p. 234, ed. Westerman.) See the work of Josephus referred to, book i. c. 8.

[5] Presbyter of Aquilia, flourished about A. D. 390. "Expositio in Symbolum Apostolorum, apud S. Cyprian. Opp. in Append. ad S. Hieron. Opp. T. v. p. 127-146."—(Lardner's Works, vol. iv. p. 483.)

[6] Bishop of Hippo Regius A. D. 395. "De Doctr. Christ. l. i. i. cap. 8, n. 12, 13, 14, tom. iii. P. i. Bened."—(Lardner's Works, vol. iv. p. 494, &c.) His opinions were substantially as stated by our author, but he was not always consistent, or, at least, not guarded enough in his expressions. See p. 105, note 6.

[7] Our author seems here to have confounded the Trullan Council with that of Carthage. "I can find no Roman Catholic authority objecting to the Council of Carthage. Nor was there any Canon there enacted *de summo sacerdote*. On the other hand, at the Trullan Council, the 36th (not the 26th, as stated by our author) Canon makes the Patriarch of Constantinople equal to the Pope. See Bellarmin, vol. i. p. 660, c. &c.; Cave, p. 399, &c.; and *Concil. in annis suis.*

Council. I answer, 1. So was the Laodicean. 2. So the canon was concluded or established later,[1] to wit, in the year of Christ 400. 3. The Trullan Council is rejected in many things of the very Papists. 4. After the Trullan Council, there were Fathers which would not receive the Apocryphal books. And so now let us come to the second class of Fathers, that is, to the later writers.

Here, then, I reason thus,—The late writers do not reckon these books among the canonical, *Ergo*. This I prove by an induction, Isidore,[2] John Damascene,[3] Nicephorus,[4] Leontius,[5] Rabanus Maurus,[6] Radulphus,[7] Lyranus,[8] Carthusianus,[9] Abulensis,[10] Antoninus,[11] Hugo Cardinalis,[12] Erasmus[13] in some of his writings, Cardinal Cajetanus.[14] All these were after the Trullan Council; yea, some

Lib. de Offciis.

[1] Should be, *too late*. Original, *serius*.

[2] Bishop of Seville A. D. 596. See Lardner, vol. v. p. 135, &c. The work referred to is, *De Divinis sive Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, libris ii.

[3] John of Damascus, a monk and presbyter, flourished about A. D. 730. "De Fide Orthodoxa, l. iv. c. 17, in tom. i. p. 282, B."—Lardner, vol. v. p. 146.

[4] Patriarch of Constantinople in the beginning of the ninth century. See Lardner, vol. v. p. 86, &c.

[5] Leontius of Constantinople, according to Cave, (p. 352,) flourished A. D. 590. See Lardner, vol. v. p. 141.

[6] Abbot of Fulda A. D. 822.—(Cave, p. 456.)

[7] There are various writers of this name. It is probable the reference is to Radulphus Ardens, chaplain to William fourth Duke of Aquitaine, A.D. 1101.—(Cave, p. 538.)

[8] Nicolaus de Lyra, (from Lire, in Normandy, his native place,) of the order of St Francis, flourished about A. D. 1320.—(Cave, p. 15, Appendix.)

[9] The reference is probably to Bruno, who founded the order of Carthusians, 1086.—(Cave, p. 539.)

[10] I have been unable to trace this writer.

[11] Archbishop of Florence in 1446. He wrote, among other works, *Summa Theologica*, in four parts, and *Summa Historica*, in three. (Moreri, *s. v.*)

[12] A French divine, born in Dauphiné, of the Dominican order, made Cardinal by Pope Innocent IV. in 1245. He died in 1260, after having compiled the first Concordance,—that to the Vulgate. It was he also that first divided the Bible into chapters.—(Cave, p. 631; Moreri, *s. v.*; Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii. Part i. p. 70, Part ii. p. 338.)

[13] The celebrated Desiderius Erasmus, born 1467, died 1536.

[14] Thomas de Vio, surnamed Cajetanus from his birth place. He belonged to the Dominican Order, and was made Cardinal in 1517. His opposition to Luther has principally rendered him notorious. He died in 1534, having left several Commentaries on the Scriptures, as well as other writings, theological and philoso-

of them were reputed for sons by the Church of Rome after the Florentine Council.

By these testimonies, first, of Councils, next, of Fathers, it is evident that none of these books was accepted for canonical in any lawful judgment; for if there had been any such matter, so many ancient and late writers would no doubt have so acknowledged. Wherefore these books are apocryphal, and so to be accounted.

The adversaries for their defence allege also human testimonies, and this in a manner is all they can say. They cite the councils before named as the third of Carthage, the Trullan, Florentine, and the Council of Trent. But we reject the two latter as tyrannical, and congregate purposely to oppress the truth and light of God. And touching the Trullan and the third Council of Carthage, we have set down our judgment. And as for Fathers, they bring forth for this matter principally the popes themselves, as Pope Innocentius,[1] and Gelasius,[2] and Augustine in some place.[3] But I answer, that they cannot bring so many as we can, nor so ancient for themselves. Secondly, when these Fathers, which they name, call these books canonical which we reject as apocryphal, they take

phical.—(Moreri, *s. v. Vio.*) Paolo Sarpi tells us, that in the discussion, on the Canon, which took place in the third session of the Council of Trent, in support of the opinion, that a distinction should be made between the books universally acknowledged and the *antilegomena;* "Louis of Catania, a Dominican, said that this distinction had been made by St Jerome, and that the Church had received it as a rule in the adjustment of the Canon; and he quoted Cardinal Cajetanus, who, following the example of Jerome, had made the same distinction, and had given it as an infallible rule of the Church, in the letter which he addressed to Pope Clement VII. at the head of his Commentary on the Historical Books of the Old Testament."—(Lib. ii. c. 47.)

[1] Pope Innocent I. succeeded Anastasius, A. D. 402. The reference here is to a letter from him to Exuperius, Bishop of Tholouse, where he includes in the Canon of the Old Testament five books of Solomon, Tobit, and two books of Maccabees.—(Cave, p. 242; Lardner, vol. iv. p. 586; Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, vol. i. p. 178.)

[2] There were two popes of this name. It is to Gelasius I. our author alludes. He succeeded Felix III., A. D. 492.—(Cave, p. 298.) For the decree ascribed to him, see Lardner, vol. v. p. 75.

[3] The passage referred to is that mentioned p. 107, note 6. For which, with some judicious remarks, see Lardner in the place there noticed.

the name of canonical books more largely than we, to wit, for books which have some such sanctity, as in profane writers cannot be found; and they call them so, not for that they mean that they are of like authority with the canonical books of Scripture. And we deny not but that in many of these such holiness may appear as cannot be found in the books of profane authors.[1] And thus far of the apocryphal books.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE AUTHENTICAL EDITION OF THE BIBLE.

WHEREAS there be extant many editions of the Bible in divers languages, as the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and other proper[2] tongues, it is a question which of these must be reputed for authentical? I answer, the Hebrew edition of the Old, and the Greek of the New Testament, is authentical; and so must be accounted: so that all things are to be determined by these, and all other editions must be approved so far as they agree with these. We will therefore first speak of the Hebrew edition of the Old Testament. We avouch, then, that the Hebrew edition of the O[illegible] Testament is authentical. This proposition shall have his confirmation, after we have given a short preface touching the Hebrew tongue, and the writing of the Old Testament in that language, and the preservation of these books of the Old Testament, written in the Hebrew tongue to this day.

The Hebrew tongue only before the Flood, Gen. xi. 1.

The Hebrew tongue was the first and the only language on earth to the flood, and to the building of the tower of Babel, Gen. xi. 1–9, "The whole earth was of one language, and of one speech,"

Et verba erant eadem.

or "had the same words." At the building of Babel began the confusion of languages, and from the Hebrew, as from the mother

[1] "In *other* profane writings." Original, In *aliis* scriptis profanis.

[2] Original, *vernaculis*.

of all the rest, all other tongues had their first beginning; for all other languages are nothing else in a manner but as dialects of the Hebrew tongue, of which some resemble their mother more than others, some be more estranged from her. In that confusion of tongues, the Hebrew was preserved as the womb or mother (as Jerome speaketh) of all the rest; this was preserved (I say) in the family of Heber, who was the fourth from Noah, and lived that very time that the tower of Babel was built, and when the confusion of languages began. The Hebrew tongue then was so called first of Heber, and from him it came to his posterity, not to all, but to them only of whom came Abraham; and from him continued to the very last of all the prophets; for Haggai, Zacharias, and Malachi, wrote their prophecies in this very language. Thus far of the Hebrew tongue.

The Hebrew tongue mother of all the rest.

Heber's family kept the Hebrew tongue.

The Old Testament was written first in this Hebrew and holy tongue. The first writer was Moses; the prophets followed him, of whom some wrote before the captivity, some in the captivity, some after the captivity; and they writ all in Hebrew, except Daniel and Ezra, which wrote some things in the Chaldee tongue. And this letteth not but that we may say, that all the Old Testament was written in the Hebrew tongue, for that the Chaldee and Hebrew have no great diversity.

The Old Testament written in Hebrew.

Now to speak of the preservation of these books of the Old Testament; the books of Moses and the Prophets, that is, the Old Testament written in Hebrew, was kept by the admirable providence of Almighty God unto this day. They were preserved, I say, in most perilous and hard times, as in the burning of the city and of the temple of Jerusalem, in the captivity, and in that most grievous persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes; for he raged also against these very books;[1] and in the great persecutions which were after Christ, under the Roman Emperors.

The admirable Providence of God in the preservation of the Bible.

But here it is demanded, whether the same very books which were written by Moses and the Prophets before the captivity be

[1] "Even against books themselves." Original, *et in ipsos libros.*

come into our hands? I answer, for this matter diverse men have thought diversely. For there were that thought, that those books which Moses and the Prophets left were lost when the temple and the city were destroyed with fire, and that these which we have were repaired and written over again by Ezra the scribe, inspired by God, and called extraordinarily for this purpose. Of this judgment are these, Basil,[1] Irenæus,[2] Tertullian,[3] Clemens Alexandrinus,[4] Isidorus, Rabanus Maurus, Leontius.[5] It may be they were thus minded, because of that story or fable rather, which we may read, Esdras xiv. 14.[6] But that book is apocryphal, and re-

Epist. ad Chilonem. Lib. de Officiis.

[1] Basil, surnamed the Great, a native of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, was born in 329. Having studied at Constantinople and Athens, he practised law for some time, but afterwards gave himself up to a life of poverty and seclusion. In 370 he was chosen Bishop of Cæsarea, and died in 379, leaving several writings; the most complete edition of which is that of Garnier, 3 vols. folio, Paris, 1721-30.—(Smith's *Diction. of Greek and Rom. Biog. &c., s. v.*)

[2] Irenæus was a native of Asia Minor, but settled in Gaul, where he became Bishop of Lyons. He probably flourished towards the end of the second century. His principal work, and the only one now extant, is one written against the Gnostics, to a passage from which (*Adversus Hæres.* iii. 25) our author here refers. The best edition is that of Grabe, Oxon. 1702, fol.—(Smith's *Dictionary, &c., s. v.;* Lardner's Works, vol. ii. p. 165, &c.)

[3] Tertullian was a native of Carthage, and flourished about the beginning of the third century. He was a man of morose temperament, but of immense learning. He lapsed into Montanism, and was excommunicated by the Church of Rome, but afterwards renounced that heresy. He is considered the most ancient Latin father whose works exist. Among the best editions of his works is that of Rigault, Paris, 1634-5, 2 vols. folio.—(Cave's *Apostolici*, p. 138, &c.) The reference in the text is to *De Habit. Mulier.*, c. i. p. 3, § 25.

[4] Clemens Alexandrinus was probably a native of Athens, who settled in Alexandria. He was fond of philosophic pursuits, and [illegible] much. He presided in the Alexandrian School of Divinity in 211, and [illegible] 220. His works are characterised by philosophical speculation, a want of comprehensiveness, and a tendency to allegorize. The best edition is that of Potter, Oxford, 1715, 2 vols. folio.—(Smith's *Dictionary, &c., s. v.*) The reference in the text is to *Strom.* c. l. 329, 330, 342.

[5] For these see p. 108, notes. The passage from Leontius, referred to by our author, will be found in Lardner, vol. v. p. 143.

[6] In the original, *Esdræ* 4. iv. What in our translation is called the first and second Books, bears elsewhere the name of the third and fourth Books of Esdras; Ezra and Nehemiah being the first two books. In the Septuagint the first Book of Esdras is placed before Ezra and Nehemiah, which form together

jected not only of our Church, but also of the Church of Rome. The point may be thus refuted. If Ezra had written over these books again, then assuredly it is most like that he would have written them, not in the Hebrew, but in the Chaldee tongue, or in a mixed language of Hebrew and Chaldee together; for that Ezra did write two books in that mixed manner, even those two books of Esdras.[1] Secondly, Nehem. viii. 1, &c., Ezra is said to have brought forth, and to have read, not his own books, or books which he had written, but the books of the law of Moses. Thirdly, it is not like, but some godly man, or prophet, or some other, was left, which in that time of the fire preserved these sacred books, or kept some copy of them; and the rather, for that then out of all doubt Ezekiel and Daniel the prophets lived. 4. The very name which Daniel gives to the Chaldee monarchy, (calling it the Golden Empire,) doth argue that this did not rage so against the sacred books of God; for if this monarchy had laid such violent hands on God's books, assuredly the Holy Ghost would not have given it a name of such excellency. Therefore that assertion is false, and the contrary is true, to wit, that the books of Moses and the old Prophets were preserved from danger, when the temple and the city were consumed with fire, as also in the captivity, and so be reserved by divine providence, and delivered by God's own hand at last into our possession. Neither yet do we gainsay what the godly have recorded, that is, that Ezra, after the captivity, did revise the books of Moses and the Prophets, digested them into one volume, and set them down in this certain order. Thus far of this question.

but one Book. See an excellent article, *s. v. Esdras*, by the Reverend William Wright, in Kitto's *Cyclopædia*.

[1] The original is—Nam Esdras sic ipse scripsit lingua illa mixta duos libros *Esdræ*. "For so Ezra himself wrote in that mixed language the two books of *Ezra*." Rollock had apparently adopted the notion entertained by some learned men, that both the books, known by the name of Ezra and Nehemiah, called sometimes, as in the Vulgate, First and Second Ezra, were written by Ezra. And hence he mentions that mixed dialect as a general feature, whereas no portion of Nehemiah is written in the Chaldaic.

Now it resteth after the premises, that we prove the Hebrew edition of the Old Testament to be only authentical. That edition which was written in the first language that ever was, and first in the primary language, and hath been preserved in that tongue purely and fully, even unto our times;—I say, that edition of the Old Testament is authentical. But such is the Hebrew edition: *Ergo.*

The adversaries cannot deny but that it was written in the first language and mother tongue, and also that it was first written in it; and they cannot deny but that it was preserved in some purity, even unto this day; but they will not grant or allow it this excellency of sincerity and purity which we avouch. Bellarmin hath observed out of all the Old Testament five places only whereby he would prove that the Hebrew fountain hath lost some of this purity. The first place is Isaiah ix. 6, *And he shall call his name* (to wit, the Lord) *Wonderful.* "But the vulgar Latin readeth, *and he shall be called,* which reading Calvin approveth. And, therefore, by Calvin's confession here, the Hebrew fountain itself is not clear."[2]

Vajikra Schemo Pele.[1]

[1] These, and the other words from the Hebrew, are, in the original, printed in Roman capitals, and form part of the text. In the translation, they are placed on the margin, as in this edition.

[2] In the passage referred to, Bellarmin is examining into the question, whether the Hebrew ought to be regarded as *fons purissimus,* which opinion he maintains to be false. His words are, "Quæ sententia apertissime falsa est. Nam imprimis Calvinus Institutionum capite sexto, § 11, contendit esse legendum Isaiæ nono, et vocabitur admirabilis, &c., modo non habet vocabitur, id est, יִקָּרֵא, sed vocabit יִקְרָא, [it would seem that he was unable to represent the difference from want of pointed letters,] neque ignoravit Calvinus, meliorem hoc loco vulgatam editionem esse, quam Hebraicam. Sic enim ait: *Neque est quod oblatrent Judæi, et sic lectionem invertant: Hoc est nomen quod vocabit eum Deus fortis, pater futuri sæculi, ac demum hoc unum filio reliquum faciant, ut sit princeps pacis; quorsum enim tot epitheta in Deum hoc loco congesta forent?* Igitur confessione Calvini turbidus alicubi fluit ille fons, quem ipse ideo ubique purum videri volebat."—(Bellarmin. *Disput.,* vol. i. p. 69, d. e.) The passage from Calvin, animadverted on and misquoted by Bellarmin, will be found in his *Institut.,* lib. i. c. 13, § 9. It is as follows:—Hoc est, inquit [Iesaias,] nomen quo vocabunt eum, [not *vocabitur,* as Bellarmin attributes to him, that he may appear to have preferred the Vulgate rendering as more accurate than the original Hebrew,] Deus fortis, Pater futuri seculi, &c. Oblatrant hic quoque Judæi, et sic lectionem invertunt, Hoc est nomen quo vocabit eum Deus fortis, Pater futuri, &c., ut hoc duntaxat Filio reliquum faciant, Principem vocari pacis. Sed quorsum tot epitheta in Deum patrem hoc loco congesta forent?

I answer, first, the sense is the same, whether ye read *shall call* or *shall be called*. Secondly, the letters are the same in both words in the Hebrew, *shall call*, and *shall be called*, the points being divers do not make the body of the word to be of divers significations. Thirdly, the Hebrew doctors, as Vatablus,[1] say often, that with the Hebrews a verb personal of the third person is taken for an impersonal, as here *shall call* for *shall be called*. Fourthly, Tremellius and Junius retain the Hebrew reading, and say thus, *and he doth call his name, &c.*[2] Vajikra.

The second place[3] is Jer. xxiii. 6, *And this his name, wherewith he shall call him, the Lord our righteousness.* "But the vulgar Latin edition saith, *that they shall call him, the Lord our righteousness*, and this translation also Calvin approveth. Therefore by Calvin's testimony, the very Hebrew text is here corrupted." I answer, the sense shall not be greatly unfitting, if ye read *whereby he shall call him, to wit, the Lord our righteousness*. The name going before is the name of a people of security, of a people that dwell safely, as Tremellius and Junius understand and read the place. Thirdly, Jeremy Vezeh Schemo asher jikreo, Jehovah Tsidkenu.

[1] François Vatable, the parent of Hebrew literature in France, died in 1547, having acquired the admiration of the Jews themselves for his oriental erudition. Bertin, one of his pupils,—he was Professor of Hebrew in the *College Royal* of Paris,—collected some of his lectures and his expository notes on the Old Testament, which were first published in 1545.—(Moreri, *s. v.*)

[2] *Sed* quum puer natus fuerit nobis, filius datus nobis, cujus humero adit principatus ipse; cujus nomen vocat *Jehovah*, admirabilem, &c., Tremel. et Jun. *in loco*. It may be proper to remark, that when the translator uses the term, the *vulgar* translation, he means the Vulgate, in the original, *Vulgata*.

[3] Bellarmin's words (*l. c.*) are, "Pari ratione Hierem. 23 vult ibidem Calvinus esse legendum, et hoc est nomen quod vocabunt eum, Dominus justitia nostra. At fons Hebraicus constanter habet יקראו vocabit eum non יקראוהו vocabunt eum." Calvin refers (*l. c.*) to *two* passages in Jeremiah xxiii. 6, and xxxiii. 16, in the first of which he renders יִקָּרֵא, *vocabitur*. The second passage he renders, Hoc est nomen quo *vocabunt* eam (Jerusalem,) Jehovah justitia nostra. In both cases, the Vulgate rendering is, Hoc est nomen quod *vocabunt* eum, Dominus justus noster. The translation of Tremellius and Junius is, in the first passage: atque hoc nomen ejus est quo *vocabit* eum (Jisrael,) O Jehova justitia nostra. In the second: is autem qui *vocabit* eam (erit) Jehova justitia nostra. The Septuagint in the first passage has καλέσει, in the second, καλέσουσιν, (c. xl. 16.)

leaves it to our free choice.[1] Fourthly, the Hebrew doctors Vatablus, Pagnine, Arias Montanus,[2] read *vocabit, he shall call;* and yet turn the word *vocabunt, they shall call.*

Caari Jaddai Veraglai. The third place is in the 22d Psalm, 17th verse, *They pierced my hands and my feet.* "In the Latin edition it is, *foderunt*, they *digged* or *pierced*, and so read all Christians; but the Hebrew is, *sicut leo, as a lion.* Wherefore in this place the Hebrew text is corrupted."[3] I answer, the Masorites testify that they have read in some Hebrew copies *caru*, which signifieth to dig into or to pierce. They Caari. also which have the word *Caari* in their books, say it is not to be taken here in the proper and common signification. The Chaldee Paraphrast doth knit both particles together, *As a lion smites with his teeth, so have these pierced, &c.* But these were before Jerome, I mean the Masorites, and the Chaldee Paraphrast; therefore it is false that this place was corrupted by the Jews after Jerome's time. Jerome in his Psalter keeps this reading *Caari*, and yet he translates the word *foderunt*, they digged or pierced.

[1] This whole passage is mangled in the translation, and a whole passage omitted. It will be better, perhaps, to retranslate it, without noting the inaccuracies. "Therefore, in this place, the Hebrew spring has been rendered muddy, even in the opinion of Calvin himself. I answer, 1. We have a sense not inappropriate, if we read, *the name wherewith it shall call him*, viz., the name of *Jehovah our righteousness;* but the antecedent noun is that of a people dwelling in security, as Tremellius and Junius understand and translate the passage. 2. The Septuagint [original, through inadvertence, *Sexaginta*] translates it καλέσει. 3. Jerome makes it a matter of indifference," p. 127.

[2] Sanctes Pagninus, a Dominican monk of great learning, especially as an orientalist. He was a native of Lucca, born in 1470, and died at Lyons in 1541. —(Moreri, *s. v.*) For his translation of the Bible, the first by a modern from the original language, see Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 59, seventh edition. He also wrote a Hebrew Lexicon. His translation was revised by Arias Montanus.—(Horne, *uti supra.*) The latter distinguished himself at the Council of Trent, and acquired the highest reputation for the mode in which he executed a new edition of the Polyglot Bible for Philip II. of Spain. He died at Seville, his native city, in 1598.—(Moreri, *s. v.*)

[3] Bellarmin's words (vol. i. p. 70, a. b.) are, Præterea, Psalm xxi., [our 22d is the 21st psalm in the Vulgate, in consequence of their joining our 9th and 10th,] nemo Christianorum est qui non legat: *Foderunt manus meas, et pedes meos*, textus vero Hebraici legunt, sicut leo כארי non foderunt quod dicitur כרו.

Lastly, a certain Popish writer, one Augustine Justinianus,[1] who set forth the Book of Psalms collected of many languages, doth plainly avouch it, this place is not corrupted, but that there is a defect of a word which the Chaldee Paraphrast hath supplied.

The fourth place is Psalm xix. 5,[2] *Their line is gone forth through all the earth.* Ecol haarets iatsa kannam. "Here not only the vulgar, but the Septuagint also, whom the Apostle to the Romans, x. 18, followeth, do read, *their* φθόγγος. *sound is gone, &c.*, therefore this place is corrupted."[3] Let Genebrard[4] alone answer this in his observations on the Psalms, who saith, the Septuagint and Paul did rather express the sense of the word than the proper and natural signification thereof.

The fifth place is Exodus ii.[5] "After the 22d verse, in the vulgar

[1] "In 1516 there was printed at Genoa, by Peter Paul Porrus, (in ædibus Nicolai Justiniani Pauli,) the Pentaglott Psalter of Augustin Justiniani, Bishop of Nebo. It was in Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldee, and Greek, with the Latin version, glosses, and scholia."—(Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 32.) Justinian was a native of Genoa, born in 1470, Bishop of Nebbio (in Corsica) in 1514, and a member of the fifth Lateran Council. He was drowned in 1536, while sailing from Genoa to his diocese.—(Ladvocat, *s. v.*)

[2] Four of our authorised translation. In the translation into Latin of Tremellius and Junius, the title of the psalm is numbered as a verse.

[3] "Item Psalm xviii. [xix. with us] Hebraïci codices legunt; in omnem terram exivit קוֹם, id est, linea sive perpendiculum eorum: cum tamen LXX. verterint et φθόγγος αὐτῶν: et eorum versionem approbaverit B. Paulus Roman. 10, ubi hunc Psalmum citat. Quid quod Hieronymus ad literam reddidit ex Hebræo, *exivit sonus eorum?* ut omnino necesse sit, aut Paulum et Hieronymum reprehendere, aut certe fateri, fontem hoc loco non esse purum; verisimile autem est legi debere קוֹלָם: una enim litera tantum addita ex קוֹם fit קוֹלָם."—(Bellarmin, *uti supra*, p. 70, a. b.) Gesenius' explication is simple enough, "*Musical chord*, hence *sound*, Ps. xix. 5."—(*Lexicon*, Leo's Translation, 1825.)

[4] Genebrard, a learned French theologian, was professor of Hebrew in the Royal College of Paris. Irritated at obstructions having been thrown in his way to a bishopric, he joined the party of the League. He was made Archbishop of Aix in 1591; but became involved in much trouble, from his having written against the right of the king to nominate bishops. In addition to other works he wrote a translation of the Psalms, with a commentary. He died at Semur in 1597.—(Moreri, *s. v.*)

[5] "Adde quod interdum desunt integræ sententiæ in Hebræo, cum non desint nec in versione LXX. nec in Hieronymi translatione. Exemplum habemus Exod. 2, ubi deest totum illud. *Alium quoque genuit, et vocavit nomen ejus Eliezer, dicens, Deus Patris mei auxiliatus mihi, et liberavit me de manu Pharaonis.*" (Bellarm. *uti supra*, p. 70, b.) There is no such addition in the Septuagint. It

Latin edition, all this place is read of a second son of Moses; *And she bare a second, whose name he called Eliezer, saying, the God of my father is my helper, and hath delivered me from Pharaoh's hand.* But all this place is not to be found in the Hebrew text: *Ergo.*" To this I answer, the very Louvain editions[1] have here their marginal note, to put us in mind that this place hath crept into the text, and the better sort of the Papists are of this judgment, that this place is not the natural or very text of God's word; as Caietanus, who writes of this place in this manner, *All this clause of a second son is superfluous.* Wherefore Bellarmin cannot conclude by these places that the Hebrew edition is corrupt, and therefore is not authentical.

The Jews before Christ did not corrupt the Hebrew: Christ is witness, and so the Apostle, Rom. iii. 1.

I shall conclude contrarily with this one argument, that the Hebrew edition is not corrupt. If the Jews corrupted it, it was before Christ or after. But not before Christ; which point, to pass by all testimonies of ancients, I make evident with this one reason: If the Jews had corrupted the Hebrew text, Christ would have taxed them for so horrible an offence. But we never find that Christ so chargeth them for any such cause; but contrarily, we read that he sends them to that very Hebrew edition which they had in their hands, *Search the Scriptures,* saith he, John v. 39. The Scripture was not corrupted after Christ's time; which assertion I prove, to pass by the authority of ancients, with this one argument: The Jews could not corrupt all the Hebrew copies,

is not easy to see on what principle Bellarmin quotes. The words of the Vulgate are, *Alterum vero peperit, quem vocavit Eliezer, dicens: Deus enim patris mei, adjutor meus, eripuit me de manu Pharaonis.* Is it uncharitable to suppose that he misquoted purposely, as if to show that both the Vulgate and he had translated from one common source, there being in reality no foundation for the passage but the Vulgate? It is observable, that our author quotes correctly (with the exception of a slight misprint, the insertion of an *et*) from the Vulgate. The clause is given in the Douay translation.

[1] Jacques le Fevre d'Estaples, who was strongly suspected of a leaning to Protestantism, was, notwithstanding, for his learning appointed tutor to the third son of Francis I. He died in 1537, having executed a translation of the Scriptures into French, which was first printed at Antwerp in 1530. A revision of this by the divines of Louvain appeared in 1550, and has since been repeatedly printed.—(Ladvocat, *s. v. Fevre;* Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 92.)

albeit they were never so willing to effect it, for that they were now for the most part come to the hands of Christians. Hence it followeth, that if the Hebrew text was not corrupted neither before Christ's time nor after his coming, then was it not corrupted at all. But happily they will say, that the Jews corrupted it after Augustin and Jerome's time? I answer, In what places? For as touching Bellarmin's five places, we have already showed, that both in Jerome's time and before, these places were thus read as we read them this day. Wherefore we conclude, the Hebrew edition is most pure, and, consequently, in the Old Testament this edition only is authentical.

The Jews could not corrupt the Hebrew after Christ's coming.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE GREEK EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

WHEREAS there be many editions of the New Testament, we say the Greek only is authentical, which first I demonstrate on this manner: First, in Christ's time and the Apostles', the Greek tongue among the Gentiles was of greatest excellency. Secondly, and as it was accounted of best note, so was it most famous and most common in the world. For albeit, as then the Roman empire was most large and great, yet the Latin tongue was not so common, as is testified by a good writer of that age. Thirdly, the idolatry and superstition of the Gentiles, and all the philosophy of the Greeks, was written in the Greek tongue. The Lord having these and such like respects, no doubt at what time it pleased him to carry his gospel from the narrow bounds of Jewry, into the great and spacious field of all the world; it was the Lord's will and

Cicero in Oratione pro Archia poeta.[1]

[1] Nam si quis minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex Græcis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat; propterea quod Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. c. 23.

pleasure, I say, at that time, that the gospel should be written principally[1] in the Greek tongue.

The writers they were, some of them, Apostles—some Evangelists; all which first wrote in Greek, except Matthew,[2] and the author to the Hebrews. For, first, concerning Matthew,* Athanasius saith, he first wrote in Hebrew;[3] the same saith † Irenæus,[4] and ‡ Nazienzen,[5] and § Jerome,[6] who saith that in his time Matthew's Hebrew copy was reserved in the library of Cesarea, which Pamphilus the martyr built.[7] Athanasius saith, that Saint Matthew's

Matthew first in Hebrew.

* In Synopsi.

† Lib. 3.

‡ In Carmin.

§ In Præfat. in 4 Euang. ad Damas. et in Catalog. in Matth.

1 "In preference to all others." Original, *potissimum.*

2 "Except perhaps Matthew." Original, *Si forte Matthæum excipias.*

3 "It is there [in the Synopsis ascribed to Athanasius] said 'that Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew, and published it at Jerusalem; and that it was translated [into Greek] by James, the Lord's brother according to the flesh, who was ordained by the holy apostles the first Bishop of Jerusalem.'"—(Lardner, vol. iv. p. 165.)

4 "Matthew then, among the Jews, wrote a gospel in their own language."—Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. i. apud Lardner, vol. ii. p. 170.

5 It is very doubtful whether Gregory Nazienzen intended to characterise the Gospel of Matthew as originally Hebrew. His words are, (Carm. 33, vol. ii. p. 98, apud Lardner, vol. iv. p. 287,)

Ματθαῖος μὲν ἔγραψεν Ἑβραίοις θαύματα Χριστου,
Μάρκος δ' Ἰταλίᾳ, Λουκας Ἀχαϊάδι.

The expression Ἑβραίοις, as compared with that Ἰταλίᾳ, seems to mean only "*for* the Hebrews." See Lardner, *l. c.*

6 De novo nunc loquor Testamento, quod Græcum esse non dubium est, excepto Apostolo Matthæo, qui primus in Judæa Evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis edidit.—(Hieron. *ad Damas. Præfat.)*

7 Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex publicano apostolus, primus in Judæa, propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit. Quod qui postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est. Porro, ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaræis qui in Beræa, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit.—(Hieron. *Cat. de Viri Illustribus*, c. 3, apud Lardner, vol. iv. p. 441.) Pamphilus was a native of Beyrout in Phœnicia, who flourished at Cæsarea about A. D. 294. He there formed a library, magnificent for the time, and busied himself in preparing for gratuitous circulation copies of the Scripture. With Eusebius, who took his name, he edited, from the autograph revision of Origen, the Greek translation of the Septuagint. He was martyred, after an imprisonment of two years, in 309.—(Cave, *uti supra*, p. 97.)

Hebrew edition was translated to Greek by James the Apostle;[1] others say, by Saint John the Apostle;[2] others by Matthew himself.[3] Thus write the fathers, but their assertion hath no strong grounds. For when Christ lived with his Apostles, all the Jews spake Syriac, that is, a language mixed of Hebrew and Chaldaic. Therefore, if Matthew had purposed to write in any other language but the Greek, he would no doubt have written specially in the Syriac tongue, and some Papists of this age are of the very same judgment.[4] Wherefore it is uncertain whether Matthew first wrote in Hebrew, Syriac, or Greek; yet it is more probable that he did first write in Greek, both for that this tongue was not unknown to the Jews, and other apostles first wrote in it, not only to Jews and Gentiles indifferently, but also particularly to the very Jews. Well, howsoever it is, the Greek edition which we have in the Church at this day is authentical; for that it was both written and approved while the Apostles were yet living. For as touching the Hebrew edition, if there were any,

As St James and St Peter, 1st Epist. Matthew in Hebrew.[5]

[1] See previous page, note 3.

[2] "Matthew first wrote a gospel in the Hebrew language, for the sake of the Hebrew believers, eight years after Christ's ascension; and John, as is said, translated it out of Hebrew into Greek."—(Theophylact. apud Lardner, vol. v. p. 158.)

[3] "This opinion, we believe, was first intimated by Sixtus Senensis, from whom it was adopted by Drs Whitby, Benson, Hey, and Townson, Bishops Cleaver and Gleig, and some other modern divines."—(Horne's *Introduction*, vol. iv. p. 265.) Sixtus of Sienna was a converted Jew, who died at Genoa in 1569.—(Ladvocat, *s. v.*) His principal work is *Bibliotheca Sancta*, to which, lib. vii. p. 582, Horne gives a reference. On the question regarding the language in which Matthew wrote his gospel, see Horne's *Introduction*, vol. iv. p. 262, &c.; Lardner, vol. v. p. 308, &c.; Fabricii *Bib. Græc.* vol. iv. p. 758, ed. Harless.

[4] "De Testamento Novo major est dubitatio; et quidem valde probabile est Evangelium S. Matthæi, et Epistolam S. Pauli ad Hebræos, Syriaca lingua scriptos esse: id enim efficacissimis argumentis probat Albertus Uvimestadius Ferdinandi Imperatoris Cancellarius, qui primus in Europa Testamentum Novum Syriacum imprimi curavit: et Guido Fabricius, cujus est Latina interpretatio Novi Testamenti Syriaci in regiis Bibliis."—(Bellarmin, vol. i. p. 76, c. p. 77, a.)

[5] This marginal note is the translator's. "Matthew in Hebrew," seems to be a misprint.

I doubt now it can no where be found. And as for this Hebrew copy, which is in many hands, it is not the true copy.[1]

In Catalog. In Paul. As concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews, Jerome saith, that first it was written in Hebrew; next turned into Greek, either by Barnabas, or Luke, or Clement.[2] But it is uncertain, and it is more like to be true that this Epistle also was first written in Greek. Howsoever it be, this Greek edition of this Epistle which we have at this day is authentical.

Now the New Testament, written in Greek by the Apostles and Evangelists, hath been so preserved by the admirable providence of God, even in the midst of persecutions and heresies, unto this age, and in all former ages so freed and kept by godly and orthodoxical writers from the corruption of heretics; the Lord God, I say, hath so provided, that it is come into our hands most pure and perfect. Thus, then, I reason. That edition of the New Testament which was written in the best language, and first and originally written in it, to wit, the Greek, I say the same must be accepted as authentical of all men. But such is the Greek edition of the New Testament: *Ergo.*

The adversaries except only against the purity of this edition. For albeit some of them, the latter, and the better learned, as

1 "Hebraïce vero quæ exstant Matth. editiones recens a Judæis vel Christianis elaboratæ sunt, et absurdissime pro Matthæo authentico habentur; sive *Munsteriana* illa Basil, 1537, fol. Henrico VIII. Angliæ regi inscripta, et versione atque commentario adversus Judæos instructa, sive *Tiliana*, quam ex Italia attulit *Joh. Tilius*, [*Jean de Tilet*] et *Joh. Mercerus* Latine transtulit, Paris, 1555, 12."—(Fabric. *Bib. Græc.* vol. iv. p. 759, note l.)

2 Our author's account of Jerome's language, regarding the Epistle to the Hebrews, is not quite accurate. Jerome's words are:—Epistola autem, quæ fertur ad Hebræos, non ejus creditur, propter styli sermonisque differentiam; sed vel Barnabæ, juxta Tertullianum; vel Lucæ evangelistæ, secundum quosdam; vel Clementis, Romanæ postea ecclesiæ episcopi, quem aiunt ipsi adjunctum sententias Pauli proprio ordinasse et ornasse sermone. Vel certe quia Paulus scribebat ad Hebræos, et propter invidiam sui apud eos nominis titulum in principio salutationis amputaverat, scripserat, ut Hebræis Hebraïce, id est, suo eloquio, disertissime, ut ea quæ eloquenter scripta fuerant in Hebræo, eloquentius verterentur in Græcum; et hanc esse causam, quod a cæteris Pauli epistolis discrepare videatur.—(*Catalog. de Vir. Ill.* c. 5, apud Lardner, vol. iv. p. 451, note.)

Bellarmin, do not say that the Greek edition of the New Testament is altogether corrupt, as some of them have blasphemed; yet they say it is not so pure, that they can grant it to be authentical, because in some places it is corrupt.[1] Bellarmin brings forth seven places, whereby he endeavours to prove this assertion, that the Greek edition is corrupt, and, therefore, cannot be authentical.

The first place is 1 Cor. xv. 47, *The first man is of the earth, earthly; the second man is the Lord from heaven.* "But in the vulgar Latin edition it is, *the second is from heaven, heavenly;* and this reading is approved: therefore the Greek edition is corrupt and not authentical."[2] I answer, first, albeit we read as the Greek is, yet the sense is good and orthodoxal, and the same with that which is of the vulgar reading, differing in word only, and not in matter. Secondly, the Arabic and Syriac translation so read the place. Thirdly, the Fathers, Chrysostom[3] and Theo-

ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς, χοϊκός. ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ Κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.

[1] "Jam vero quod attinet ad auctoritatem, dubium esse non potest, quin editio Apostolica summæ sit auctoritatis, nisi forte constet eam esse corruptam. De qua re ita sentiendum censeo, ut supra de Hebraïcis diximus, videlicet non esse Græcos codices corruptos generalifer; nec tamen esse fontes purissimos, ut necessario quidquid ab eis dissentit corrigendum sit, ut falso existimant Calvinus, Major, Kemnitius, ceterique hujus temporis hæretici."—(Bellarmin, vol. i. p. 85.)

[2] "Quod autem non sint ubique incorrupti, sed aliqui interdum errores irrepserint, saltem negligentia librariorum, et non sit tutum semper Latina ad Græca corrigere, aliquot exemplis planum fiet. Certe i. Corinth. 15, legendum est; *Primus homo de terra terrenus, secundus homo de cœlo, cœlestis*, ut non solum nostra Latina versio habet, sed etiam Calvinus probat. c. 7, Inst. § 12. At Græci constanter legunt secundus homo Dominus de cœlo, ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος Κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Quam depravationem mansisse vitio scriptorum ex corruptionibus Marcionis, patet ex Tertulliano lib. 5, in Marcionem." (Bellarmin, *Ibid.* p. 85.) Calvin refers to the passage, (lib. ii. c. 7, § 12,) but without any such approval, or opinion of any kind as to the true reading.

[3] John Chrysostom (or the Golden-mouthed, so named from his eloquence) was born at Antioch, probably A.D. 347, of parents of high rank. He was ordained deacon, 381, and presbyter, 384. On the death of Nectarius, Archbishop and first Patriarch of Constantinople, in 397, he was appointed to succeed him; but his fidelity, and plainness of living as well as of speech, rendered him obnoxious to the Empress Eudoxia and sundry of the bishops. Through their joint efforts he was deposed and banished, first to Cucusus, then to Pontus, where he died from the fatigues of his journey, A.D. 407. His works are most voluminous,

Hæreseon. xxii. 2. Tert. lib. 5, contra Mar.

phylact,[1] so read. Fourthly, Epiphanius,[2] citing all the places which Marcion corrupted, yet remembers not this place. "But," saith[3] he, "Tertullian saith that Marcion hath corrupted this place." I answer, that Tertullian, in that book and place, reads these words in the very same manner as we do, *The Lord from heaven.*

ὁ δὲ γαμήσας μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρέσει τῇ γυναικί. Μεμέρισται ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ παρθένος. ἡ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ, &c.

The second place is 1 Cor. vii. 33, *He that is married careth for the things of the world, how he may please his wife.* The wife and the virgin are distinctly set down, so reads the Greek.[4] "But the vulgar thus, *He that is joined to a wife careth for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and he is divided; but the woman that is unmarried, and the virgin, bethinketh of the things which please the Lord, both in body and spirit.* Wherefore the Greek edition is here corrupted, and so cannot be authentical."[5] I answer, first, that

and his merits, as an expositor of Scripture, very great. The *Editio Optima* of his works is that of Bernard de Montfaucon, 13 vols. fol. Paris, 1718-38.—(Smith's *Dictionary*, *s. v.*; Lardner, vol. iv. pp. 534, &c.; Cave, *S. E. H. L.* pp. 195, &c.)

[1] Theophylact was Archbishop of Achridia, in Bulgaria, A.D. 1077. He wrote or compiled, from Chrysostom and others, commentaries on most of the books of the New Testament, and on some of the minor prophets. His works were published at Venice, in 4 vols. 1754-1763.—(Cave, *S. E. H. L.* p. 536; Fabric. *Bib. Græc.* vol. vii. p. 586, &c.)

[2] Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia, in Cyprus, died an old man, A.D. 402. He was violent and bigoted, but a man of great learning. His works were published at Leipzig, in 1682, in 2 vols. folio.—(Smith's *Dictionary*, &c. vol. ii. p. 40.) For his account of Marcion, and the Marcion heresy, generally, see Lardner, (vol. viii. pp. 452, &c.)

[3] Original, *testatur*. It is necessary to notice this, to defend our author's good faith; for Bellarmin's remark (see note) is only inferential from the language of Tertullian.

[4] The translator here has mistaken his author. The words of the original, which seem to give Rollock's own translation of the passage from the Corinthians, are: *Qui uxorem duxit curat quæ sunt hujus mundi, quomodo placeat uxori. Discretæ sunt uxor et virgo: Innupta curat*, &c. Hæc lectio est Græca. "'He who has married a wife cares for the things of this world, how he may please his wife. The wife and the virgin are distinguished from each other. She that is unmarried cares for,' &c. Such is the Greek reading."

[5] "Præterea, 1 Cor. 7, ubi nos habemus: *Qui cum uxore est, solicitus est, quæ sunt mundi, quomodo placeat uxori, et divisus est, mulier innupta et virgo cogitat quæ Domini sunt*, &c. Græci codices longe aliter habent, nam illud *divisus est*, conjungunt cum sequentibus, sic μεμέρισται ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ παρθένος, divisa est

the sense which is by the Greek is not only sound, but also more fitting in this place than that which is by the vulgar translation. Secondly, the Syriac translation so read these words. Thirdly, Theophylact, the Greek Scholies,[1] and Basil, so read the words. But he saith that Jerome avoucheth it, that this Greek reading is not apostolical. I answer, the same Jerome, in another place, reads these words as we do. Wherefore, seeing he changeth his mind, he is not fit to judge for this Scripture.

Lib. i. contra Jovinian. Contra Helvidium et Eustochium.

The third place is Rom. xii. 11, *Serving the time.* "But the old Latin is, *serving the Lord: Ergo.*"[2] I answer, first, albeit ye read so the place, yet the sense is good and sound. Secondly, the reading varies in many Greek copies, as witnesseth Origen's interpreter,[3] who reads the word Κυρίῳ, and he noteth it, that in many books he found καιρῷ, *the time.* The same saith Ambrose,[4] who reads

τῷ καιρῷ δουλεύοντες. τῷ Κυρίῳ.

uxor et virgo. Quam lectionem B. Hieronym. in lib. i. contra Jovin. affirmat non esse Apostolicæ veritatis."—(Bellarmin, vol. i. pp. 85, 86.)

[1] Original, *Græca Scholia.* The *Scholia* were brief, explanatory, and grammatical notes, partaking of the nature of commentary and criticism.—See Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 390, &c.

[2] "Rom. 12, ubi nos legimus, *Domino servientes:* Græci non habent κυρίῳ sed καιρῷ δουλεύοντες, id est tempori servientes; et tamen nostram lectionem esse verissimam patet tum ex Hieronymo in epistola ad Marcellam, quæ incipit, *Post pejorem epistolam;* ubi dicit, in emendatis Græcis codicibus haberi non καιρῷ, sed κυρίῳ; tum ex Origene, Chrysostomo, Theophylacto, et aliis Græcis Patribus, qui sic legerunt et explicuerunt in suis commentariis."—(Bellarmin. *Ibid.*)

[3] Origen, one of the most estimable, laborious, and eminent of the early Christian Fathers, was born at Alexandria about A.D. 186, and died about A.D. 254, after a life of much usefulness, during thirty-eight years of which he was a presbyter of the Church. He was a most voluminous writer. Of his two editions of the Old Testament, called *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla*, the most complete edition is that of Montfaucon, 2 vols. folio, Paris, 1714. Of his other writings, the most complete edition is that of Delarue, 4 vols. folio, Paris, 1733-1759.—(Smith's *Dictionary*, &c. vol. III. pp. 46, &c.) The *interpreter* is Rufinus, (see p. 107, note 5,) to whom we are indebted for a Latin version of many of his works; among others, of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, contained in the 4th volume of Delarue's edition.—(Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* vol. vii. pp. 208, 233.)

[4] Ambrose was Bishop of Milan from 374 to 397. He was a man of great influence, which he exerted successfully against the Arians. His works are not

καιρῷ, *serving the time;* "yet," saith he, "in some books we find Κυρίῳ, *the Lord.*" Thirdly, the Syriac, Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Basil, read Κυρίῳ, *the Lord;* which reading we best like. For which cause our Beza translates the word *Domino, the Lord.*

The fourth place is John viii., where, in the beginning of that chapter, many of the Greek copies want the story of the adulterous woman, which the common translation in Latin hath, and the Church approves it as canonical.[1] I answer, first, that our Greek books, which we have and hold for authentical, have this history also, and our Church receives it. Secondly, yet we deny not that this hath been gainsaid by some, and the Syriac translation hath it not.

The fifth place is Mark xvi., where in many Greek copies that whole chapter is wanting,[2] which notwithstanding the Latin edition retaineth: *Ergo.* I answer, first, that all our Greek books which we account authentical have also this chapter, and our churches receive the same as canonical. Secondly, Jerome somewhere[3] moves some doubt touching it, but to no purpose.

The sixth place is 1 John v., where the seventh verse, which contains a worthy testimony of the Trinity, in many Greek copies is missing, but in the vulgar it is retained: *Ergo.* I answer, first, our Greek books, which we hold for authentical, have this verse, and our Church receives it. Secondly, we deny not but some have gainsaid it.

ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία, &c.

The seventh place is Matth. vi. 13, *For thine is the kingdom, power, and glory, Amen.* "But this place is not in the vulgar translation:

highly esteemed. The best edition is that of the Benedictines, 2 vols. folio, Paris, 1686-90.—(Smith's *Dictionary*, &c. vol. i. p. 140.)

[1] "Denique constat in plurimis Græcis codicibus deesse multas veræ Scripturæ partes, ut historiam adulteræ, Ioan. 8. Ultimum caput Marci; testimonium pulcherrimum Trinitatis, I. Ioan. et alia de quibus supra disseruimus."—(Bellarmin, *Ibid.*)

[2] Both Bellarmin and our author have overstated the objection regarding the last chapter of Mark, which extends only to the last twelve verses.

[3] Hieronymi *Opp.* vol. iii. p. 96. Quæst. 3.

Ergo.[1]" L. Valla[2] answereth, this place is not added to the Greek, but detracted from the Latin; and I pray you, what heretical or unsound matter hath this place?

Thus we see then the adversaries cannot prove by these places that the Greek edition of the New Testament is corrupted, and so not authentical. Wherefore it resteth that the Hebrew edition of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New Testament is only authentical.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Now it resteth that we speak of the translations of the Old and New Testament. And, first, of the translations of the Old Testament. The Old Testament was first written in Hebrew, and afterwards translated into divers languages, specially the Chaldee and Greek. First, concerning the Chaldaic translation, next, of the Greek. And for the Chaldaic, we be to consider first what manner of translation it is; secondly, by whom this was done; thirdly, what authority this hath. For the first, the Chaldaic translation is rather a paraphrase than a translation word for word. The

Authors of the Chaldee Paraphrase.

[1] "Constat etiam quædam in omnibus Græcis codicibus inveniri, quæ non sunt partes divinæ Scripturæ, ut Matth. 6, orationi Dominicæ additur: *Quia tuum est regnum, et potentia, et gloria, in sæcula:* quæ verba non esse de textu, sed addita a Græcis ex duobus intelligi potest. Primo ex eo, quod Tertul., Cyprian., Ambrosius, Hieronymus, Augustinus, Orationem Dominicam exponunt, et tamen nullam horum verborum mentionem faciunt, cum omnes isti Græce bene noverint. Secundo ex eo quod Græci in sua liturgia recitant quidem hæc verba, sed non continuant cum Oratione Dominica."—(Bellarmin. *Ibid.*) Bellarmin is wrong in his statement, *omnibus codicibus.*—See Kuinoel, *ad locum.*

[2] Laurentius Valla (L. is not in the original Latin of our author) was one of the most learned men of the fifteenth century, and contributed essentially to the revival of letters. His annotations on the New Testament have been repeatedly published.—See Horne's *Introduction*, &c. vol. ii. part ii. p. 276.

Rabbins call this paraphrase the *Targum*.[1] For the second point, by whom this paraphrase was set forth. Rabbi Aquila translated the Pentateuch, and this they call *Onkelos*;[2] the rest of the books of the Old Testament were translated, partly by Rabbi Jonathan, partly by Rabbi Joseph Cæcus;* they lived not long before Christ, or about Christ's time. For the third point. The Chaldee paraphrase with the ancients was ever of great note and authority, specially that part of the Pentateuch; for as for the rest of this paraphrase, one Ximenius[3] a cardinal avoucheth it to be full of Jewish fables, and of the vain conceits of the Thalmudists. And thus far briefly of the Chaldee paraphrase.

Five books of Moses.

* Blind.

Præfat. in Biblia Complutensia.

Now touching the Greek translation of the Old Testament, there were divers translations of it into the Greek tongue. Some number nine translations. Of these the first and principal is that of the Septuagint,[4] which these seventy-two ancients did at the appointment of Ptolemæus Philadelphus; for whereas Clemens Alexandrinus writeth, that the Scripture was translated long before into Greek, and that Plato had read the same, it is not like to be

Lib. Stromat.

[1] With regard to the Targum, generally, see Prideaux' *Connection*, part ii. B. 8, vol. iii. pp. 531-555, edit. 1718; also Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii. pp. 198, &c.; Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, *s. v.*, and the authorities there quoted. It may be noticed, generally, that Rollock's account is very imperfect, and is nearly a mere abridgment of Bellarmin, (*Ibid.* p. 75,) whose account also is very unsatisfactory.

[2] Original: Quod ad secundum, Pentateuchon vertit R. Aquila, qui Onkelos dictus est ab iis. "As to the second point, the Pentateuch was translated by Rabbi Aquila, who was also named Onkelos by them." The source of this confusion between Onkelos, the real translator of the Pentateuch, and Aquila of Sinope, a Jewish proselyte, and translator of the Scriptures, afterwards mentioned by our author, is shown by Prideaux, *l. c.*

[3] For a brief account of the splendid Polyglot Bible, executed at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes,—containing, among other translations, the Targum of Onkelos, published 1514-1517, in 6 vols. folio, at Complutum, (*Alcala de Henares*,) hence called Complutensia,—see Horne, *Ibid.* vol. ii. part ii. p. 32. Ximenes was Archbishop of Toledo, and possessed supreme influence in Spain for twenty-two years before his death, in 1517, in his eighty-second year.

[4] For the discussion of this question, for the references made by our author, and on the history of the Septuagint, see Prideaux; *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 27-48; and for an excellent account of its merits, Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, *s. v.*

true; for neither Plato nor any of Pythagoras' sect ever saw the Sacred Scriptures. To speak then of the interpretation of the seventy interpreters, and to bind ourselves to certain questions, six in number. The first may be this, whether there was ever any Greek translation set forth by the seventy-two interpreters? Secondly, if there were any, when it was done? Thirdly, of what books? Fourthly, how this was done? Fifthly, what authority this translation is of? Sixthly, whether this be the true translation of the seventy-two interpreters which we have at this day?[1]

For the first question, the answer is easy; for there is no doubt but that there was a Greek translation by the seventy-two interpreters, for that all antiquity accords to this. This is testified by Epiphanius,* Eusebius,† Justin Martyr,‡ with many others. And as for the second question, the answer also to it is easy; for all men do agree that this translation was done in the reign and at the appointment of Ptolemæus Philadelphus. This write and avouch these men, Joseph, Philo, Athanasius, § Epiphanius, Tertullian, Aristæus, ‖ and many others.[2] And for the third question, What books were translated by them? the answer is not so easy; for some think they

* Lib. de mensuris et ponderib.
† De præparat. evangel.
‡ In dialog. cum Tryphone.
§ In synopsi.
‖ In historia sua de hac ipsa re.

[1] It is worthy of notice, that the whole statement regarding the Septuagint, and the Greek translations generally, is, in many respects, identical with the account given by Bellarmin, (*Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 77, &c.) who also mentions nine translations, as stated above by our Author. Thus, Bellarmin gives five questions regarding the Pentateuch, identical with the last five of our Author. It may be interesting to compare them.

Bellarmini. De interpretatione Septuaginta seniorum, quæ inter omnes Græcas editiones merito primum locum semper obtinuit, quæstiones quinque exsistunt. Prima, quo tempore facta sit. Secunda, quorum librorum sit. Tertia, quomodo facta. Quarta, quanta sit auctoritatis. Quinta, num hoc tempore germanam interpretationem Septuaginta seniorum habeamus.—*Ibid.* p. 79.

Rolloci. De versione itaque ista Septuaginta interpretum dicemus: quæ autem dicemus revocabimus doctrinæ gratia ad certas aliquot quæstiones, nempe sex numero: Prima est, an fuerit versio Græca facta a Septuaginta duobus interpretibus. 2. Si fuerit, quando facta. 3. Quorum librorum fuerit. 4. Quomodo facta. 5. Quanta ejus authoritas. 6. An hæc sit germana versio Septuaginta duorum interpretum quam nos habemus in manibus. P. 139.

[2] It must be confessed, that the account given by Bellarmin is fuller and more accurate than this.

translated but the five books of Moses only. Of this mind is Joseph, and Jerome seems to incline this way. Others say, they translated all the Scripture; and this is likest to be true. For, first, it is not likely that King Ptolemy could have contented himself with the Pentateuch only. Secondly, the Apostles of Christ used the Greek translation in citing testimonies out of the prophets, but in the Apostles' time there was none other translation but that of the Septuagint's. Thirdly, there had been no matter of admiration, in that this work was done with such expedition, if the Pentateuch only had been translated and finished in the space of seventy-two days; for they say, this translation was miraculous.[1] Fourthly, Chrysostom and Theodoret, among the Fathers, are of this judgment. Wherefore it is best we hold this as most probable, that all the Old Testament was translated by them.

In procemio Antiq.

[As to the question regarding the manner in which the translation was executed, the following narration is given. Seventy-two elders from the tribes of Israel, the most skilled in both the Hebrew and the Greek, by the orders of Ptolemy Philadelphus, finished the translation at the island Pharos, in Ægypt, with miraculous quickness, namely, in seventy-two days, and with extraordinary harmony. Some relate that, in the execution of this translation, they were shut up, each in a separate apartment; others, that they were in pairs; and others, that they wrought in a body, sitting in one place, and comparing their labours. They make, then, the execution of the translation miraculous; but these miracles, narrated for the purpose of magnifying the authority of this translation, no one can believe.[2]]

[1] The meaning of our Author is not well brought out here. He does not mean to say that it was actually a miraculous translation, but that, in the opinion of those who were acquainted with it in its early history, it was deemed miraculous, which would not have been the case if it had consisted of a translation of the Pentateuch only.

[2] This passage has been omitted by Holland. I subjoin the original.

Quod ad quæstionem de modo versionis, hunc fuisse modum narrant: Septuaginta duo senes ex tribubus Israel utriusque linguæ Hebraicæ et Græcæ peritissimi, jussu Ptolemæi Philadelphi, miraculosa celeritate, nempe 72 dierum

And as for the fifth question, What authority this translation had? Hereunto men answer diversely. For some ascribe too much to it, as Epiphanius, who saith, they were not interpreters only, but in a manner prophets. Augustin is too much in the commendation of it; he saith, it was done by a special dispensation of God, and thinks it to be set forth by divine inspiration. Others ascribe not so much to it; Jerome saith against Epiphanius, they were no prophets.[1] And often in his commentaries, he teacheth it not only as corrupted, but as very faulty in itself, which thing he would never have done, if he had thought this work had been done by divine inspiration. What authority soever this translation is of, assuredly it can have no more than what may, by good right, be given to an interpretation; for we may not avouch it to be given by the inspiration of God, nor make it of equal authority with the Scripture.

Hi lib. de mensuris et ponderib.

In præfat. in Pentateuchon.

As touching the sixth question, some think that the old translation of the Septuagint is as yet extant, but to be so corrupt, that it is no wisdom to correct either the Hebrew or Latin copies by it. Bellarmin is of this mind.[2] Others affirm, that the ancient translation of the seventy-two interpreters is lost, and that this which we have is mixed, and very corrupt. This also they prove by induction of certain places corrupted. First, the Greek Bible numbers from the creation of the world unto the Flood, 2242 years,

Old translation of the LXX.

spatio, admirabili consensione, ad Phadum [*sic; lege* Pharum] Ægypti, versionem hanc absolverunt. Alii singulos seorsim sedibus disclusos; alii binos; alii omnes confertim considentes uno loco, et operas conferentes, versionem hanc confecisse tradunt. Miraculosam igitur fuisse versionem narrant, sed miracula hæc quæ dicunt fuisse, ad amplificandam hujus versionis authoritatem, fidem non habent. P. 141.

[1] It is important to notice, in forming an estimate of our Author's acquaintance with his subject, that Jerome, in the passage here referred to, does not name Epiphanius, while he throws discredit on the story told by him regarding the cells in which the translators were shut up.

[2] De postrema quæstione licet [non] ignorem nonnullos in ea sententia esse, ut existiment interpretationem Septuagintа seniorum penitus interiisse; multo probabilius censeo, illam adhuc superesse, sed adeo corruptam et vitiatam, ut omnino alia esse videatur. Bellarmin.—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 82.

as we may see in Augustin, Eusebius, and Nicephorus in his chronology; but the Hebrew verity saith, the number of years be 1656. Therefore the Greek number exceeds the Hebrew in years 586. Secondly, from the Flood to Abraham, the seventy-two interpreters reckon of years 1082; but according to the Hebrew text of God's word, there be no more years but 292, so the Greek exceeds the Hebrew verity 790 years. Thirdly, in the Greek copy, Adam is said to have lived 230 years, and in some books 330, when he begat Sheth: but the Hebrew Bible saith, Adam begat Sheth when he was 130 years old. Fourthly, according to the Greek copy, Methusalem lived fourteen years after the Flood, which is very ridiculous; for where lived he? or how was he kept from the waters? In the ark? That cannot be, for but eight souls only entered into the ark, among whom Methusalem is not reckoned. The Hebrew Bible speaks far otherwise of Methusalem's years and age; for by it we gather, that he died that very year the deluge came on the whole earth, to wit, the year of the world 1656. Fifthly, in Jonas, the Greek copy denounceth destruction to the Ninevites after the third day, *As yet three days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed;* but in the Hebrew text we read, *Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed.* By these places we see there is great difference between the Greeks and the Hebrews in their numbering; but all agree that the Hebrew numbers are true. Augustin feigns I know not what mystery in this diversity of numbers, to defend the authority of the seventy-two interpreters, which notwithstanding he could not maintain in the place concerning Methusalem. Jerome deals more plainly and faithfully, saying, that the Septuagint have erred in their number. By these before cited places, and many such like corrupted, we conclude, that this Greek translation, which is now extant, is not that which the seventy-two ancient Jews wrote, or if it be the same, that it is corrupted, as we may reckon it to be of very small authority.

Methusalem's life and death.

Chap. iii. 4.

De Civitate Dei, lib. xviii.

Thus far of the Greek edition of the seventy-two interpreters. Now we are to consider of other Greek translations, which were written after the Gospel was published far and near among the

Gentiles, and there be eight several translations numbered. The first was Aquila's, written in Adrian the Emperor's time, as testifieth Epiphanius.[1] This Aquila was first a Pagan, and after turned Christian, and was baptized; after this, being admonished for his studies in judicial astrology, and at last cast out of the Church for his obstinacy, he fell away to the Jewish religion, and conversing with the Jews, he learned the Hebrew tongue, and then and there translated the Old Testament out of the Hebrew into Greek; but with a perverse and a froward mind, as saith Theodoret, purposely intending to obscure the doctrine of Christ, and to colour his apostacy. Aquila Sinopensis, and his apostacy.

After this translation of Aquila followed Theodotion's, in the reign of Commodus the Emperor, as Epiphanius also writeth. This man was of Pontus, and of the sect of Marcion the heretic. After a time, renouncing his sect, and abjuring all Christian religion, he fell to Judaism; and having learned the Hebrew tongue, he translated in like manner the Old Testament into Greek, but with a malicious heart, and unfaithfully, as Theodoret speaketh, intending the confutation of his own sect.

After this translation of Theodotion followed that of Symmachus, in the reign of Severus Augustus. This man was a Samaritan by birth and country, and for that he could not attain some superiority he desired in his own country, he fell in like manner into Judaism, and was circumcised the second time. And how this was done, Epiphanius noteth it out of 1 Cor. vii. 18, to wit, by gathering his uncircumcision after his first circumcision, that so there might be matter for a second circumcision. This man translates the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek, but unfaithfully, as Theodoret saith, intending most the confutation of the Samaritans, of whom he had his first beginning. Symmachus' translation.

After this translation of Symmachus, there were two others, whose names be not known. The one was found in Jericho, laid up in great vessels for the preservation of it, in the reign of Cara-

[1] *De ponder. et mensur.*, c. 14.

Apud Nicopolin Aquilonarem, because there were three of that name.

calla the Emperor. The other was found at the north Nicopolis, in the time of Alexander the Emperor, the son of Mammæas. This is testified by Epiphanius, Theodoret, and others.

After all these followed Origen, who lived in the year of Christ 261, in the days of Valerian and Gallienus the Emperors. Origen laboured exceedingly in the conference of such translations as he found extant before his time; for he gathered into one volume four translations, to wit, first, Aquila's; secondly, Symmachus'; thirdly, the Septuagint; fourthly, Theodotion's; and set them down in four distinct columns, and this was Origen's Tetrapla. This done, he added to these four columns two more of the Hebrew text, the one set down in Hebrew, the other in Greek characters; and this was Origen's Hexapla. Lastly, to the six former columns he annexed the two editions before noted to be of unknown authors, and this was called Origen's Octapla, a work of great labour and excellency, the loss whereof hath been, no doubt, no small damage to the Church of God. Origen, in these his works, had his marginal stars to observe what he liked, his long strokes to put out what he disliked, his little labels for addition, and his second labels for a second addition,[1] according to the variety and diversity of his copies. A certain godly man, complaining for the loss of these works, said, "Well we may deplore the loss of these works, but restore the same we cannot."

Origen's τέτραπλα.

ἑξάπλα.

ὀκτάπλα.

Lucianus.

After Origen, there was one Lucianus' translation, about Diocletian's time. This man was a minister of the Church of Antioch, and a martyr. A copy of this edition, as I have read, was found written with this martyr's own hand, and kept in a marble chest at Nicomedia. Jerome also writeth, that in his time there were copies which were called by Lucian's name.

Hesychius.

Finally, after Lucian's translation followed another edition, set forth by one Hesychius, which corrected the interpretation set

[1] As some of the marks used by Origen have been the subject of much discussion among the learned, it is proper to notice, that the description of these here given is the translator's own. Rollock merely names them.

forth by the Septuagints, and gave it to the churches of Egypt.[1] And thus far of the eight great translations which were after Christ; all which be lost, howbeit the Papists sell for good canonical Scripture certain remnants, as they say, of Theodotion's translation, Dan. xiii. and xiv. chapters, a fragment which that foul heretic and apostate left in their safe keeping.[2] For as concerning this Greek edition of the Old Testament which is now extant, howsoever it comes to us, we have none pure, but mixed and corrupted, as we have before observed. And thus far of the translations of the Old Testament; first, the Chaldee paraphrase, next, the sundry Greek copies of all ages.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE SYRIAC TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Now let us come unto the translation of the New Testament. The New Testament being first written in Greek, was translated into the Syriac tongue, which in the days of Christ and his Apostles, was the proper and natural language of the Jews, by reason of their long captivity in Babylon, and for that the Assyrians were transported to the possession of Jewry. It is uncertain who was the author of this translation, as also at what time it was done. Tremellius thinks it most like to be true, that this was done in the primitive Church, in the very beginning, and that by the Apostles

[1] *Lucianus*, Antiochenus presbyter, et *Eusebius*, *Pamphilusque* atque *Hesychius*, Alexandrinus, non adornarunt novas Græcas versiones; sed editionem κοινὴν LXX. interpretum vel recensuerunt, ut Lucianus et Hesychius, vel Origenis labores cum ecclesia communicarunt, ut Eusebius et Pamphilus.—Fabric. *Bib. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 715.

[2] The correct translation of the original is; "Except that the Papists retain certain parts of Theodotion's translation, *Daniel* xiii. and xiv., and to this hour ostentatiously produce as a portion of the canonical Scripture the fragment of the impious Theodotion, first heretic, then apostate."

Syriac translation, ancient.

themselves or their disciples. He proves also the reverend antiquity thereof: First, by the elegancy of the tongue. Secondly, by the defects and loss of certain books and places of the New Testament, which are to be found in the Syriac translation; as the Second Epistle of St Peter, the Second and Third of St John, the Epistle of James and of Jude, the Apocalypse, and the story of the woman taken in adultery, which is found in the beginning of the eighth chapter of the Gospel according to St John. By this defect he gathereth, that seeing the Syriac translation was extant before the Church accepted these books as canonical, the Syriac translation must be very ancient. Again, he saith he found a singular faithfulness in the Syriac translation, by conferring it with the Greek and original; which experience any shall find if they shall please to confer both languages together. Of the premises, the conclusion is this, that the Syriac translation both was in elder ages, and is now at this day, in great authority in the Church. Thus far of the Chaldaic and divers Greek translations of the Old Testament, and of the Syriac translation of the New.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF BOTH TESTAMENTS.

We be now to speak of the Latin translations of the New Testament and of the Old. The Latin translations of the Bible were very many. This say Augustin and Jerome, who complaineth much of the variety and diversity of Latin translations. Of all the Latin translations, the first was an Italian;[1] Augustin prefers

De Doctrina Christ. lib. ii. cap. 11.

In prœmio in lib. Josuæ.

[1] Original: Ex versionibus Latinis, prima fuit Itala quædam. This translation, the first used by the Western Church, and which is said to have been made from Greek, both in the Old and New Testaments, is called by Jerome *Communis* and *Vulgata*, by Augustin, *Itala*, by Pope Gregory I., *Vetus*. It is generally known now by the name *Old Italic*, to distinguish it from Jerome's translation.

this before all the rest, as keeping most strictly to the words of the original, and being more perspicuous than others in sentences. This was not that translation of Jerome, for it is evident this was far more ancient than that translation of Jerome. And who should be the author of this is uncertain. De Doctrina Christ. lib. ii. cap. 15.

After this Italian translation, Jerome's followed next; who is said to have left a double translation in Latin of the Old Testament. In the first he followed the seventy-two interpreters,[1] in the latter, the Hebrew original text. For as touching the New Testament, Jerome is said not to have translated it into Latin, but to have corrected the old Latin translation, as himself affirmeth in many places.[2] This edition of Jerome, when it came forth first, it began forthwith to be accepted and read publicly in the churches, but with no contempt of that old Italian copy. For as Gregory[3] saith, these two translations, that elder Italian and the latter of Jerome, were of greatest note in the Latin churches, and most used. At length, all those old Latin translations, together with that Italian, were not respected; and Jerome's translation alone remained, if we may truly avouch this to be Jerome's translation which at this day is used, and is carried about in his name; for the Aug. Epist. 10, ad Hieron.

[1] This is a mistake. Jerome only published a revision of the Old Italic version, comparing it with the Septuagint, of the Psalms, Job, Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song, the rest having been lost through fraud or carelessness. Of these there are only extant, the translation of the Psalms and Job, and the prologues to the others.

[2] "The history of the Vulgate, therefore, as it now exists, is briefly this:—1. The Old Testament is a translation made directly from the Hebrew original by Jerome. 2. The New Testament is a translation formed out of the old translations, carefully compared and corrected from the original Greek of [by] Jerome. 3. The Apocrypha consists of old translations, with the exception of Tobit and Judith, freely translated also from the original Chaldean by Jerome."—(Professor Ramsay in Smith's *Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 466.)

[3] Gregory I. or the Great, Pope 590, died 604. (Ladvocat, *s. v.*) His sanction first gave authority to Jerome's translation. The reference is probably taken from Bellarmin, (vol. i. p. 87,) who says; Quod apertius intelligitur ex B. Gregorio in epist. ante præfat. in libro Moral. cap. 5, ubi dicit suo tempore Romanam ecclesiam utraque editione uti consuesse, id est, antiqua versa ex Græco, et nova Hieronymi versa ex Hebræo.

learned greatly doubt of this matter. Here, therefore, we be to consider of this point, and two questions principally are to be answered; first, who was the author of this; the second, what authority it may have in the Church.

As touching the author of this Latin translation, divers men speak diversely; some think it was Jerome, and that it is pure without any mixture; so think all Papists for the most part, especially the Jesuits. Others think it not to be Jerome's, as Sanctes Pagninus,*[1] and Paulus[2] a bishop,† to pass by Erasmus, Munster,[3] and other Popish writers. Others deem it to be Jerome's, but not to want corruption; of this judgment are these men, Joannes Driedo, Sixtus Senensis;[4] and Bellarmin seems to incline this way, as may easily be gathered by his propositions and reasons touching this matter.[5] We say, it is neither Jerome's, nor yet pure, nor mixed;

* In præf. in Interp. Bibl. ad Clement. 7, Pontif.

† Forosempronianus.

Not his in whole nor yet in part.

[1] See p. 116, note 2. The reference is given by Bellarmin; Præfat. interpretationis Bibliorum ad Clementum VII. Pontificem Maximum.

[2] Thus given by Bellarmin: Paulus Foro Sempronii Episcopus, lib. ii. c. 1, de die passionis Domini.

[3] Sebastian Munster was a laborious and celebrated writer of the 16th century. He was born at Ingelheim in 1489, and joined the order of the Cordeliers. He afterwards followed the opinions of Luther, quitted the order, and retired to Heidelberg, and then to Basle, where he taught with high reputation, and where he died in 1552. Among other works he published a Latin translation of the Old Testament, with the Hebrew text, which is much esteemed. He also published a Hebrew Grammar and Dictionary.—(Ladvocat, *s. v.*) It is proper to notice, that Rollock does not call him a Popish writer: he says, Aliis etiam pontificiis hominibus; "other writers, even those who are Popish." Bellarmin takes no notice of Erasmus or Munster.

[4] Jean Driedo, a native of Brabant, was Professor of Divinity at Louvain. He died in 1535. His works occupy 4 vols. folio. For Sixtus Senensis, see p. 121, note 3. Bellarmin (vol. i. p. 87) supplies us with the references; his words are; At mixtam esse ex vetere et nova docent Joannes Driedo, lib. ii. c. 1, de Eccles. dogmat. et Scripturis, et Sixtus Senensis, lib. 8. Bibliothecæ sanctæ extremo. From this it appears, that they held not that the text was corrupt, but that it was not Jerome's pure translation, being partly his and partly the Old Italic. Our Author, accordingly, does not say, *vitiosam*, but; Alii Hieronymi quidem esse putarunt, sed non *puram*.

[5] Bellarmin (*ibid.*) has four propositions, which agree with the account given page 137, note 2, except that Bellarmin maintains that the Vulgate translation of the Psalms is not from the Hebrew, but is a translation (amended by Jerome) of the Greek version as corrected by Origen and Lucian.

and this we prove on this manner.[1] Jerome translated the Old Testament out of the Hebrew into the Latin accurately or exactly; but this vulgar edition is not exact; therefore it is not Jerome's. The proposition is evident; for Jerome himself testifieth in many places of his works that he had laboured and done this translation very exactly; as in his preface before the five books of Moses, in his preface before the book of the Kings, in his preface on the Psalter, in all which places he saith he changed nothing, but followed faithfully the Hebrew text, and he appealeth to the Jews to testify of the faithfulness of his translation. And Augustin[2] affirmeth it, that the very Jews did confess his translation was sound and true. Isidore[3] prefers Jerome's translation before all men's, for keeping himself more strictly to the words of the Hebrew text, and for his perspicuity of phrase. Wherefore, if we may believe these men, Jerome's translation was exactly done. So far the proposition. The assumption followeth: But the vulgar Latin edition is not accurate; neither doth it agree with the original, the Hebrew text; yea, it so far dissenteth from it, that necessarily one of these two assertions must be true, either that this Latin edition is most corrupt, or that the Hebrew fountain is most troubled and disordered. And this last point Bellarmin himself dare not avouch, but taxeth such as do so affirm, and that worthily.[4]

De Civitate Dei, lib. xviii. cap. 43.

Hispalensis, lib vi. Etymolog. cap. 5.

It resteth therefore that we prove this great disagreement between the Latin edition and the Hebrew text. And this can no other-

[1] The meaning of our Author is clearly this. Some affirmed that it is a pure transcript of Jerome's version, others, partially an edition of it. Our Author maintains that it is neither the one nor the other—it is not Jerome's at all.

[2] Non defuit temporibus nostris presbyter Hieronymus homo doctissimus, et trium linguarum peritissimus, qui ex Hebræo in Latinum divinas Scripturas convertit, cujus tantum literarum laborem Hebræi fatentur esse veracem.

[3] See p. 108, note 2. Isidore's words are; De Hebræo in Latinum eloquium tantummodo Hieronymus presbyter sacras Scripturas convertit, cujus editione generaliter omnes ecclesiæ usquequaque utuntur, eo quod veracior est in sententiis, et clarior in verbis.—(*De Offic. Divin.* lib. i. c. 12.) And again, in the passage referred to in the margin: Ejus interpretatio merito ceteris anteponitur.

[4] In the second chapter of the second book, *De Verbo Dei*, vol. i. p. 70, &c.

wise be done but by conference the one with the other. Let the comparison begin at the book of Genesis, and compare not all places which dissent, for that were infinite, but some special places, whereby ye may soon conceive of the rest, and judge what they be. And by this conference of places you shall discern that the defaults are not of one kind, but of divers, as for changing of words and sentences, for defect and superfluity; for so many ways the Latin edition is faulty. In my judgment, this comparison cannot better be found by any man or means[1] than by that vulgar Latin which was corrected by John Benedict, a divine of Paris, whom, that I may pass over this point briefly, I recommend unto thee, gentle reader. By this conference[2] that shall appear, both that this is not Jerome's translation, and that this vulgar Latin edition is not authentical, so as we shall not need to spend any time in handling the other question.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE INTO THE MOTHER TONGUE.

It remaineth now that we speak of such editions and translations as be in the usual mother tongue. I understand that translation to be in the mother tongue, which is done in that language which is vulgar and common among the people of that country, whose

[1] Original: *Meo judicio non aliunde melius discetur hæc comparatio quam ex*, &c. In my judgment, this comparison will be learned from no other source better than from, &c.

[2] "In conclusion, we may remark, that the Vulgate in its present form is by no means the same as when it issued from the hands of its great editor. Numerous alterations and corruptions crept in during the middle ages, which have rendered the text uncertain. A striking proof of this has been adduced by Bishop Marsh, who states, that two editions published within two years of each other, in 1590 and 1592, both printed at Rome, both under Papal authority, and both formally pronounced authentic, differ materially from each other in sense as well as in words."—(Professor Ramsay, *ibid.*)

language it is; as the Dutch, Italian, French, English, Scottish, and Spanish translations, &c. We may move three questions of these translations. First, whether it be lawful to translate the Sacred Scripture into every mother tongue. Secondly, whether the liturgy or common prayers of the Church ought to be in the mother tongue. Thirdly, whether it shall be lawful for the common people to read the Scriptures translated into their own language or mother tongue.

Translation of the Scripture into the vulgar tongues. First argument.

To the first question we answer, that it is lawful, yea, also, that it is expedient it should be so, and this we prove by some few arguments. First, the Sacred Scriptures must be read publicly before all the people; therefore must they be translated into their own known language, for otherwise it were in vain to read them. The antecedent is proved, Deut. xxxi., verses 11, 12. The Lord commandeth that the books of Moses be read to all indifferently when they were assembled, men, women, and children, with the strangers. Jer. xxxvi. 6, chargeth Baruch the scribe that he should read before all the people the book which he had written from his mouth. But some will here object, that this precept was to endure but for a time. I answer, the end shows it must be perpetual, Deut. xxxi. 13; the end being this, *that this people may hear, learn, and fear the Lord.* This end is perpetual; therefore, so is the law in like manner, specially seeing that the reading of the Scripture is the ordinary and necessary means whereby we be to come to this appointed end. So the antecedent being thus cleared, it followeth necessarily that the Scripture must be translated into our known mother tongue.

Second argument.

Argument 2. The people are permitted to read the Scriptures; therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar tongue, for otherwise the common people could never read them. The antecedent I prove thus: The Sacred Scriptures do furnish us with weapons against the devil, as we be taught by Christ's example, Matth. iv., who gave Satan the repulse, using none other weapons against him but testimonies of Scripture. John, chapter v. 39, Christ commanded the multitude to search the Scriptures. Acts,

chap. xvii. 11, the Christians of Berea are commended for searching the Scriptures, whether the points were sound and good, and agreeable to the Scriptures, which were taught by the Apostles. But see more of this antecedent in the handling of the third question.

Third argument. Argument 3. The very Papists grant the Scriptures may be read before the people, but they say it must be done in an unknown tongue. Wherefore, I reason thus: If the Scriptures must be read before the multitude in an unknown tongue, that shall be fruitless, and without all edification; therefore they must be translated into their known language. The antecedent is proved by 1 Cor. xiv. 6, *If I shall come unto you speaking in tongues, what shall I profit you? q. d.*,[1] nothing. And after, in the same chapter, verse 19, *I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that I might also instruct others, than ten thousand words in a strange tongue.* But of this point more hereafter.

Fourth argument. The fourth argument. God requires in his people wisdom, knowledge, and instruction. Therefore the Scriptures must be read, and therefore translated into the vulgar tongues. The antecedent I prove thus. Deut. iv., God will have his people to be wise and of understanding, that the nations round about hearing of this might be smitten with an admiration, and say, verse 6, *Only this people is wise, and of understanding, and a great nation.* The Apostle, Col. iii. 16, will have *God's word to dwell in them richly* or *plenteously.* Paul in his Epistles every where requires the Churches to whom he writes to be filled with all knowledge. The adversaries contend and dispute much against this knowledge which God requires in the common people.

Fifth argument. The fifth argument. Christ, while he lived among the Jews, spake and preached unto them in their own mother tongue. The Apostles of Christ in like manner did preach the Gospel in their vulgar tongue, as in the day of Pentecost and after; and for this very cause, that they might speak to every nation in their own

[1] Original: *Quasi dixisset*;—"as if he had said."

known language, that gift of tongue was given them. Thus then I reason: If to preach the Gospel in the vulgar known languages was no profanation of the Gospel, then so in like manner, to write the Gospel in the vulgar known languages is no profanation of the same; for there is like reason of both.

Sixth argument.

The sixth argument is from the perpetual use and practice of all the ancient Church. For in the primitive Church, the sacred Scripture was translated near hand into all languages, as the Chaldaic, the Syriac, the Arabian, the Armenian, the Egyptian, the Ethiopian, the Indian, the Persian, Scythian, the Sarmatian tongue. There are not a few do avouch this, Chrysostom,* Theodoret,† Augustin,‡ with others. And at this day there be extant the Chaldaic, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Egyptian, and the Ethiopian translations; all which the learned say were done in the Apostles' time. Chrysostom turned the sacred Scripture into the Armenian tongue, as Sixtus Senensis reporteth. Jerome translated the Scripture into the Dalmatic tongue, as these men do testify, Alphonsus a Castro,[1] Eckius, Hosius,[2] Erasmus. Methodius[3] translated it into the Sclavonian tongue, as saith Aventin[4] in his Chronicle. Ulphilas, Bishop of the Goths, translated the same into

* Homil. 1 in Joannem.

† De corrig. Græcorum affectib. lib. v.

‡ De Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. cap. 5.

Lingua Dalmatica.

[1] Alfonso de Castro, a Spanish divine, of the order of St Francis, followed to England Philip II., when he married Queen Mary. He died at Brussels in 1558, aged sixty-three years. His works, which are mainly controversial, were published at Paris, in 1578.—Ladvocat, *s. v.*

[2] Stanislaus Hosius, a native of Cracovia, was educated in Italy, and on his return to Poland, became ultimately Bishop of Warmia. For his services with the Emperor Ferdinand, to whom the Pope appointed him resident nuncio, he was made Cardinal in 1561, and was one of the three legates that opened the Council of Trent in that year. He returned to Germany, but soon after was recalled to Rome, where he died in 1579, aged seventy-five years. His works are numerous, and highly esteemed by the Roman Catholics.—Ladvocat, *s. v.* Pallavacino, *ibid.* lib. xiv. c. 13. lib. xv. 6, 6. ç. &c.

[3] Two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, sons of Leo, a noble Greek of Thessalonica, are said to have first preached the Gospel to the Sclavonians, in the end of the ninth century; and to Cyril is ascribed the invention of the Sclavonic Letters.—Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii. part i. p. 245.

[4] John Aventin of Abensperg, born in 1466, died in 1534. He wrote *Annales Bavariæ*, to which there is here a reference. The best edition is that of 1580. —Ladvocat, *s. v.*

Socrates, tripartita historia. De Civitate Dei, lib. xv.

the Goths' language. Augustin writeth that the Old Testament was translated into Syriac. Harding against Juel,[2] and Eckius, write that the Muscovites and the people of Russia had the Scripture in their own mother tongue. The History of England, written by Beda, affirmeth, that the Scriptures were translated into the English tongue before his time. Beda saith, he translated part of the New Testament himself.[3] Thus far the practice of the Old

[1] The ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoritus, (which are generally joined with those of Eusebius, Theodorus, and Evagrius,) were first translated, or paraphrased in Latin by Epiphanius Scholasticus in the beginning of the sixth century, and were repeatedly printed prior to our Author's time, especially at Basle. From the three authors thus translated, Epiphanius called the work *Tripartita Historia*, which he divided into twelve books, (Fabricii, *Bib. Græc.*, vol. vii. p. 425.) But Sozomenus, not Socrates, makes the statement referred to by our Author.—Sozom. *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. vii. c. 37. For an account of the Gothic translation, made towards the close of the fourth century, see Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii. part i. p. 240.

[2] This is the celebrated Bishop Jewel, who flourished in the time of Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth. His *Apology for the National Church* was attacked by Harding, a Roman Catholic divine. The original is *adversus Jovellum.*

[3] The original has no counterpart to the words, "written by Beda." It has simply *Anglicana Historia*, though it is highly probable that it is to the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* of Bede that our Author refers. The only words there bearing on this subject, that I can find, are, (lib. i. c. 1,) "Hæc [insula] in præsenti, juxta numerum librorum quibus lex divina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur, Anglorum videlicet, Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum, quæ, meditatione Scripturarum ceteris omnibus est facta communis." This, it must be admitted, is ambiguous. If it means that there was a translation of the Scriptures in the Anglo-Saxon before Bede's time, it must also mean that there was a Welsh, Scottish, and Pictish translation. All that it seems to indicate is, that there were preaching and creeds in the several languages, and that for the study of the Scriptures the Latin was the common medium. Fulke, in his edition of the Rhemish Testament, is of our Author's opinion. "He meaneth that learned men of *all* the four nations studied the Scriptures by help of the Latin tongue, and such commentaries and treatises of the elder fathers as were written therein. But he saith expressly, that the knowledge of the highest truth, which is not to be found but in the Holy Scriptures, and according thereunto, was both searched out and confessed in the mother tongue of the other four nations, by which he meaneth the Christians unlearned in the Latin tongue."—(Preface, p. 3, ed. 1601.) I have been unable to discover in Bede any notice of his translation of part of the New Testament. It is said that his translation of the Gospel of St. John is the first portion of the New

Church, whereby, as by the rest of the argument aforegoing, it followeth, that the sacred Scripture is to be translated into every country's vulgar language.

Now it resteth to see what the Papists answer to this question we have in hand. Some few years past they utterly denied that the sacred Scripture might be translated into any mother tongue. Petrus Asoto,[1]* Censura Coloniensis, and Harding, before named, these write that some are of this judgment, the Scriptures are not to be translated into the vulgar languages. And for this cause, such as translated Scriptures, they were banished[2] and condemned by the Pope, and their books were prohibited and burnt. And when they saw this to be odious to all men, these grave fathers changed their minds, and now forsooth they avouch the Scriptures may be translated into the vulgar languages, yet by the Pope's permission. And this albeit it seems to be something diverse from the former assertion, yet in effect it is the very same. For the Pope will permit no man to do this, but to such a one as shall turn all the corruptions which are to be found in the old Latin edition into the vulgar tongue, and so recommend the same to posterity. This is Bellarmin's[3] judgment and the

* De horis canonicis.

Testament translated into the language of this island of which we have any account.—(Historical Introduction to the English *Hexapla*, p. 2.) Horne (*Introduction*, &c., vol. ii. p. 246) says: "Not many years after this, the learned and venerable Bede (who died A. D. 735) translated the entire Bible into that language."—See also, on this subject, Archbishop Usher's *Historia Dogmatica Controversiæ*, &c., p. 107.

[1] This, both in the original and translation, should be Petrus a Soto. He was a distinguished Dominican of Cordova, Confessor to the Emperor Charles V. He afterwards taught in Dettingen till 1553, when he was summoned to England to assist in re-establishing the Papal faith in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. On the death of Queen Mary in 1558, he returned to Dettingen, and thence went to the Council of Trent, where he died in 1563. His works are held in high estimation by those of his own persuasion.—Ladvocat, *s. v.* Pallavacino, *ibid.* lib. 20. cc. 13, 17, &c.

[2] As in the case of Luther, Wicliff, Tindal, &c.—See Archbishop Usher, *ibid* pp. 179, &c. "Banished." Original: *proscriptis*. "Excommunicated" seems a preferable translation.

[3] Bellarmin treats more of readers than of translators. But his allusion to the celebrated Index of Pius IV. in the following passage, together with his

Rhemists.[1] But we avouch the contrary, to wit, that every godly learned man, skilful in the tongues, may translate the Scripture without the Pope's permission; yea, albeit he prohibits the same; and that it shall be lawful for the Church of Christ to accept of the same translation after examination, albeit the Pope give none authority nor approbation hereunto. For in the ancient Church, when the authority or tyrannical jurisdiction of the Pope was un-

wholesale approbation of the Vulgate throughout, makes his opinion abundantly clear. At Catholica Christi Ecclesia non quidem prohibet omnino vulgares translationes, ut Kemnitius impudenter mentitur, nam in indice librorum prohibitorum a Pio IV., edito Reg. IV. videmus concedi lectionem ejusmodi librorum iis qui utiliter et cum fructu ea uti possunt, id est, iis qui facultatem ab ordinario obtinuerint; prohibet tamen ne passim omnibus sine discrimine concedatur ejusmodi lectio, et ne in publico, et communi usu Ecclesiæ, Scripturæ legantur vel canantur vulgaribus linguis, ut in Concilio Trident. Sess. 22, cap. 8, et can. 9.—*(Ibid.* p. 112.) Bellarmin's mode of stating the controversy is instructive. Controversia est inter Catholicos et hæreticos, an *oporteat*, vel certe *expediat*, divinarum Scripturarum usum communem esse in lingua vulgari, et propria uniuscujusque regionis.

[1] "Now, since Luther's revolt also, divers learned Catholics, for the more speedily abolishing of a number of false and impious translations put forth by sundry sects, and for the better preservation or reclaim of many good souls endangered thereby, have published the Bible in the several languages of almost all the principal provinces of the Latin Church: no other book in the world being so pernicious as heretical translations of the Scriptures, poisoning the people under colour of Divine authority, and not many other remedies being sovereign against the same (if it be used in order, discretion, and humility) than the true, faithful, and sincere interpretation opposed thereunto. Which causeth the Holy Church not to forbid utterly any Catholic translation, though she allow not the publishing or reading of any, without exception or limitation; knowing by her divine and most sincere wisdom, how, where, when, and to whom these, her Master's and Spouse's gifts, are to be bestowed to the most good of the faithful; and, therefore, neither generally permitteth that which must needs do hurt to the unworthy, nor absolutely condemneth that which may do much good to the worthy. Whereupon, the order which many a wise man wished for before, was taken by the deputies of the late famous Council of Trent in their behalf, and confirmed by supreme authority, (Ind. li. prohibit. regula 4,) that the Holy Scriptures, though truly and Catholicly translated into vulgar tongues, yet may not be indifferently read of all men, nor of any other than such as have express license thereunto of their lawful ordinaries, with good testimony from their curates or confessors, that they be humble, discreet persons, and like to take much good and no harm thereby."—(Preface to the Rhemish Translation of the New Testament.)

known, the translations before specified were both done and received of the Churches without the Pope. And thus far of the first question.

It followeth, in the second place, whether the Liturgy or common prayers of the Church are to be celebrated in a known tongue? I mean the public service or worship of God in ecclesiastical assemblies, as the public prayers, the reading of the Scriptures, the administration of the Sacraments, singing of psalms, &c. These be called by the name of divine service. To the question we answer affirmatively, that this public service of God is to be done in the vulgar tongue. Our first argument we take from the 1 Cor. xiv., where, from the sixth verse to the twenty-first, the Apostle teacheth that nothing is to be done in the Church in an unknown and strange language. But Bellarmin[1] excepteth, saying, that in that chapter the Apostle understandeth principally, a collation and exhortation, which in the old Church followed after the public prayers;[2] and to this end he showeth out of Justin Martyr, the custom of the old Church. "The Christians assembled on the Lord's days, and first, the Scriptures were read; then after this the chief minister of the place preached; after this the sacraments were administered; lastly, they did use conference of divine arguments or of godly questions." I answer, the Apostle here entreateth generally of all ecclesiastical duties, and that in this order; first, ye have a general doctrine from the sixth verse to the fourteenth. Next, there followeth a special instruction how prayers must be conceived, how to sing psalms, not in an unknown tongue, but in a known or common language, to the nineteenth verse. After this he returns to his general doctrine again.

θειαὶ λειτουργίαι.

Apolog. 2. Note the order of the old Church on the Lord's day.

[1] Respondeo, imprimis certum esse, in magna parte hujus capites non agi de lectione Scripturarum, nec officiis divinis, sed de exhortatione spirituali sive collatione. Ut enim olim monasti inter se conveniebant, et conferebant de rebus spiritualibus, unde existunt collationes Patrum apud Cassianum, ita etiam in prima Ecclesia, vindicat beatus Justinus in fine Apolog. 2.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 218.) The following account of Martyr's statement is verbatim from Bellarmin. The marginal, "Note the order," &c., is the translator's.

[2] Divine service. Original: *sacrorum.*

Bellarmin[1] excepteth again, that Paul here speaketh of songs which in that meeting they sung, which were endued with some extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghost. I answer, the Apostle distinctly nameth prayers and songs. Again, he speaketh of those prayers and thanksgivings, whereunto the people did answer, Amen; now the people did not answer Amen but to the public prayers; wherefore he meaneth here public prayers conceived in the divine administrations, in the public assemblies.

If in Greek, not in Latin.

Bellarmin[2] again objecteth: "The public prayers in Corinth were in the Greek tongue, a speech well known to the people, and that the Apostle knew, and therefore there was no need to prescribe any such rules for their divine service." I answer, albeit it be granted that the common prayers,[3] &c., at Corinth were done in the known mother tongue, yet it followeth not but that the Apostle's doctrine is general of all ecclesiastical offices to be done in the public assemblies. Next, it is most like, that there were at Corinth some which had the gift of tongues, which abused it to vain ostentation, even in the public administration, and that is it which the Apostle taxeth in that chapter. And thus far of the first argument.

Argument 2.

The second is of the same Apostle in the same chapter, verse 6; *If I shall come unto you, speaking with tongues*, that is, unknown tongues, *what shall I profit you?* Hence I conclude, the public worship of God must be not in an unknown but a known language. Bellarmin answereth, that he which administereth the public prayers[4] in an unknown tongue shall profit others, for it is sufficient that

[1] Vera igitur sententia est, Apostolum hoc loco non agere de divinis officiis nec de publica Scripturarum lectione, sed de canticis spiritualibus, quæ Christiani componebant, ad laudandum Deum, et gratias ei agendas, et simul ad suam et aliorum consolationem et ædificationem. This opinion Bellarmin elaborately defends at greater length than it seems necessary to quote.—(*Ibid.* p. 120.)

[2] Non loqui Apostolum de Scripturis vel officiis divinis ex eo probatur, quod Scripturæ sine dubio legebantur Græce, et divina officia fiebant Græce in Græcia, ut etiam hæretici admittunt.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 120.) The marginal note, "If," &c., is the translator's.

[3] The usual public divine service. Original: *solita sacra publica.*

[4] The public divine service. Original: *sacra publica.*

God understands him, and this he goeth about to clear by a similitude.[1] "Like as," saith he, "if a man speak for a rustic or rude man, ignorant in the Latin tongue, in Latin to the king, this shall suffice if the king understand him, to confer any benefit by the king upon the same ignorant person." I answer, what is this else but to say, that the public administration doth profit the people by virtue or merit of the work done,[2] albeit in the meantime the people be without faith and knowledge of the true God;[3] but of this in place appertaining. Opus operatum.

The third argument is of the same Apostle in the same chapter, ver. 11; *He that speaketh unto me in a strange tongue, shall be as a Barbarian;* therefore the public administration of the word and sacraments, and of all God's worship and service, must be in the vulgar and known tongue. Bellarmin[4] answereth, that he which speaketh Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, albeit he be not understood, yet is he not to be reputed as a Barbarian, because these tongues be not barbarous; but if he speak in any other language, he is to be accounted barbarous. I answer, If the speaker who speaketh in these tongues be not understood, he shall be to him who understandeth him not, as barbarous. For so the very poet avoucheth it of himself; When, saith he, he was in exile in Pontus, he complaineth,[5] that albeit he spake Latin, yet he was accounted of those strangers as barbarous; Third Argument.

[1] Imprimis falsum est, ex publica oratione Ecclesiæ nullum fructum a populo percipi, nisi ea oratio a populo intelligatur; nam oratio Ecclesiæ non fit populo, sed Deo pro populo. Itaque non est opus, ut populus intelligat, ut ei prosit, sed satis est si intelliget Deus. Quemadmodum si quis apud Regem Latine oraret pro aliquo rustico, certe rusticus fructum inde percipere poterit, etiamsi non intelligat orationem advocati sui.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 121.) It may be interesting to compare Rollock's own account of this similitude. Ut, inquit, si quis Latine pro aliquo rustico et Latinæ linguæ imperito agat cum Rege, hic satis est si Rex intelligat, ad hoc ut beneficium perveniat ad rusticum.—(P. 161.)

[2] Original: *Virtute operis operati.*

[3] "Of the true God." Not in the original.

[4] I have not been able to find this passage in the edition of Bellarmin's works of 1620.

[5] More correctly,—For when Ovid was in exile in Pontus, he complained, &c.

"Barbarus hîc ego sum, quia non intelligor ulli." [1]

And when it was objected to Anacharsis,[2] the philosopher, at Athens, that he was barbarous, he answered, "The Athenians are barbarous unto me."

Fourth Argument.

The fourth argument is of the same Apostle in the same chapter, ver. 16; *When thou blessest with the Spirit*, to wit, speaking in an unknown tongue, *how shall he, that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen at thy thanksgiving, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest?* Whence it followeth necessarily, that all public prayers and services of God must be done in the known vulgar tongue. Bellarmin [3] answereth, that it sufficeth, if some of the people under-

[1] *Trist.* v. 10. 37.

[2] A Scythian prince who visited Athens in the time of Solon, and became noted for the terse wisdom of his sayings.—Herodot. iv. 76, 77. Lucian, *Scytha.*

[3] This is not a correct account of Bellarmin's answer. He gives two answers that have been made to the Protestant objection, both of which he rejects. The first is, that Paul is still speaking of exhortation and friendly conference, as distinct from and carried on after divine service. This answer Bellarmin holds to be totally at variance with the plain meaning of the words. The second is, that the passage does refer to the stated divine service, but that there was a person who, in behalf of the *unlearned*, or as one of the unlearned, (whom Rollock calls a *clerk*, a term not used by Bellarmin at all,) replied, Amen. This, too, Bellarmin rejects, on the ground that all ancient authorities agree that there was no such office in the early Church. He gives it as his own opinion, that the Apostle refers to prayers and praises offered to God in the course of those exhortatory conferences which followed, but formed no part of the stated service. Bellarmin's actual reply to the objection here stated by our Author, which he saw might be proposed in this shape—granted that the Apostle does so refer, the same principle holds good in the case of the stated services—is illogical, contradictory, and in its admissions, fatal to his argument. I give the whole of the concluding passage in his own words. At objicies. Sicut Apostolus volebat ista cantica fieri lingua vulgari, ut populus subjiceret, Amen, ita etiam debuit velle, ut divina officia celebrarentur lingua vulgari, ut populus respondere posset, Amen. Respondeo, negando consequentiam, quia divina officia fiebant lingua Græca, quam multi de populo intelligebant, etsi non omnes, et hoc satis erat, non enim volebat Apostolus, ut omnes possent respondere. Præterea, tunc quia Christiani erant pauci, omnes simul psallebant in Ecclesia et respondebant in divinis officiis; at postea crescente populo divisa sunt magis officia, et solis Cleris relictum est, ut communes preces et laudes in Ecclesia peragant. Denique finis præcipuus illorum canticorum erat instructio et consolatio populi: fiebant enim in collationibus loco exhortationis, et ideo æquum erat ut a plurimis intelligerentur, et nisi lingua nota facta fuissent, vel mox sequuta fuisset

stand and answer, Amen; yea, it sufficeth, if he whom they call the clerk, say Amen for the people. I answer, This was not the custom of that old ancient Church which never knew what a clerk meant.

Fifth Argument.

My fifth argument is of the same Apostle in the same chapter, verse 40; *Let all things in the Church be done decently, and in order.* But if the minister shall pray in an unknown tongue, and the people shall conceive other prayers differing from the minister's, then shall the minister in the public congregation have his prayers, and every one of the people his own prayers also, and not the same with the minister. What good decency can be in this, when the people are so divided in prayer, which, in the public assembly, should offer up with one mind, and with one mouth, one and the same prayer unto God?

Sixth Argument.

The sixth argument is from a point which Bellarmin himself yieldeth.[1] He granteth that the public administration of prayers, &c., at Corinth, were done in the known Greek tongue; wherefore then may not all other Churches in the like manner have their Liturgy in the vulgar known language? What can he answer here, but this haply, that the public administration at Corinth was done in the mother tongue, not for that it was the vulgar tongue, but because it was Greek? for Papists give the Greek tongue, when they please, some prerogative.

Seventh Argument.

The seventh argument is from another point which Bellarmin granteth.[2] The collations, as himself speaketh, and the exhortations, ought to be done in the mother tongue; wherefore, in like manner, may not the public administration of God's worship be done in the mother tongue best known to the people? He answereth, that the reason is not the same of the collation and service. "For," saith he, "the collations tend to the instruction and consolation of the

interpretatio, perisset præcipuus fructus ipsorum, at divinorum officiorum nec est finis præcipuus instructio vel consolatio populi, sed cultus Dei, et quæ populum scire oportet, ex divinis officiis a pastoribus explicantur.—(*Ibid.* p. 121.)

[1] [2] See the quotation from Bellarmin in the last note.

people; but the public service principally concerns God's worship." I answer; Doth not all the people worship God in the public administration or service of God, and therefore ought they not to worship God in a known language, if they will worship their God in faith?

The eighth argument is from the practice of the old and best Church. In elder ages, so many translations were done, principally to this end, to celebrate the public service of God, and that herein the Scriptures might be read to every man in his known mother tongue. Æneas Sylvius writeth, that to Cyril and Methodius it was permitted, that the people of Moravia should have their common prayers[1] in the mother tongue. And at this day the people of Armenia, Æthiopia, Ægypt, and the Muscovites, have their common prayers[2] in their known tongue. Here Bellarmin answereth; "All these are heretics."[3] I say they be no more heretics than Papists. Assuredly, as touching public prayers, I had rather be in this heresy with them than with the Papists, as they think to mean well.[4] And thus for our judgment in this matter.

Lib. de origine Bohemorum.

The adversaries say, that the public prayers[5] may not be in a known tongue, but in Hebrew or Greek, as in the East and Greek

1. 2 5 Public divine service. Original: *publica sacra.*

3 Bellarmin makes a distinction between the Moravians and the other nations here mentioned. The latter he calls heretics, or schismatics. As to the Moravians, he says:—Ad illud de Moravis respondeo, fuisse causam justam, cur id eo tempore fieri deberet, quia nimirum, (ut refert Æneas Sylvius libro de origine Bohemorum, c. 13,) totum regnum simul convertebatur, et non poterant inveniri ministri, qui Latine celebrarent, visum est summo Pontifici melius permittere, ut Sclavonice id fieret, quam nullo modo. Tamen postea ubi crevit eruditio et ministri idonei inveniebantur, qui possent Latine idem præstare, melius fuit omittere usum linguæ Sclavonicæ, et communem totius ecclesiæ consuetudinem sequi, ut hoc tempore Moravi Catholici faciunt.—(*Ibid.* p. 126.) It deserves notice, in reference to our Author's research, that as Bellarmin makes no mention of the parties among the Moravians to whom the permission was given, Rollock must have verified for himself the passage from Æneas Sylvius, otherwise Pius II. Pope, 1458—1464. His *Historia Bohemorum*, with other writings, were republished in Helmstad, in one volume fol. 1700.

4 Incorrect; it should be,—I had rather be in this heresy with them, than think with the Papists orthodoxly, as they suppose. Original: Malim in hac hæresi esse cum iis, *quam cum Papistis, ut ipsi putant, recte sentire.*

Churches; or in the Latin tongue, as in the Latin and West Churches. The arguments they produce for this purpose be, first, from the prerogative of tongues. The first is this; "Christ in the title of his cross gave honour to these three languages; therefore public prayers[1] ought to be done in these." [2] I answer; Albeit we grant the antecedent, the consequent will not follow; yea, rather, we may infer the contrary. The Lord would have the cause of Christ's death to be manifested to all people in those languages which then were best known, which cannot be denied of the Greek and Latin; therefore public prayers[3] ought to be done in the vulgar tongues, and known to the people.

The second argument.—"These three tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, are of greatest excellency, antiquity, and authority; therefore the common prayers and service of God[4] ought to be done only in these tongues." [5] I answer; Grant the antecedent be true, yet the sequel is not good. For that very gift of tongues which was given the Apostles in the feast of Pentecost, plainly proveth that every tongue, be it never so base, is sanctified of God for holy uses, and for the execution of public and ecclesiastical offices, and service unto God. Note.

The third argument.—"The Scriptures were originally written in these three tongues;[6] therefore the public prayers[7] ought to be done in these only." I answer; First, the antecedent is false; for neither the whole Scripture, nor any part thereof, was written first in the Latin tongue. For whereas they say Saint Mark's Gospel was first written in Latin,[8] it is false; but of this point elsewhere.[9] The Papists say, Saint Mark's Gospel was first written in Latin.

1 3 4 7 Original: *sacra publica.*

2 5 6 Contenti sumus illis tribus linguis quas Dominus titulo crucis suæ honoravit, Joan. 19. et quæ omnium consensu, antiquitate, amplitudine, et gravitate omnibus aliis præstant; ac demum quibus ipsi libri divini ab auctoribus suis initio scripti fuerunt hoc est Hebræa, Græca, et Latina.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 112.)

8 Sunt enim qui existimeñt, Marci evangelium, ut etiam supra monuimus, Latine scriptum Romæ ab ipso Marco; et postea ab eodem in Græcam linguam translatum.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 113.)

9 He, probably, refers here to his general account "of the Greek edition of the New Testament," in his 19th chapter.

Next, I answer, that it will not follow of that antecedent, that public prayers should be said in unknown tongues, but rather the contrary followeth; for that whereas the Scripture was first written in these two tongues, Hebrew and Greek, for this very cause, for that even then, and in those times, these two languages were most common, and best known to the people; hence it follows rather, I say, that the public prayers[1] ought to be in the most common and best known tongues.

Thus far we have heard of arguments drawn from the prerogative of tongues; now follow arguments from the practice and use of the Church. The first here is this: "From Ezra until Christ the Scripture was wont to be read in the church of the Jews in the Hebrew tongue, that is, an unknown tongue; *ergo*, public prayers may be said[2] in an unknown tongue."[3] I answer; I grant the Scriptures were read in the Hebrew tongue, but I deny that this was an unknown tongue. For, Nehemiah viii., it is very clear that the sacred Scripture which Ezra read in Hebrew was understood by the people which were present and heard it.[4] Whereupon the contrary consequent must follow. The Scripture was read in the church of the Jews in older ages in a known tongue; therefore it must be read at this day in popular and known tongues.

[1] Original: *Publica sacra.*

[2] This should be,—The public divine service ought to be celebrated. Original: Ergo *celebranda sacra publicâ.*

[3] Principio igitur Ecclesiæ Catholicæ consuetudinem comprobare possumus ex usu Ecclesiæ Veteris Testamenti, qui fuit a tempore Esdræ, usque ad Christum. Nam a temporibus Esdræ desiit in populo Dei lingua Hebraica esse vulgaris; siquidem in illis Septuaginta annis quibus Hebræi fuerunt inter Chaldeos in Babylone, obliti sunt linguam propriam, et Chaldaicam didicerunt, et deinceps Chaldaica, seu Syriaca fuit illis materna, quocirca lib. Esd. 2, [Nehemiah with us,] cap. 8. habemus, quod cum legeretur liber legis Domini universo populo, Nehemias, et Esdras, et Levitæ interpretabantur, quia alioqui populus nihil intelligebat. Itaque propterea, ut ibidem dicitur, facta est lætitia magna in populo, quia intellexerant verba legis, Esdra interpretante.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 112.)

[4] The opinion of most learned men, as well as of our Author himself in other places, (pp. 113, 135,) is decidedly in favour of Bellarmin's statement, that the Hebrew, in its pure form, was not understood by the Jews on their return from Babylon. But the circumstance mentioned by Bellarmin,

The second argument is from the practice of the Jewish synagogue in these times. "To this day," saith he, "the Scripture is read in the synagogue of the Jews in the Hebrew tongue; therefore public prayers must be celebrated[1] in an unknown tongue."[2] I answer; The argument follows not from the evil example of the synagogue of the Jews; for that this reading of the Old Testament in an unknown tongue is the cause wherefore so many of them hold back, and will not be converted to the faith of Christ.

The third argument is from the practice of the primitive Church. "In the primitive Church the prayers[3] were said in one of these three tongues; therefore the conclusion followeth."[4] I answer; The antecedent is false, for that, as hath been before showed, in the time of the old Church, yea, in the very days of the Apostles, the Scriptures were translated in a manner into all languages.

The fourth argument is from the continual practice of the Catholic Church; "for in it the public prayers[5] were ever either in the Greek or Latin tongue."[6] I answer; If by Catholic Church they

Nehemias, et Esdras, et Levitæ interpretabantur, is evidently fatal to his own argument. The words of another eminent Roman Catholic authority may be here quoted on this subject. "The mode of conducting religious instruction and worship, at the present day in Christian churches, is derived for the most part from the practices which anciently prevailed in Synagogues. And still there were no regular teachers in them, who were *officially* qualified to pronounce discourses before the people, although there were interpreters, מְתוּרְגְמָן, תּוּרְגְמָן, who rendered into the vernacular language—viz., the Hebrew, Aramæan—the sections which had been publicly read in Hebrew."—(Jahn's *Biblical Antiquities*, § 372. Upham's Translation.)

[1] This should be,—The public divine service ought to be celebrated. Original: Ergo *celebranda sacra publica.*

[2] Denique usque ad hanc diem in Synagogis Judæi Scripturas Hebraice legunt, cum tamen nulli nationi hoc tempore lingua Hebraica sit vulgaris.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 112.)

[3] [5] Original: *Publica sacra.*

[4] Probatur secundo ex usu Apostolorum: nam Apostoli per totum orbem terrarum Evangelium prædicarunt, et Ecclesias constituerunt, ut patet ex Paulo ad Rom. 10, et ad Coloss. 1, ... et tamen non scripserant Evangelia aut Epistolas linguis earum gentium, quibus prædicabant, sed tantum Hebraice, aut Græce, et ut quidam volunt, Latine.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 113.)

[6] Probatur tertio ex usu universalis Ecclesiæ; nam ut Augustinus docet, epistola 118, contra id quod universa Ecclesia facit disputare, insolentissimæ

mean the Church of Rome, then I weigh not the example and practice thereof. But if by this word they mean the true Catholic Church, then it is clear already by that which is before delivered, that the antecedent is false. And thus far of these arguments taken from the practice and use of the Church.

To the former arguments, they add more from a final cause.[1] "The public administration of God's service and worship being performed of all or most Churches in one tongue, to wit, the Latin, this might serve well for the preservation of the unity of faith." [2] To this I answer; This serves notably for the continuance and increase of unbelief and ignorance. Again, our very experience teacheth, by God's good blessing in these times, that, notwithstanding the great variety of tongues in the Reformed Churches, yet they agree well, to God be the praise! in the unity of faith.

Next, they reason from the little good which hence ensueth,[3] as they imagine. "It profits the people nothing at all that the Scriptures be read in the vulgar tongues; for they understand not any sentence of Scripture, albeit they know the words." [4] To this I answer; Every one of the unlearned, if they come to hear the Scriptures with God's fear and reverence, they shall reap and receive some profit by it.

Again, from another danger which may happen,[5] they reason

insaniæ est. Universa porro Ecclesia semper his tantum linguis, Hebræa, Græca, et Latina, usu est in communi et publico usu Scripturarum, cum tamen jamdudum desierint esse vulgares.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 112.)

[1] Original: *Ab usu et fine utili.*

[2] Sed accedat argumentum ab ipsa ratione petitum. Nam convenit omnino ad Ecclesiæ unitatem conservandam, ut publicus usus Scripturarum sit in aliqua lingua communissima: nisi enim sit Scripturarum publicus usus in lingua communi, tolletur imprimis communicatio Ecclesiarum.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 116.)

[3] Original: *Ab inutili.*

[4] Quinto si ulla ratio esset, cur Scripturæ lingua vulgari in cœtu fidelium legi deberent, ea certe esset potissima ut omnes intelligerent. At certe populus non intelligeret Prophetas, et Psalmos, et alia quæ in Ecclesiis legantur, etiamsi lingua materna legerentur. Nos enim qui Latine scimus, non propterea continuo intelligimus Scripturas, nisi expositores legamus vel audiamus. Quomodo ergo intelligerent homines imperiti? præsertim cum Scripturæ eo sint obscuriores, quo magis in peregrinas linguas transferuntur.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 117.)

[5] Original: *Rursus ab inutili.*

thus: "The reading of the Scriptures in a known tongue may more hurt than profit the people; for devotion hath rather decreased than increased, since public prayers or service of God hath been celebrated in popular tongues."[1] I answer; The consequent is not good—the sacred Scripture read in the mother tongue hurts many, therefore it is not so to be read at all; because accidentally, and through the default and corruption of the people, it hurts and profits not. So—the preaching of the Gospel is the savour of death unto many; therefore the Gospel is not to be preached! Furthermore, be it known that this is no religion, nor true piety, which is so coupled with ignorance, but a damnable superstition, when as the sacred Scriptures are read, and prayers administered in a strange and unknown tongue. Thus far these three arguments from the final causes and effects.

Again, they reason from an inconvenience.[2] First, on this wise: "If the Scriptures must be read in the vulgar tongue, then translations must be renewed in every age; for ancient words wear out of use; and this is inconvenient."[3] I answer; What loss is it, if translations be revised and renewed in every age? for the whole translation needs no renewing, but some words which haply are become obsolete and out of use.[4]

[1] Quid, quod populus non solum non caperet fructum ex Scripturis, sed etiam caperet detrimentum; acciperet enim facillime occasionem errandi, tum in doctrina fidei, tum in præceptis vitæ ac morum. . . . Audivi ab homine fide digno, cum in Anglia a ministro Calvinista in templo legeretur lingua vulgari capitulum 25. Ecclesiastici, ubi multa dicuntur de malitia mulierum, surrexisse fœminam quandam atque dixisse: *Istudne est verbum Dei? Imo potius verbum diaboli est.*—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 117.)

[2] Original: *Ab absurdo.*

[3] Sexto, si oporteret lingua vulgari Scripturas sacras publice legere, oporteret etiam singulis ætatibus mutare translationes. Nam linguæ vulgares singulis sæculis magna ex parte mutantur, ut Horatius in Arte Poetica, et experientia ipsa docet. Tot vero translationum mutationes, non sine gravissimo periculo, et incommodo fierent. Nam non semper inveniuntur idonei interpretes, atque ita multi errores committerentur; qui non possent postea facile tolli; cum neque Pontifices, neque Concilia de tot linguis judicare possint.—(Bellarmin, *ib.* 117.)

[4] Two centuries and a half furnish another argument which our Author could not then urge. The translation of the Scriptures into modern languages fixes and saves, from violent changes, these languages themselves. Thus, of our own

Again, another evil which might follow this conclusion is this;[1] "The Pope understandeth not all vulgar tongues; but the public prayers[2] must be celebrated in a language which the Pope knoweth: *Ergo.*" I answer; It is not necessary that prayers[3] be in that tongue which the Pope knoweth. This they prove * because he is the universal Bishop. And this I deny also. Wherefore there is no damage shall follow, if public prayers[5] be contained in a language which the Pope knoweth not. And thus far the second question.

* Uno concesso errore mille consequuntur.[4]

The third question followeth, Whether it is lawful for the lay people, as they call them, or the vulgar sort, to read the Holy Scriptures? [I shall observe greater brevity in the discussion of this question.[6]] We avouch that it is lawful for every one, even of the basest of the people, to read the Holy Scriptures. For this point, see Deut. chaps. vi., xi., and xvii.; Josh. i.; and John v. 39. *Search the Scriptures*, saith the Lord Christ. Acts xvii. 11, The men of Berea searched the Scriptures, and for this cause are commended by the Holy Ghost. Matth. iv., The example of Christ, who resisted the devil with no other weapons but of the Scripture, teacheth us that the Scripture ministereth unto us such a furniture, as every man must be provided of to withstand Satan in his assaults against us. Lastly, this is proved by the practice of the Church; for wherefore were the Scriptures in the old Church translated into so many popular languages, but that they might be read and understood of the people? And this is our judgment in few words.

Vide Censuram Coloniensen.

What say the adversaries? Some years past they taught it was not lawful at all for any of the common and lay people,

translation, it is well said by Dr Adam Clarke, (Preface to Commentary, vol. i. p. 21,) "Our translators have not only made a standard translation, but they have made their translation the standard of our language."

[1] Original: *Rursus ab incommodo argumentantur.*

[2] [3] [5] Original: *Sacra publica.*

[4] This marginal note is the translator's. I presume he means that the one error of admitting a universal bishop leads to countless others.

[6] Omitted in the translation.

as they usually term them, to read the Holy Scriptures. Afterwards, when they saw how odious this was, they changed their mind; and now forsooth they say, it is lawful to read the Scriptures, but with condition, *if it be permitted.* Permitted! I say, of whom? They answer; "By the Pope, his Bishops, or inquisitors." I demand, What! of these only? They answer; "Not of these only, but of them, with the advertisement of the parish priest or confessor." Well, I understand who be to permit the reading of the Holy Scripture. Now I ask, To whom is this permitted? They answer; "Not to all indifferently, but only to such as the parish priest," whom they call the curate, "shall well discern, both by their confession, and by their whole carriage of their life, to be a true Catholic, that is, a stubborn or stiff-necked Papist." I see then to whom they yield thus far the reading of the Scriptures. I demand, in the next place, what translations be allowed them? They answer, they will not have them to read all translations indifferently, but such only as some Catholics have published, such as at this day, the English Rhemish translation of the New Testament.

Thus far briefly of that permission, which hath so decreed the condition of this liberty of reading the Scriptures. And this is their meaning according to the decree of Pius Quartus, the Pope, which decree is confirmed also by the Council of Trent,[1] and commended

[1] It is not quite correct to say that the decree of Pius IV. was confirmed by the Council of Trent. The converse was the case. The Rules of the Council of Trent were confirmed by the Pope. The following is the fourth of the Rules, prefixed by that Council to their *Index librorum prohibitorum*, and confirmed by a constitution of Pius IV. in 1564. The title is, *De Libris Prohibitis Regulæ X. per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos concinnatæ, et a Pio P P. IV. comprobatæ superiore constitutione, quæ incipit* Dominici, *die* xxiv. *Martii, anno* MDLXIV. :—Cum experimento manifestum sit, si sacra Biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde, ob hominum temeritatem, detrimenti quam utilitatis oriri: hac in parte judicio Episcopi aut Inquisitoris stetur, ut cum consilio Parochi vel Confessarii, Bibliorum a Catholicis auctoribus versorum lectionem in vulgari lingua eis concedere possint, quos intellexerint ex hujusmodi lectione non damnum, sed fidei atque pietatis argumentum capere posse; quam facultatem in Scriptis habeant. Quin autem absque tali facultate ea legere seu habere, præsumpserint; nisi prius Bibliis ordinario redditis, peccatorum absolutionem percipere non possint. Bibliopolæ vero, qui

by the Rhemists[1] in the preface of their English translation. And this is Bellarmin's judgment, who differeth in words only a little from the former Popish assertion, but in matter and purpose is the same in effect; for what difference is there, if there be no permission at all, and to be thus far permitted with such a condition as is afore moved?

And thus of the third question, and as touching the controversies which are moved at this day concerning Holy Scripture. I remember not any that we have left untouched. We have therefore spoken of the word of God, which is the word of both covenants, as also of the Sacred Scripture, which is a certain mean whereby it pleased God to manifest his word and will unto men. It resteth now that we speak of sin, and of man's misery.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF SIN IN GENERAL.[2]

What our calling is.

THE common-place of sin, as also the former before handled, is subaltern to the place or general head of our calling. For calling is the transferring of a man out of the state of sin and misery, into the state of righteousness and happiness. Therefore we shall speak

prædictam facultatem non habenti Biblia idiomate vulgari conscripta vendiderint vel aliis quovis modo concesserint, librorum pretium in usus pios ab Episcopo convertendum amittant, aliisque pœnis pro delicti qualitate ejusdem Episcopi arbitrio subjaceant. Regulares vero nonnisi facultate a Prælatis suis habita ea legere aut emere possint.—(Harduini, *Acta Conciliorum*, vol. xi. p. 206.)

[1] For the Rhemists and Bellarmin, see p. 145, note 3; p. 146, note 1.

[2] It may be proper here to remind the reader, that our Author, in treating of Effectual Calling, proposed to treat, 1. Of the instrument of God's call, or his covenants, especially his *Word;* 2. Of the condition from which man is called, or *Sin;* and that into which he is called, or *Faith*, with its accessories. In the chapters, ii.-v., the covenants were treated of generally: in the chapters, vi.-xxiii., God's written covenant, or Word; which led to the long discussion on the Canon. And now he resumes the more direct subject.

of sin first in general; after, we shall come into his kinds or parts. The name of sin signifies a certain thing compounded of his own matter and form. The matter of sin, to speak thereof in the first place, is a certain being, or thing that is, and that being is not a substance, but an accident; and that is either a quality or action; and this quality or action belongs not to every creature, but only to the reasonable creature, angel or man, for God gave his law to these only. Of this being, which we say is the matter of sin, God himself is the author or principal efficient; for it is he alone that calleth those things which are not as if they were, and that createth all things, both substances and accidents. But the creature neither is, nor is called the principal efficient of any being. Therefore that being, which is the matter of sin, seeing God is the principal efficient thereof, necessarily in and by itself is good; for that whatsoever God createth or maketh hath an ingrafted form of goodness in it; Gen. i. 31; "When God," saith he, "saw whatsoever he had made, behold, it was very good." This form of goodness is so natural and essential to being, whether quality or action, which God made, that therefrom it can never be separated. But now I grant that this same being hath put on another form, to wit, *Lawlessness*, the cause whereof is an evil instrument, as we shall show hereafter; for this *lawlessness* is from another cause, neither doth it destroy that essential form of the goodness of the being itself, which proceedeth from God, the creator and maker thereof. For, as for the being which God maketh, nothing can be put to it, or taken from it, that in itself it may be better or worse. So much concerning the matter of sin.

What sin is.

ἀνομία.

The cause of sin.

Now, as touching the form. The form of sin is called *Lawlessness*, that is, the want of conformity with the will and law of God, 1 John iii. 4. Sin by his form is thus defined: *Sin is the transgression of the law.* This *lawlessness* or transgression, which we call the form and manner of sin, is not a being, or a thing positive, but a thing merely privative, to wit, a privation and want of conformity with the law of God. This transgression happeneth through the cause and fault of an evil instrument which God useth in that

The form of sin.

ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία.

being, or in doing his own work; and this instrument is either the devil, or an evil man, and unbeliever. For when the devil or an evil man concurreth with God to bring forth his work, he is not the principal efficient of the being itself, or of the work done, but only an instrumental or ministerial cause: but the devil or man is the principal efficient cause of the transgression, or of the deformity or sin of that action. And this transgression, the efficient whereof is an evil instrument, is evil either for that the action itself or work is contrary to the law of God—as when a man committeth murder, the action of murder is expressly condemned by the law, *Thou shalt not murder*—or for that the fountain or beginning of the action or work is against the law of God, although the action itself be conformable to that law. For as the law of God commandeth the action or work itself, so hath it regard of the fountain and beginning of the action, commanding that the whole work which is commanded by the law, proceed from a pure, holy, and believing heart, of that instrument which God useth in doing his work. An example of this kind of transgression may be this: When any man giveth alms, which work is indeed commanded of God, and yet not done of charity, it is rejected; see 1 Cor. xiii. 3. Or, lastly, it falleth out to be a sin, for that the end which the evil instrument, in doing or working together with God, proposeth to itself, is against the law of God. For as the law of God commandeth the work itself, and the fountain and beginning of the work, even so it commandeth, as the chief and principal, the end to wit, the glory of God himself; *Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God*, 1 Cor. x. 31. And in this respect a man sinneth, when he doth ought, not for God, nor for his glory, but for himself, his own profit, and only for his own glory.

Causes of sin.

Causes of sin.

Here it is to be noted, that whosoever sinneth, as touching the fountain and original of the action, the same man always sins touching the end, and so contrarily. Wherefore these two last ways of transgression are always joined together. Again, it is to be noted, that he who sinneth, touching the original and the end, doth not always sin in the action itself; for the action or work of

any instrument, how evil soever in itself, may be good and conformable to the law. Wherefore the first way of transgression, and the two last, are not always[1] conjoined. Now then this transgression, which we call the manner and form of sin, coming, or put to that being, the author whereof is God, and which in itself is good, whether it be a quality or an action, maketh up that which we call sin, and which is so called of the form thereof, and not of the matter, seeing all things have their denominations from their forms.

The person must please God, otherwise the work shall displease.

These things thus declared, it shall be easy to gather some definition of sin—that sin is a quality or action of a reasonable creature, lawless, or contrary to the law of God. The general propriety of sin, or the consequent thereof, is guiltiness, and guiltiness is that which meriteth or deserveth punishment; as therefore guiltiness followeth after sin, so after guilt followeth punishment, both temporal and eternal.

Let this suffice concerning sin in general, which being known, it is easy to answer those questions which are wont to be made touching sin, and, namely, to this which they ask: If sin be of God? or, if God be the author of sin? *Ans.* In sin there are two things—a being[2] and a transgression. God is the author and principal efficient of that being, but of that transgression God is not the author, but the evil instrument is. Again, it is asked, whether this transgression be any way from God? *Ans.* It is from God, not effecting, but permitting it, for he suffers it to be done by an evil instrument. Thirdly, it is demanded, if God permit sin, inasmuch as it is[3] transgression of his law? *Ans.* Not so, which even by this one reason may be showed: He permitteth it unto his glory; and all the means of God's glory, so far as they have such respect, are good;

Three questions concerning the causes of sin.

[1] Necessarily. Original: *Necessario.*

[2] That is, a being or *ens*, in the sense of our Author when defining the *matter* of sin, (p. 161.)

[3] In its quality of being a transgression. Original: *Qua ἀνομία est.* This is uniformly the sense wherever similar expressions occur, to the end of this chapter.

and darkness itself, as it is permitted of God, unto the glory of his name, becometh light.

Deo invito, whether he will or no.

Again, if here it be asked, If, therefore, the transgression of God's law, in so far as a transgression, be not permitted of God, doth it not of necessity follow, that sin in respect, or as it is a transgression, is done against God's will? *Ans.* It followeth not; for that which is done against God's will is said properly to be done against God's decree, and not against his revealed will or express law; but sin, as it is a transgression of the law, is not done against any decree; therefore sin, as it is a transgression of the law, is not done against God's will. The assumption is shown, because God decreed not from everlasting, that sin, as it is a transgression of his law, should not be done of an evil instrument. Therefore thou sayest, he decreed that it should be done? *Ans.* It followeth not. For both these are true concerning God: God hath neither decreed that transgression, as it is transgression, should not be done; neither hath he decreed that transgression, in so far as it is transgression, should be done. For there is no decree of God extant, either in this or that respect, touching sin, as it is a transgression or breach of the law of God.

But thou mayest ask, Is not sin effected, as it is transgression, some way by the permission of God? *Ans.* A thing is said to be done two ways by God's permission: either by itself, or by accident. That which by God's permission cometh to pass by itself, must of necessity respect and put on the nature of good, seeing God proposeth and directeth the same unto a good end. But that which by accident is done, God permitting it, or forsaking the creature, nothing hindereth, but that as it is such, it is evil; for God leaving the creature an evil instrument to itself, the creature doth that which is evil, as it is evil; neither can it otherwise do, being left of him who is the Author of all good. But now, in respect of God permitting and leaving, that evil as it is evil, is done by accident, not by itself, because God, in forsaking, purposed not evil, as it is evil, but, on the contrary, so far forth as it respecteth good, and is a mean of his glory, of that especially which is the

consequent of his mercy. For all means, whether wrought by God himself, or suffered to be done of evil instruments, in the first place, are both ordained of God himself, and directed to the glory of his mercy, arising from the salvation of the creature; *God hath shut up all under sin,*[1] *that he might have mercy on all.* And, in the second place, for the hardness of man, and because of the heart that cannot repent, sins and evils which are done by an evil instrument, serve to that glory which God getteth unto himself, by his justice and just punishments.

If, on the contrary, thou object, "God suffereth sin that he may punish the same; but he punisheth sin in that it is sin or transgression; therefore he permitteth sin as it is sin:" I answer unto the assumption; Sin, as punishment follows thereupon, which in itself is good, and turns to the glory of God; in this, sin, I say, hath not respect unto evil, but unto good, producing a good effect; for an evil cause, as it is evil, cannot bring forth a good effect; but if that cause, which in itself is evil, be also considered as the cause of a good effect, it must needs, in some sort, take unto it the nature of good. I confess, indeed, that sin, as it is sin, is the cause of punishment; and the punishment, as it is the effect of an evil cause, must needs itself be evil. And, indeed, punishment which is inflicted is considered two ways: First, as a thing in itself evil; for there is some transgression in every punishment, and every punishment, after a sort, is also a sin: Again, it is considered as a thing that is good, to wit, as a mean of God's glory. This I say, in a word, that all means, which in and by themselves are evil, in respect of God propounding, and of the end, which is the glory of God, in some sort are good. And that whole chain of means, which is between God propounding, as the head and be-

Or, I would answer the major, that God suffereth not sin to punish it—for that he respecteth not—but for that he hath a purpose to manifest his own glory in the punishment of sin.[2]

Punishment in itself is evil.

How punishment is evil.

[1] Rom. xi. 32. Our Author's translation is; Conclusit Deus omnes in *contumacia*, ut omnium misereretur. Beza, giving effect to the article τοὺς πάντας, which occurs in both the clauses, translates; Conclusit enim Deus omnes illos in inobedientiam, ut omnium illorum misereretur. Our translation, it will be observed, gives effect to the article in the first, but not in the second clause.

[2] This is the translator's own solution of the difficulty.

ginning, and the glory of God as the end, is the order of things which either by themselves are good, or at the least, in some sort, may be so accounted. For these two extremes change all darkness after a sort into light.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF ORIGINAL SIN.

THUS far of sin in general. The first division of sin is into original and actual. To speak of original sin first, we be first to observe the reason why it is so named. It is called original, because it is in us, and with us, from our first being, conception, and nativity: for it comes by propagation, and is derived from parents to children, as a hereditary disease, as [the itch,] a leprosy,[1] the stone, or any such like malady of the body.

Original Sin, why so called.

And that there is such a kind of sin it is most manifest; for there is none so sottish, and so void of all sense, that he feeleth not this hereditary sickness in himself, as the infection and corruption of his nature. But the Holy Ghost, who best knoweth what is in man, doth clearly avouch this in many Scriptures.[2] Gen. v. 3, *When as Adam*, saith he, *begat a son, according to his own image.* Note here the propagation of that corrupt image, which was in Adam, into his son Seth. Job xiv. 5,[3] *Who can bring forth a clean thing of an unclean? not one.* Behold here the propagation of uncleanness. Psalm li. 7,[4] *Behold, I was formed in iniquity, and in sin*

Tremel. fovit: Kept me warm in her bed.

[1] In the translation, *leprie.* The itch, *scabies*, is omitted.

[2] This should be, That this corruption is one of *descent.* Original: Malum esse hoc *originis.*

[3] This, in the Septuagint, Vulgate, and our translation, is v. 4. Tremellius and Junius assume the last verse of the 13th chapter as the first of the 14th.

[4] V. 5 of our translation. Our Author has adopted the version of Tremellius, of which the translator gives, in the margin, a singular interpretation, which he did not venture to insert in the text. The original Hebrew is יְחַמַּתְנִי, which

did my mother cherish me. Behold the sin which we have from our mother's womb. John iii. 6, *What is born of the flesh, is flesh.* Behold the propagation of flesh, that is, of our corrupt nature. Rom. v. 12, *Like as by one man sin entered into the world, and by sin death, &c.* Observe here the propagation of sin. Eph. ii. 3, *We were by nature the children of wrath.* Note here our corrupt nature, and therefore how subject it is to the wrath of God. And thus far we see that there is a sin which we call original.

Now let us consider what the subject thereof is. The subject of original sin is the whole man, body and soul, which thing is taught us clearly by that one name which is given it, Rom. vi. 6, as elsewhere, *that old man;* whereby nothing else is signified but the whole man corrupted, or the corruption of the whole man. That the mind is infected with this sin, first we be taught it by very sense itself; next, by many testimonies of Scripture. Gen. vi. 5, *When the Lord saw all the imaginations, that is, all the thoughts of his heart, were only evil continually.* Gen. viii. 21, *Albeit the imagination of man's heart be evil from his youth.* Eph. ii. 3, *Fulfil the will of the flesh, and of the mind.*

Soul infected with original sin.

And that the body is infected with this poison, see Rom. vi. 12, *Let not sin reign in your mortal body.* And that every one of the members is infected and poisoned with the same sin is showed, ver. 13, *Neither give your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin.*

The body and all the members poisoned with original sin.

Again, the very names of this sin show the subject thereof, or where it resteth: as when it is called flesh, concupiscence, the law of the members, the body of sin, the body of death. And thus far of the subject of original sin.

Now we be to come to the parts of it; and because it is a compound thing, we are to consider, first, what the matter thereof is; next, what the form. The matter of original sin is threefold. The first part of the matter thereof is that apostacy wherein we fell all

The material cause of original sin threefold.

the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and Gesenius, interpret in the same way as our translation; the primary meaning of the word, at the same time, being *to grow warm.*

away from God in the loins of Adam. This we receive from our mother's womb; for we are all born apostates, and backsliders from God. For that the first apostacy was not Adam's only, but did appertain to us all—first, reason itself may sufficiently convince it: for we were all as then in his loins, and as parcels of the substance and nature of the first man; and so we all fell in him, and with him, from the living God. For this very cause, Heb. vii. 9, 10, Levi is said, before he was born, to pay tithes to Melchizedec, because he was then in the loins of Abraham. Abraham's fact[1] was therefore Levi's fact also, and of all his posterity, which then were in his loins. Next, this is testified by Scripture, as by name in that place which is, Rom. v. 12, *In whom*,[2] to wit, Adam, *all men have sinned.*

How the apostacy of Adam continueth still.

The first apostacy, I grant, is past, and vanished away, as every action passeth away; yet, after a sort, it is said to continue still: for albeit the fact be past, yet the guilt thereof remaineth still; for every man is born guilty by nature of that first apostacy. The same is to be said of every other sin; murder, adultery, theft, &c. For whatsoever it is, it may be truly said to remain still, so long as the guilt remaineth, which is consequent thereunto. Wherefore, every man is guilty of that first defection and falling from God, until this guilt be taken away by the blood of a mediator. And that we be such apostates by nature, the Scripture testifieth, Rom. v. 15, *By the offence of one, many be dead.* Wherefore, many must be guilty of that one offence. Rom. v. 16, *The fault*[3] *came of one offence unto condemnation.* And thus far of the first part of original sin, that is, of the first backsliding, and our falling away, which we bring forth with us from our mother's womb into the world.

Second part of original sin.

The second part followeth of original sin—which is a certain defect, or a certain want of original justice, that is, of that righteousness or integrity wherein man was created, according to the image and

[1] *i. e.*, Deed.

[2] Original: *In quo* omnes peccavimus. The Greek is ἐφ' ᾧ. This has been variously interpreted.—See Hill's *Lectures on Divinity*, vol. ii. p. 22, ed. 1837.

[3] Criminality in guilt. Original: *Reatus*, which is Beza's translation. The Greek is κρίμα.

example of the righteousness which is in God, the Creator. For he created man after his own image, wise, just, holy. For the Apostle to the Ephesians[1] and Colossians[2] saith, that in these respects man was like to God himself in his creation. This want, I speak of original justice, is the first effect of that apostacy before showed. For that apostacy whereof we are all by nature guilty, depriveth us in our first birth, even in our very conception, of that original justice and image of God. This part of the matter of original sin very sense showeth, and many Scriptures testify of it; I mean such as speak of sin negatively or privatively. For all such places show plainly what defect is in us, and what want of original justice. Rom. iii. 23, *All have sinned, and are deprived*[3] *of the glory of God.* Rom. vii. 18, *I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing.* And a little after, *I find no means to perform that which is good.* Rom. viii. 7, *The wisdom*[4] *of the flesh is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be.* 1 Cor. ii. 14, *The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them.* 2 Cor. iii. 5, *Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing of ourselves.* Eph. iv. 18, *Having their cogitations darkened, and being strangers from the life of God.* And thus far of the second part of original sin, to wit, the want of original justice.

Proof of our want of original justice by, 1. Sense; 2. By Scripture.

The third part followeth; and this, we say, is an inclination or quality contrary to that original justice and integrity before mentioned, succeeding even in place thereof. This is that which they call our natural corruption, and it is the second effect of the apostacy of Adam in Paradise. For that rebellion of our first parents, first depriveth us of original justice, and of the image of God; next, in place thereof, by God's just judgment, it infecteth us with a quality clean contrary to that righteousness, whereby we are made prone and apt to all evil. This contrary quality or inclination unto sin to be in us, very sense proves it, with many testimonies of the Holy Scripture, all which speak of sin affirmatively;

The third part of the matter of original sin.

[1] Eph. iv. 24. [2] Col. iii. 10.

[3] Original: *Deficiuntur*—Beza's translation of ὑστεροῦνται.

[4] Original: *Intelligentia.* The Greek is φρόνημα.

or, that I may so speak, positively. Rom. vii. 7, *I had not known concupiscence, but that the law sayeth, Thou shalt not covet.* Rom. vii. 23, *I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind.* Eph. ii. 3, *Fulfilling the lusts of the flesh and of the mind.* Add to these the places before cited, Gen. vi. 5, and viii. 2. And thus far of the third part of the matter of original sin.

A special note.

And here, as touching the want of justice, and inclination unto sin, which were two parts of the matter of original sin, ye must be advertised that there is no faculty of the soul of man which is not infected with both these evils together. We reckon as principal powers of the soul, the mind or understanding, the will and the affections. These two last the Scripture often understandeth them in the word *heart;* because the will and affections be seated in the heart. The first defect then is in the mind, and this is the want of light and knowledge; here is also the want of holiness, that is, of a quality, wherewith our very knowledge and light must be affected, and assuredly was affected with, in the first creation.

A twofold guilt of the mind.
1. Want of natural light.

The light of the mind or knowledge is twofold, natural or spiritual. In the mind there is a defect of light or of natural knowledge, not in whole, but in part; for there do remain, even in the unregenerate, certain general notions of good and evil things, which are commanded and condemned in the law; but they be such as serve only to make men inexcusable, for that they are but lame and corrupt, Rom. i. 19.

2. Want of spiritual light.

The mind also wants spiritual light, not in part, but in whole; for it is utterly void of this light; for as concerning those things which appertain to the kingdom of heaven,

3. Want of holiness in the mind.

the understanding is so darkened, that it doth not only not perceive them, but also hath no power to conceive them, 1 Cor. ii. 14. To be short, the mind wants holiness; for the things it understandeth, it neither conceiveth them rightly and holily, but impiously and profanely all things, even the things which in and by themselves are good. For the faculty of understanding, albeit it be not utterly lost, yet that holiness of this faculty, wherein it was created after the image of God, was utterly lost in the fall of man. This want of this natural light the Apostle showeth, Rom. i. 21,

Because when they knew God, they glorified him not as God. These latter words plainly show that the natural light of the mind is but a dim light, and soon vanisheth away. The want of the spiritual light the Apostle showeth, 1 Cor. ii. 14, *The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.* The want of sanctity in the understanding the Apostle showeth, Rom. viii. 7, *The wisdom of the flesh is enmity against God;* even then when it understandeth those things which otherwise be in themselves true and good. 2 Cor. iii. 8, *Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing,* to wit, well and holily. Eph. iv. 18, *Having their cogitation darkened, and being estranged from the life of God.* And there, ver. 23, *And be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind.* And thus far of the want or defect which is in the mind.

There is also a quality in the mind which hath succeeded or stept in place of that light and holiness, which was lost in the fall of man. For darkness hath taken possession in the very seat of light. Eph. v. 8, *Ye were in times past darkness, but now ye are light in the Lord.* In place of sanctity and integrity have crept in impurity, and a certain maliciousness of nature, which evidently appeareth, when it is said, Rom. viii. 5, *For they that are after the flesh, savour the things of the flesh.* This wisdom is of some evil quality. 1 Cor. i. 18, *The preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness.* And 1 Cor. ii. 14, *For they are foolishness unto him.* This word foolishness argueth the perverse judgment of the mind.

Thus far of the want of the mind, and the contrary quality crept thereinto. Both these, in like manner, are to be seen in the will, and in every affection. The want of integrity and uprightness in the will the Apostle testifieth, saying, *I find no means to perform that which is good,* Rom. vii. 18; and Philip. ii. 13, *It is he which worketh in you, both the will and the deed.* The corruption and frowardness of the will, and of the motions thereof, is testified by many Scriptures; as Gen. vi. 5, *The conceit of a man's heart is only evil.* Eph. ii. 3, *Doing the will of the flesh and of the mind.* The will corrupted.

Finally, this I say, that man's will is more poisoned by this ori-

Video meliora proboque deteriora sequor.

ginal corruption than the mind is, for which cause the very heathen could say: "I see and approve (by the light of reason) the better things; but (through the corruption of my will) I incline to the worser."[1] And this the Apostle saith, Eph. iv. 18, *Affirming that the ignorance which is in men, is by reason of the hardness of their hearts;* and Rom. i. 28, *They regarded not to know God, therefore God delivered them unto a reprobate mind.* Note, how the obstinate will resisteth the light of the mind, and causeth the mind to be overclouded.

The will worse than the mind.

Entia.

And thus far of the threefold matter of original sin.[2] These parts of the material cause of original sin, because they are so many beings, and are of God, every one of them must retain in them some goodness, as we say, in respect of their being. For that very apostacy and falling away was good in itself; as so the want of original justice, because it is a thing in nature, and a consequent of that apostacy, this want, I say, as it is of God, is good in itself; and to conclude, that positive quality, which succeedeth in place of that holiness and image of God, for the being thereof is of God as principal efficient, and is good in itself.

The form of original sin.

ἀνομία.

The form of original sin followeth. And this is a very special repugnance against the law of God, causing a very special kind of sin.[3] And like as the material cause of original sin is threefold, so

[1] Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor. Ovid. *Met.* vii. 24.

[2] I subjoin the original of the passage:—Atque hæc hactenus de peccati originalis materia triplici. Hæ partes materiæ peccati originalis, cum totidem entia sint, et ab auctore Deo sint, insitam sibi qualitatem bonitatis habent singulæ. Nam apostasia sive defectio in se ac per se bona est. Item carentia originalis justitiæ, cum entis cujusdam rationem habeat, et res quædam sit facta motu illo defectionis; carentia, inquam, a Deo est, et in se bona est; denique qualitas illa positiva, quæ succedit in locum sanctitatis et imaginis Dei, a Deo est tanquam principali efficiente, et per se bona est. Prout igitur triplex est entitas, ita triplex est bonitas. (P. 190.)

It must be remembered, that, according to his view in the 24th chap., these *entia* are necessarily good, as coming from the hand of God, as the sole efficient cause of all *entia;* but that they assume an evil *form* of ἀνομία, of which the instrumentality of man is the cause.

[3] This should be,—"Now this is a lawlessness, a rebellion against God's law;

there is in it a threefold repugnance against God and his law: for every part of the material cause hath a repugnance against the law in it, and so a form which is from another, in respect whereof it is sin. The first apostacy hath in it a repugnance against God; and so the want of original justice, and the positive quality also, which succeeded in place thereof. This threefold iniquity is not of God as efficient, but from the evil instruments, the devil first, next Adam, and, lastly, every man, which is of Adam's progeny. For we also, which are sick of this hereditary evil, are the very causes of our sickness. And thus far of the form of original sin.

Or breach of God's law.

Now we be to define original sin from the matter and form thereof, on this wise. *Original sin is an apostacy from God, a want of original justice, and a certain positive quality, repugning against the law of God.* The threefold material cause stands for the *genus* of it; and for the *form*, the threefold breach of God's law. And like as guilt in general is the consequent of sin in general, so a special guilt is consequent to original sin; and this is threefold also, as the matter and form of this sin is threefold. For the apostacy hath his special guiltiness following it, so also the want of original justice, and that positive quality. And every guiltiness merits death and eternal damnation.

Original sin defined.

Guilt following original sin.

It resteth now, that seeing we see this sin original is derived by propagation from the parents to the children, that we search out the manner thereof; and this may be expressed on this wise. The propagation of sin must be by one of these three ways; for it is derived either by the soul, or by the body of the parents, or through their default. It cannot be said that the propagation of this sin is by the soul, for the soul of the father or mother is not derived by propagation to the children, in whole or in part, as is very evident; wherefore this sin comes not by the soul of the parents.[1]

and that special, inasmuch as it forms a peculiar species of sin." Original: Est autem ea ἀνομία sive pugnantia cum lege Dei, eaque specialis, utpote quæ certam peccati speciem constituit. (P. 190.)

[1] "If we say with some sects of Christians, *animam esse ex traduce*, that the soul is generated, like the body, by the act of the parents, we seem to approach

How sin is derived from parents to their children.

But it may not unfitly be said, that there is some derivation of this sin by the body of the parents to the body and soul of the child begotten by them. This propagation of sin by the body of him which begetteth into the body of him which is begotten is easily discovered; for the seed of the parents being in the child, is corrupted and infected with sin; whence it followeth necessarily, that the body which is begotten of such corrupt and unclean seed must also be corrupt and unclean in like manner.

How sin infecteth the very soul.

The propagation of sin by the body of him which begetteth into the soul of him which is begotten is more hardly expressed, yet I deliver what seems most probable unto me on this manner. After that by the body of him which begetteth, sin is derived into the body of him which is begotten, now the body begotten being corrupt and infected with sin, this body, I say, infecteth and poisoneth the soul, created even then of God before, and infused into it that very moment of time wherein it was created. Here you demand, whether the soul were pure and clean the time it was created, and so infused into the body, and then afterwards so defiled by the contagion of the body? I answer; It is not like to be so, for that the soul is created, infused, and corrupted in the very self-same moment of time. This corruption of the soul is partly by reason of the desertion of God, partly by reason of the contagion of the body whereinto it is infused. For God, the very same moment of time wherein he createth and infuseth the soul, in his just judgment forsakes it, and gives it over to the body to be so defiled with sin. Wherefore this I avouch, that the soul is created, infused, forsaken of God, and defiled by the very same moment of time.

Question.

Answer.

The manner of the propagation of this sin, which is said to be through the default of the parents, followeth; and this I express on this wise. Adam by that his first offence did derive, as by a certain conduit, whatsoever corruption was in him to his posterity;

to materialism. If we say, as the Calvinists generally do, that souls are successively made by the Creator, and joined by his act to those bodies which they are to animate, we seem to form a rational hypothesis."—Hill, *ibidem*, vol. ii. p. 18.

for this cause the Apostle, Rom. v. 12, saith, *By one man*, to wit, sinning, *sin entered into the world.*

Here it may be demanded, whence proceeds this efficacy or power of that first sin, to engender, as it were, and to derive sin into all and every one of Adam's progeny? I answer; This efficacy of that sin is by reason of that word and covenant which God made with Adam in his creation, as it were in these words; "If man will stand and persist in that his innocency which he had by creation, he shall stand for his own good and for his progeny; but if he do not stand, but fall away, his fall shall turn as to his own damage, so to the hurt of his posterity; and whatsoever evil shall betide him, the same shall ensue to all his offspring after him." And this last way of the propagation of original sin pleaseth me best, and ought to content all sober wits, for that this is grounded on the authority and words of the Apostle.[1] And thus far our judgment concerning original sin.

The covenant of God in the creation.

Now let us briefly see what the old heretics and late adversaries of God's truth say concerning this sin. First, here we be to meet with the heresy of Pelagius[2] the monk, and Cœlestius[3] his disciple, which said there was no original sin, that Adam by his fall did hurt himself only and not his posterity, excepting only by his example. They said his posterity sinned, not by propagation of his sin, but by imitation of their father Adam's prevarication.

The opinion of the heretics concerning original sin.

[1] See Calvini *Institut.* ii. 1, 7.

[2] Pelagius is generally supposed to have been a British monk. He lived about the beginning of the fifth century. We find him in Rome in the year 410, then in Africa, and subsequently in Palestine. His peculiar doctrines regarding human corruption, and the whole scheme of man's regeneration, were vehemently opposed by Jerome, who had at first warmly received him, and he was anathematized, A.D. 417, by Pope Innocentius. His ultimate fate is uncertain.

[3] Cœlestius, a monk, was a younger man than Pelagius, whom he accompanied to Africa, where he remained, when Pelagius went to Palestine. He adopted and energetically promulgated the tenets of Pelagius. Excommunicated by the Council of Carthage, he was afterwards reinstated by Pope Zosimus. But he and Pelagius were subsequently banished successively from Rome and Constantinople. The last mention of him is A.D. 430. We have some of the treatises of Pelagius, and a few fragments of those of Cœlestius. (Smith's *Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 812; vol. iii. p. 175, &c.) An account of the doctrines imputed to Pelagius on this subject will be found in Hill, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 9, &c.

The Pelagians' argument against original sin.

When it was objected against them that young infants died, which could not be, but that they are infected with original sin, they answered, that Adam himself also had died by the law of nature, albeit he had not sinned; and this was the Pelagians' principal argument against original sin. If sin be by propagation, then it must needs be derived to the posterity by the soul or by the body, but not by the soul, for that it is not by traduction,[1] and it is not by the body, because it is void of reason, neither can sin be said to be first and properly seated in it; and not by both united, because it is not by the parts; therefore there is no original sin at all. The answer is easy from that which hath been before set down in this chapter touching the form or manner of the propagation of this sin. First, their proposition doth not number all the forms and means of the propagation of this sin; for there is besides those means a derivation of sin, which is through the default of the parents. Next, the assumption is false, for albeit there be no propagation of sin by the soul, yet it may well be by the body, as is afore showed. And thus far of Pelagius' and Cœlestius' heresy.

Answer.

Schoolmen's opinion of original sin.

Next, the Schoolmen had divers opinions of original sin; for some said, that original sin consisted only in the guilt of Adam's apostacy, others said it was but the want of original justice. But Peter Lombard,[2] rejecting these opinions, avoucheth it to be also a positive evil quality, contrary to that first original justice.[3] Albertus Pighius[4] and Ambrosius Catharinus[5] said, that it was nothing

[1] Original: *quia non est tradux animæ.*

[2] Peter of Lombardy, called also the *Magister Sententiarum*, was Bishop of Paris, about 1159. His principal work is his *Sententiæ*, in four books, which is regarded as the foundation of the Scholastic Theology of the Latin Church. (Ladvocat, *s. v.*)

[3] Peccatum originis nihil aliud esse volunt, nisi concupiscentiam, hoc est, morbidam qualitatem, prava desideria perpetuo excitantem. Ita docet Petrus Lombardus, in 2 lib. sent. dist. 31, § 2 et 3. (Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 336.) He held, however, that this *concupiscentia* was merely sensual; (Calvin, *Institut.* ii. 1, 9,) and that it was removed by baptism.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.*)

[4] See p. 97, note 2.

[5] An Italian of the Dominican order, Archbishop of Conza in 1551.—(Ladvocat, *s. v.*) He was a distinguished member of the Council of Trent, and held peculiar views on many points of Theology.—(Pallavacino, *ibid.* lib. xiii. 8, 8.)

wise but that first transgression of Adam.[1] And out of this conclusion they drew forth three other opinions; the first was this,— Original sin is one and the self-same only in all men. Secondly, This sin in Adam was real and actually his, but it is ours only by imputation. The third, that infants in verity have nothing in them that hath any appearance of sin, for they said that guiltiness, want of justice, and the spots of nature, and such like things, seem rather to be punishments than faults, if ye speak not happily improperly, as when ye apply the name of the cause to the effect.

Three gross opinions of Papists concerning original sin.[2]

Bellarmin following all these, first blames Lombard's conclusion concerning his positive quality, and next, condemns Pighius' assertion as heretical. One of his principal arguments against Lombard is this: God is either the cause of that positive quality or not the cause; if the cause, then he is the cause of sin; if he be not the cause of it, then is he not the author of all things. Therefore there is no such positive quality at all.[3] We answer to the assumption: In that evil positive quality two things must be respected; first, the quality itself, or the being of it; next, the evilness, or irregularity, or deformity thereof: God is the author and principal efficient of the first, but the devil and the evil instrument is the author and cause of the second.[4]

Bellarmin's objections against Lombard.

Answer.

His reasonings on the subject of original sin in that Council may be seen in Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council. (Book ii. pp. 17, 65, 177, of the French Translation. London, 1736.)

[1] Restat ultimus error confutandus, qui est Alberti Pighii in prima controversia de peccato originis, et Ambrosii Catharini in opusculo de lapsu hominis, et peccato originali, c. 6, et videtur etiam fuisse quorundam veterum, ut refert Petrus Lombardus in 2 lib. sent. d. 50. Hæc igitur sententia docet, &c. (then follows a passage, which Rollock has adopted almost verbatim.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 342.)

[2] The translator's note. These were not the opinions of the Papists, but of a few of them.

[3] Tertio; vel Deus est auctor positivæ illius qualitatis, vel non. Si est, igitur est auctor peccati, totam enim concupiscentiam adversarii peccatum esse contendunt. Si non est, igitur Deus non est auctor omnium rerum, neque verum erit quod in Evangelio legimus Joan. 1. *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.*—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 340.)

[4] While reading the scholastic discussion both of our Author and Bellarmin,

Bellarmin's judgment of original sin.

This done, at last the Jesuit sets down his own judgment, avouching that original sin consisteth in two things; first, in the first transgression of Adam, not as he was a certain private person, but as bearing then the person of all mankind; next, he saith, it is also a want of that gift of original justice.[1] And thus far he speaks well, affirming that there are two parts of original sin; but herein he erreth, for that he omitteth that evil positive quality before mentioned. And thus far of the judgment of the adversaries concerning original sin.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF CONCUPISCENCE.

But because there is some controversy touching concupiscence, which is the third part of original sin; therefore we be to speak something of it apart. The word concupiscence doth first and properly signify that coveting or lusting which is said to be in the baser faculty of the soul, to wit, in the sensible and the natural power thereof; and tropically it signifieth our natural corruption, and that evil positive quality which resteth not only in the concupiscible faculty of the soul, but in all the powers thereof also, even in reason itself. For the word Concupiscence in Scripture is as general as the *old man* or the *flesh*; for Paul useth these words in-

regarding the origin of evil, how irresistibly is one reminded of Milton's judgment of such futilities!

"And found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

[1] See Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 344-354, in which there is much that is excellent. The following words are those which our Author seems to have founded his statement upon:—Peccatum originale est prima Adami inobedienti in ipso Adamo commissa non ut erat singularis persona, sed ut personam totius generis humani referebat. . . . . Peccatum originale est carentia debitæ justitiæ originalis, sive habitualis aversio et obliquitas voluntatis, quæ et macula mentem Deo invisam reddens, appellari potest. (P. 345.)

differently for one and the same matter, "the old man," "the flesh," "concupiscence," and "the law of the members," to wit, for the third part of original sin, which is that evil positive quality. And that concupiscence is properly and truly a sin appears plainly out of the Epistle to the Romans, chap. vii. 7, *I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust.*[1] And this briefly is our judgment touching concupiscence.

Pelagius reckoneth concupiscence in the number of the good things or benefits of nature, for he denies original sin. Our adversaries the Papists by concupiscence understand nothing else but that concupiscible faculty of the soul which is in itself good, or at least indifferent, but evil accidentally, and in some respect; to wit, for that now the bridle of original justice is let loose whereby concupiscence ought to have been curbed; so then this curb being lost, it inclines, say they, to sin.[2] This is the judgment of the Council of Trent concerning concupiscence, that it may not be said truly and properly that it is a sin, but that it is so called because it proceeds from sin, and inclines to sin.[3] But that concupis-

The judgment of the Papists concerning concupiscence.

[1] The translator omits the very point of the proof, which lies in the illustration of a general proposition, "I had not known *sin* but by the law," from a particular illustration—*concupiscence*. The original is complete, being Rollock's own translation of the Greek, "Peccatum non novi nisi per legem: Concupiscentiam non cognovissem nisi dixisset lex: Non concupisces."

[2] Dicimus sensualitatem esse pronam ad concupiscendum etiam contra ordinem rationis: non ex aliqua insita qualitate eam inclinante, sed ex carentia justitiæ originalis, quæ eam perfecte rationi subjiciebat. Quemadmodum si equus incitetur ad currendum, non quia admoventur ei calcaria, sed quia sublatum est frenum.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 338.) In the previous page, Bellarmin gives a threefold definition of *concupiscentia* as used in Scripture. The first is a good affection; the second good or indifferent; the third, *vitium, quo proni sunt homines ad appetenda bona sensibilia, contra ordinem rationis.* But even in this sense it is not sin. *Concupiscentia quamvis non sit proprie peccatum, tamen est corruptio quædam incitans ad malum,* &c., *ibid.* p. 309, et sic sæpissime. On this subject see Hill, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 16.

[3] Hanc concupiscentiam, quam aliquando Apostolus peccatum appellat, sancta synodus declarat ecclesiam catholicam nunquam intellexisse peccatum appellari, quod vere et proprie in renatis peccatum sit, sed quia ex peccato est, et ad peccatum inclinat. Si quis autem contrarium senserit, anathema sit. *Decret. Concil. Tridenten. de Peccat. Original.* § 5.—(Harduin, *Acta Concil.*, vol. xi. p. 29.)

cence is sin is more manifest by Paul's doctrine, than that it needs any proof at all; nay, that it is a sin not only in the unregenerate, but also in the regenerate. And thus far of concupiscence and of original sin.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ACTUAL SIN.

Actual sin.

ACTUAL sin is the fruit and effect, and the punishment also, of original sin. The first and principal division of actual sin is into internal and external. The internal I call the sins of the soul and of the faculties thereof. Internal sin is partly of omission, and partly of commission. A sin of omission in the mind is the want of a holy and good motion, and the root of this is the want of original justice. And like as that defect of original justice is in all the powers of the soul, so this internal sin of omission is of all the powers of the soul. Of the sin of omission the Apostle speaketh, 1 Cor. ii. 14, when he saith, that *the natural man cannot conceive the things of the Spirit of God.* So here the want of a holy motion in man's nature, the fundamental cause whereof he addeth in the next words, saying, *neither can he perceive them;* in which words ye have the want of that power and faculty whence a holy motion doth spring.

Sin of omission, what.

A sin of commission

The internal sin of commission followeth; and this is a perverse and evil motion of the mind. And this proceeds from the third part of original sin, to wit, that evil positive quality or natural corruption. And like as that positive quality is of all the faculties of the mind, so that internal sin of commission is of all the power of the soul in like manner. Of this sin the Scripture speaks everywhere, Rom. vii. 5, *When we were in the flesh, the motions of sin, which were by the law, had force in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death.* Where three things are to be observed; first, the flesh,

Or affections

which is original sin; secondly, *affections* or *motions*, whereby we understand the internal sin of commission; thirdly, the *fruit* of those motions or affections, whereby he means every external actual sin. Again, ye have the same three things knit together, Eph. ii. 3, *Fulfilling the will of the flesh and of the mind.* 1. The *flesh*, that is, original sin. 2. Next, the *thought* or *lust of the flesh*, which is the internal commission of sin. 3. *To fulfil the same*, and this is external sin. The same things ye have, James i. 15, *When concupiscence hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin. Concupiscence* is original sin; *conception* is actual internal sin; the *birth* thereof is an external sin. And thus far of actual internal sin.

Three things, Rom. vii. 5. παθήματων.

The external actual sin followeth, which is a sin of the body and of the members thereof; and this sin also is partly of omission, partly of commission. The external sin of omission is when things to be done are omitted, and this proceeds from the internal sin of omission. And here also, like as the internal sin of omission is of all faculties of the mind, so the external sin of omission is of all the members of the body. Of this sin the Apostle speaketh, Romans vii. 19, *I do not the good which I would do.* The external sin of commission followeth. This is when that is done which ought not to be done; and it proceeds from the internal sin of commission. This is also of all the parts of the body, like as the internal sin of commission is of all the powers of the soul. The testimonies of Scripture before cited prove this, Rom. vii. 19, *The evil which I would not, that do I.*

External actual sin.

External sin of commission.

The external sin of commission is twofold, partly of error and ignorance, partly of knowledge. It is of ignorance when a man ignorantly committeth any thing. This was Paul's sin, 1 Tim. i. 13, *For I did it ignorantly through unbelief.* This ignorance is either of the law or of the fact. The ignorance of the law is to be ignorant of God's will. Of this sin speaketh Christ, Luke xii. 48, *He that hath not known his master's will, and hath done things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes.* This was also Paul's ignorance, when he blasphemed and persecuted the Church of Christ, 1 Tim. i. 13. The ignorance of the fact is when a man knows not

Sin of ignorance.

what he doth; and a man may be said not to know what he doth, or to err in the fact, either when he doth a thing negligently, or when a thing is done by him, as we say, by fortune or chance, or rather by the inevitable providence of God. An example of sin of negligence may be this, as when a ship is lost by the negligence of the governor or master thereof. An example of a sin by fortune or God's providence may be, as when one casteth a stone, killeth a man passing by, of whom he never thought; for this sin in the old Church, the cities of refuge were appointed, Numb. xxxv. 23. Thus far of the external sin of commission, which proceeds of error or ignorance.

The external sin of commission followeth, which is committed in knowledge, or, as we say, wittingly; and this is when a man knoweth when he doth evil. Hereof speaks Christ, Luke xii. 47, *That servant who knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.*

Actual external sin committed willingly.

This sin is either of infirmity or of contumacy. An example of a sin of infirmity is in Peter, who three times denied his Lord and Master for fear of death and persecution. An example of a sin of contumacy we have in Judas the traitor. Again, a sin of contumacy is either done in hypocrisy, as when a man is not openly rebellious, but hides his sin under the cloak of hypocrisy. This the Apostle taxeth, Rom. ii. 5, *Thou*, saith he, *after thy hardness and heart that cannot repent, dost treasure up wrath against the day of wrath.* Again, it is an open rebellion or pride, when a man joins to his contumacy pride against God himself; for which cause he is said to sin *with an high hand*, Numb. xv. 30. This manifest rebellion and pride is either against the second table of the law, as open murder, known adultery, and this is the lesser contumacy; but if it be a proud rebellion against the first table, the sin is intolerable. And of this latter kind is heresy first, when as a man, in a proud obstinacy, will defend any opinion against the manifest truth of God's word.

Heresy.

Open rebellion.

Of all the sins before specified, this is one property, that a man may repent of them or for them all; whereupon follows another

property, that they are all pardonable. But if ye add to knowledge, pride, frowardness, a malicious heart, striving against the Holy Ghost, enlightening a man, and teaching inwardly; then the great sin ariseth, which they call the sin against the Holy Ghost, the property whereof is this, that he which so sinneth cannot repent him of his sin; whereupon it followeth that this sin is unpardonable. And this sin is called irremissible, not for that the greatness of it exceeds the greatness of God's mercy and grace in Christ, but because final impenitence is the reward and punishment which by God's just judgment is inflicted upon this sin. Read of this point Matth. xii. 31; Heb. vi. 4, 5, and chapter x. 26; 1 John v. 16. And thus far of actual sin.

Sin against the Holy Ghost.

Wherefore unpardonable.

Now it remaineth to see what the adversaries say of actual sin. Here the greatest controversy is of the division of actual sin into mortal and venial. We avouch that every sin by nature is mortal, that is, that the guilt of eternal death follows it; and that if any sin be venial, that is, may find pardon of God, this cometh to pass, not for that it is so by nature, but of God's mere mercy in Jesus Christ. Many Scriptures approve our assertion, Rom. vi. 23, *The wages of sin is death.* He speaks here of sin in general, and of eternal death. Matth. v. 19, *Whosoever shall break one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of God;* that is, he shall have be of [no] reckoning in heaven. Observe then here how for the least sin a man deserves to be shut forth out of heaven. Deut. xxvii. 26, *Cursed be he that abideth not in all things which are written in the book of the law.* Therefore there is no sin which deserveth not the curse or malediction of God. For in that the law denounceth an execration against every sin, there is no exception we see of any, even the least sin. James ii. 10, *Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet fail in one point, he is guilty of all.* Therefore if ye rest in any one sin against the law, ye sin against the whole law, and stand guilty of all sins which are committed any way against the law. So there is no cause why we should measure our guilt by any one

Sin mortal and venial, a Popish doctrine.

The least sin merits hell.

sin, even the very least. For even the very least sin we live[1] and lie in, without faith and repentance, carries with it the guilt even of the greatest sin, as may clearly appear by that place of James. Matth. v. 26, *Thou shalt not depart hence till thou hast paid the utmost farthing.* Therefore God in his accounts respecteth even the least parts of sin, and the smallest sins that are. The tenth law condemns even the least motions of concupiscence. Matth. xxii. 37, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.* Therefore the Lord requires an exact or perfect obedience. Wherefore he that offendeth even in the least point is a transgressor of the law, and that everlasting curse followeth the breach of the law, if redemption be not purchased by Jesus Christ. Matth. v. 18, *Till heaven and earth perish, one iota or one tittle of the law shall not escape till all things be fulfilled.* Note here, there shall not pass away one iota or one tittle, that is, the least branch of the breach of the law, which shall escape without satisfaction either by ourselves or a mediator. And thus far touching our judgment of this matter.

Mortal sin defined of Papists.

A Popish venial sin.

The adversaries for actual sin, respecting it either according to the greatness thereof, or for the punishment it deserveth, they divide it into mortal and venial. They call that mortal sin which doth extinguish charity or justice, making us enemies unto God, and therefore guilty of eternal death. They call that venial sin which doth not quench charity and justice, nor doth not cause an enmity betwixt us and God, but doth a little stain justice, which they place in charity, and they say it spots it a little;[2] "wherefore

[1] "We live . . . . repentance." Not in the original.

[2] Quinta partitio nascitur ex gravitate culparum, sive ex reatu pœnæ, qui peccantes consequitur. Dicuntur enim peccata, quædam lethalia, alia venialia. LETHALIA sunt quæ hominem plane avertunt a Deo, et quibus pœna debetur æterna. VENIALIA quæ nonnihil impediunt cursum ad Deum, non tamen ab eo avertunt et facili negotio expiantur. Priora dicuntur crimina, posteriora peccata, ut S. Augustinus monet in Enchirid. cap. 64, ubi scribit, sine crimine justos homines vivere, sine peccato non vivere. Denique simile est mortale peccatum vulneri lethifero, quod subito vitam extinguit, venialia autem plagæ legi [levi] quæ sine vitæ periculo suscipitur, et facile curatur. Illud enim cum charitate,

this sin," say they, "is soon pardoned, and expiate with a light punishment—as in this life, with the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, the smiting of the breast, satisfaction or penance imposed by the priest, or which men do of themselves voluntarily undergo.[1] After this life all venial sins be expiate in purgatory, if they be not pardoned in this life by the means before expressed."[2]

They say; "Venial sin is twofold; the first venial sin is so called, because it is so by nature, and for the substance of it, as an idle word, or immoderate laugh.[3] The next venial sin," they say, "is that which is not so by nature, but for some imperfection, for that sin by nature is mortal; but because it is imperfect for the measure or quantity of the evil, therefore it is venial.[4] This imperfection," say they, "is twofold, for this imperfection is either by reason of

Venial sin two.

quæ vita est animæ pugnat, hoc non tam contra, tam præter charitatem est.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 60.)

[1] Tertia propositio: *Potest ecclesia instituere novas cæremonias non quidem ad justificandum impium, sed ad alios effectus spirituales.* Nota pro explicatione cæremonias ab ecclesia institutas tribus modis posse esse utiles . . . . . Secundo, ad morbos curandos, et demones pellendos et peccata venialia purganda, et alia id genus, itaque per modum impetrationis, ut cum Ecclesia benedicit candelas, palmas, agros, &c.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 196.) Confitendum est igitur, Christi mortem, quæ per se ad omnia peccata absolvenda sufficeret, nemini prodesse nisi per fidem et sacramenta, ceteraque instrumenta divinitus instituta, singulis applicetur. Unum autem ex instrumentis divinitus institutis ad pœnam temporalem peccatorum expiandam, satisfactionem esse, nos dicimus, nec solum dicimus, sed ex Scripturis, et omnium Patrum testimoniis comprobamus, ut ex iis quæ antea scripsimus, paruit.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 1131; see also vol. ii. p. 602, C. D. et sæpissime.)

[2] Quædam peccata sunt venialia, solaque temporali pœna digna. At fieri potest, ut cum solis talibus homo decedat ex hac vita; igitur necesse est in alia vita posse purgari.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 598.)

[3] Peccata venialia ex natura et ratione peccati dicuntur ea quæ non sunt contraria charitati Dei et proximi, quæque proprie et absolute mortalibus opponuntur . . . . Venialia ex genere suo dicuntur ea quæ habent pro objecto rem malam et inordinatam, sed quæ charitati Dei, vel proximi non repugnet, quale est verbum otiosum, risus nimius, et alia id genus.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 61.)

[4] Incorrect. It should be:—"In the next place, they say a sin is venial, because it is so, not from its own nature, but its incompleteness; as where a sin is, in its own nature, a mortal sin, but in consequence of being incomplete in respect to the quantity of evil, is on that ground venial."

the will, as when there is not a full consent of the will into a secret motion of concupiscence." In this kind of venial sin they reckon all secret evil motions which stir in the affection, before the mind can think of them, and which get not any full consent of the will, as the motions of lust, of anger, of envy, &c.[1] "Or again, there is an imperfection in respect of the matter of the sin, to wit, when the matter is so small and light that it makes the sin venial; as, for example, if a man steal a halfpenny,[2] or some such trifle, whereby the neighbour is little or nothing touched, and charity is not violate."[3]

Popish arguments for venial sins.

And they go about to prove their opinion, concerning venial sin, by divers kinds of arguments.[4] First, by testimonies of the Scripture and of the Church, next, by reasons of their own; in refutation of which arguments, my meaning is not to insist. For venial sin they cite Matth. xii. 32, *Whosoever shall speak against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come.* "Therefore," say they, "there is a kind of sin which shall be pardoned after this life, and the same is venial sin, which is purged with the fire of purgatory." But let Mark, chap. iii. 29, be the interpreter of this phrase which Matthew hath in this place; *Whosoever*, saith he, *shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost shall never have forgiveness, but is culpable* or *guilty of eternal damnation.* Therefore, where Matthew saith, neither in this life nor in the

[1] Rursus peccata venialia ex imperfectione operis in duo membra secari solent. Alia enim dicuntur venialia ex subreptione, alia ex parvitate materiæ. Ex SUBREPTIONE dicuntur ea, quæ non sunt perfecte voluntaria, quales sunt subiti motus cupiditatis, iræ, invidentiæ, et alii similes, qui prius in animo existunt, quam ratio plane deliberare potuerit, essent necne admittendi: qui quidem et peccata sunt, cum præveniri, aut continuo repelli potuissent, si ratio vigilasset: et tamen venialia sunt, cum pleno voluntatis assensu caruerint. Ex MATERIÆ PARVITATE dicuntur ea quæ in re parva ac levi committuntur, quale esset furtum unius oboli quod neque proximum notabiliter lædit, neque ejusmodi est, ut apud æquos homines amicitiam tollere queat.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 61.)

[2] Original: *obolum.*

[3] See last sentence of note 1.

[4] For these arguments, see Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 62–100.

life to come, it is the same as if he had said, *It shall never be forgiven him.*

They bring also the place which is Matth. v. 22, *Whosoever is angry with his brother unadvisedly, shall be culpable of judgment; and whosoever saith unto his brother, Raca, shall be worthy to be punished by the council; and whosoever shall say, Fool, shall be worthy to be punished with hell fire.* "There are here three kinds of sins," say they, "of which he adjudgeth one kind only worthy of hell fire; wherefore the two former are to be expiate with some light punishment; and therefore be venial sins." I answer; This place teacheth us that there is an inequality, first, of sins, next, of punishments; and those also spiritual and infernal, which Christ expresseth here by an allusion to civil and politic penalties which were unequal.

They reason also on this wise: "No man," say they, "will deny that one sin is lesser than another by nature. Therefore is not the lesser sin venial by nature?" I answer; It followeth not; for that the least sin by nature meriteth eternal death and eternal punishment, albeit not the greatest punishment. For we deny not the inequality of the pains of the damned. Popish reasons for venial sins.

Next say they; "Is not one sin less than another in quantity? and therefore is it not venial in respect of the imperfection thereof?" I answer; It followeth not; for every sin, howsoever imperfect, meriteth eternal death; or if it be venial, it is not for the imperfection of it, but for Christ's sake, and his satisfaction for it.

Thirdly, they say; "Is not that sin venial which doth not destroy or overthrow justice, charity, or inherent grace? But there are some sins which do not overthrow or extinguish justice: *Ergo*, there be some venial sins. The assumption is proved. *The just man falls seven times in the day, and riseth again.*[1] Behold here one

[1] Prov. xxiv. 16. This is a favourite verse with Bellarmin. I give one of the passages in which it occurs in the use referred to by our Author. Intelligibile non est, quomodo verbum otiosum ex natura sua dignum sit eterno odio Dei, et sempiternis flammis; hic enim in terris stultissimus haberetur, qui ob levissimam offensionem amici, nec malo animo factam, nollet amplius esse amicus, imo usque ad mortem persequeretur eum, quem amicum paulo ante habuerat. Maneat igitur, quædam esse peccata venialia ac sola pœna temporali

sinneth, and yet ceaseth not to be just." I answer; The proposition is false, for that every sin which not extinguishes the grace of Christ and inherent holiness, that very sin, by its own nature, is mortal; and in that it is pardonable, and doth not abolish holiness, that is not to be imputed to the sin itself, but to the free mercy of God in Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST.

The Papists say there be six kinds of the sin against the Holy Ghost.

THE adversaries say there be six kinds of this sin;[1] the first sin is presumption, when a man presumeth overmuch of the grace of God and of faith, in the meanwhile denying his faith by his works. This is the man whom James taxeth in his Epistle, chap. ii., verse

digna. Quòd autem cum ejusmodi peccatis aliqui interdum de hac vita migrent, ac proinde in alia vita purgatione temporali egeant, probatur hoc modo. Potest quis, dum moritur, habere voluntatem permanendi in peccato veniali: igitur tale peccatum deleri in morte non potest. Præterea cum *septies in die cadat justus*, ut dicitur Prover. 24, et multi moriantur repente, quomodo credibile est non mori aliquos cum peccato veniali.—(Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 599.)

[1] The Rhemists (on Matt. xii. 31) recognise the reckoning of six sins against the Holy Ghost. Bellarmin, in an instructive passage, (vol. iii. pp. 10, 11, &c.) states that there were four opinions on this subject, but in reality, he gives five. The first is that held by Origenes, (on Matt. xii.) and Novatian, that all sins committed against God after baptism are the sins against the Holy Ghost. Another is that of Augustin, (*de Sermone Domini in Monte*, c. 43,) who makes it consist in envying or repining "at the grace of God in our brethren,"—our Author's fourth. A third, held afterwards by Augustin, (in *Enchiridio*, c. 83,) is "final impenitence,"—our Author's sixth. A fourth, stated by Thomas, the Angelic Doctor, (2. 2. q. 14,) and Peter Lombard, the *Magister Sententiarum*, (2. dist. 43,) is, that it is a sin of wilful maliciousness, not ignorance or infirmity,—our Author's fifth. A fifth is that held by Bellarmin himself. Est igitur quarta sententia, quam veram esse non dubitamus, peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum proprie nihil aliud esse quam veritatem cognitam, et manifestam, ex malitia improbare, et tamquam dæmoniacam, et detestabilem calumniari.

14, and after. The second is desperation, contrary to presumption; this was Cain and Judas' sin. The third is to impugn the known truth; hereto belongs the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; this was the sin of the Pharisees, Matth. xii. 24-32. The fourth is to envy or to repine at the graces of God in our brethren; this was the sin of the Jews, which did repine and grieve at the grace of God given the Gentiles. The fifth is obstinacy, when as a man shall persist in a known sin with an obstinate mind; this was Pharaoh's sin and the obstinate Jews. The sixth is final impenitency, when as any shall die in contempt of the sacrament of penance, and of any satisfaction imposed upon him by ecclesiastical order. Of this they understand that place, 1 John v. 16, *There is a sin unto death; I do not say that ye should pray for him.* They say, a man sins against the Holy Ghost all these ways, and that all these sins be inexpiable, and that these sins are called irremissible, because they be seldom and hardly forgiven, as men seldom and hardly repent them of these sins.[1] But the last, which is final impenitency, they think that only is properly said to be unpardonable, because it is neither

[1] There were, as we learn from Bellarmin, (*l. c.*) various opinions on this subject. Theophylact (on Matt. xii.) thought that sins against the Son—sins of ignorance—were pardonable without penitence, (*pœnitentia;*) not so sins against the Holy Ghost. Another opinion was, that sins against the Holy Ghost were said to be unpardonable, because, without penitence, the sentence of eternal condemnation followed, with penitence, the temporal punishment was fully exacted. A third is that held by Chrysostom, (on Matt. xii.) Ambrosius, (*de Pœnitentia*, ii. 4,) and Bellarmin himself, and condemned by our Author. Dicendum igitur, Scripturas et Patres dicere, peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum non remitti, quia ordinarie et ut plurimum, non curatur: sicut de aliis peccatis Dominus ait: *Omnia peccata et blasphemiæ remittuntur*, non quia semper et omnibus remittantur, sed quia ut plurimum, et ordinarie remittuntur. A fourth opinion is that of Athanasius, Hilarius, Jerome, and Anselm, (on Matt. xii.) which is also that of our Author: Alia igitur solutio est illorum, peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum irremissibile dici, quia etiamsi remitti posset, si pœnitentia adsit, tamen qui ita peccant, ad veram pœnitentiam non perveniunt, quod justo judicio Deus eos deseruerit, et in reprobum sensum traditi sunt. The Rhemists' note is: (*l. c.*) "Otherwise among all the sins against the Holy Ghost, which are commonly reckoned six, one only shall never be forgiven, that is, dying without repentance, wilfully called final impenitence. Which sin he committeth that dieth with contempt of the sacrament of penance, obstinately refusing absolution by the church's ministry."

forgiven in this life nor after this life. And this is their judgment of the sin against the Holy Ghost.

But we avouch that the Scripture doth teach us there is but one sin only against the Holy Ghost, (Matth. xii. 32; Mark iii. 29; Luke xii. 10,) called the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. Ye have a description of this sin, Heb. vi. 4, and x. 26, 27, the Apostle calling it an apostacy, or backsliding from God. It is also described, 2 Pet. ii. 20, and 1 John v. 16. It is called a sin unto death. As for the other kinds of this sin before specified, some of them are consequently of this sin, which we call a blasphemy, and appertain unto it; for desperation and final impenitency are the punishments of this sin. Obstinacy is in the very nature of this sin, for it carries with it an obstinate maliciousness. And as for the other kinds, I cannot see how they may be called sins against
Presumption. the Holy Ghost; for as for presumption, what is it else but hypocrisy? To repine at the graces of God in our brethren, is a sin against our neighbour, and against the second table of the law. Therefore let this rest, that there is but one sin against the Holy Ghost, so called—to wit, the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, or an apostacy from the grace of the Spirit once received; for these are one and the same, to blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, and to fall from grace received. Notwithstanding, I deny not, but that this sin, which is but one in substance, may have his increase or growth; for then it is come to a height, when as it fighteth against all the known truth which is according to godliness. Next we say, that this one sin is impardonable, not for that it is seldom and hardly pardoned; but for that it is never pardoned, because such a one can never repent him of his sin that he hath committed. For this man's heart groweth to such a hardness, and that by God's just judgment, as can never after be mollified.

And that this sin is simply impardonable, is manifest by the very words of the Lord in the Gospel before cited; for when it is said in Matthew, *It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come;* and in Mark, *This sin is never forgiven, but is culpable of eternal damnation,* do not these words cut off all hope

of pardon? So as I cannot but wonder at the Rhemists, so impudently to extenuate the force of the words of the Lord.[1] To the Hebrews vi. 4-6, he saith, *It is impossible that he which so sinneth should be renewed by repentance;* then he addeth a weighty cause and most necessary, for, saith he, *This man crucifieth again to himself the Son of God,* that is, as much as in him lieth. Rhemists' impudency. ἀδύνατον.

Which point the better to conceive it, we must know there is a difference between all other sins, and this sin against the Holy Ghost, as touching the remission and expiation of them. For to expiate all other sins, the sacrifice of Christ once offered is suffi-

1 "*Impossible.* How hard the Holy Scriptures be, and how dangerous they be read of the unlearned, or of the proud, be they never so well learned, this one place might teach us. . . . . And let the good readers beware here also of the Protestants' exposition, for they are herein worse than Novatians, especially such as precisely follow Calvin: holding impiously that it is impossible for one that forsaketh entirely his faith, that is, becometh an apostate or an heretic, to be received to penance or God's mercy. To establish which false and damnable sense, these fellows make nothing of S. Ambrose's, (*de Pœnit.* ii. 2, et in *Ep. ad Heb.*,) S. Chrysostom's, (*Hom.* 9, in c. 6, *ad Hebr.*,) and the other fathers' exposition, which is the holy Church's sense; that the Apostle meaneth of that penance which is done before and in baptism. Which is no more to say, but that it is impossible to be baptized again, and thereby to be renovated and illuminated, to die, be buried, and rise again the second time in Christ, in so easy and perfect penance, and cleansing of sins, as that first sacrament of generation [regeneration?] did yield; which applieth Christ's death in such ample manner to the receivers, that it taketh away all pains due for sins before committed. And therefore requireth no further penance afterward, for the sins before committed, all being washed away by the force of that sacrament duly taken. S. Augustin calleth the remission in baptism, *Magnam indulgentiam*, a great pardon. *Enchirid.* i. 64.

"The Apostle, therefore, warneth them, that if they fall from their faith, and from Christ's grace and law, which they once received in their baptism, they may not look to have any more that first great and large remedy applied unto them, nor no man else that sinneth after baptism. Though the other penance, which is called (Hieron. *ep.* 8, *ad Demetriad.* 6, 6) the second table after shipwreck, which is a more painful medicine for sin than baptism, requiring much fasting, praying, and other afflictions corporal, is open not only to other sinners, but to all once baptized, heretics, or oppugners of the truth, maliciously, and of purpose, or what way soever, during this life. See S. Cyprian, *ep.* 52, S. Ambrose upon this place. S. Augustin *cont. ep. Parm.* lib. 2, c. 13, and *ep.* 50, S. Damascene, li. 4, 6, 10."—Rhemish Testament. Note on *Hebrews* vi. 4.

cient for them all, and the virtue thereof extendeth itself to purge all sins for ever. But when a man hath once sinned against the Holy Ghost, and profaned that precious blood, the virtue thereof will never after be effectual for the expiation of his sin. Wherefore he stands in need of some new sacrifice to purge his sin, which thing shall never be granted him. For if this were granted, then must Christ be crucified again, or some other sacrifice must be offered; but neither can Christ be crucified again, neither can any other sacrifice be offered for him, as it is written, Heb. x. 26, *For there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins.* Therefore this sin can never be expiate, because a new sacrifice can never be given for it: and this is the cause of the impossibility of the pardon of this sin.

The adversaries, namely, the Rhemists, in their observations on this place, do thus interpret this impossibility. They say, there is a double repentance, or renewing, or purging of sin: they say, the first is easy and light, in and by baptism; where, say they, all the sins before baptism are purged by that light washing of baptism. The second they call penance, or the purging of sins, as they say, by the sacrament of penance; and in this sacrament, as they speak, such sins are purged which are committed after baptism; and this is hard and painful, as consisting of fastings, prayers, satisfactions, and other corporal afflictions. If you grant them this distinction, then they say, this impossibility of being renewed is in respect of that repentance, renewing, and purging of sin which is in baptism: for, they say, it is impossible that a sin committed after baptism, some baptism being iterated, should be purged;[1] for we may not be rebaptized. As for the latter, penance and renewing, they say, there is a possibility in it; for the greatest sin after baptism may be expiate by it. Therefore they affirm, the Apostle speaks covertly to such as sin after baptism, sending them to the sacrament of penance, that by virtue of that sacra-

Popish sacrament of penance.

[1] This should be: Should be purged by any iteration of baptism. Original: Impossibile enim esse dicunt ut peccatum commissum post baptismum *iterato aliquo baptismo expurgatur.*

ment, their sin may be expiate, and that they may be renewed.[1] But by this their interpretation, they pervert the Holy Scripture to their own destruction. For this is certain, that the Apostle here takes away all possibility of being renewed, as the reason annexed manifestly proveth. 2 Pet. iii. 15.

Finally, it is evident by that place of John before cited, that this sin is impardonable, and that this is proper to that sin, that it can by no means be pardoned. For John saith, we may not pray for that sin. If we may not pray for it, there is no hope of repentance, or pardon for it. I know what the Rhemists here would say,[2] to wit, that by this sin unto death we must understand final impenitency; "final impenitency is not remitted, because here wants repentance, and therefore we may not pray for such a one after his death; for he died in impenitency, contemning the sacrament of

[1] "*If we sin willingly.* As the Calvinists abuse other like places against the holy sacrifice of the Mass, so they abuse this, as the Novatians did before them, to prove that a heretic apostata, or any that wilfully forsaketh the truth, can never be forgiven. Which (as is before declared in the 6th chap.) is most wicked blasphemy: the meaning hereof being, as is there said, only to terrify the Hebrews, that, falling from Christ, they cannot so easily have the host of Christ's death applied unto them, because they cannot be baptized any more, but must pass by sacramental penance and satisfaction, and other hard remedies which Christ hath prescribed after baptism in the Church's discipline. Therefore, S. Cyril saith, lib. 5, *in Joan.* cap. 17, *Penance is not excluded by these words of Paul, but the renewing by the laver of regeneration. He doth not here take away the second or third remission of sins, (for he is not such an enemy to our salvation,) but the host, which is Christ, he denieth that it is to be offered again upon the cross.* So saith this holy doctor. And by this place and the like, you see how perilous a thing it is for heretics and ignorant persons to read the Scriptures. Which, by following their own fantasy, (2 Peter iii.,) they pervert to their damnation."—(Rhemish Testament. Note on Hebrews x. 26.)

[2] This should be:—I am not ignorant of the answer here made by the Rhemists. Original: Non ignoro *quid hic respondeant Rhemenses.* The note of the Rhemists, on 1 John v. 16, is, "A sin to death." A sin to death is another thing than a mortal sin, for it is that mortal sin only, whereof a man is never penitent before his death, or in which he continueth till death, and dieth in it. *I affirm,* (saith S. Augustin, de Correp. et Gratia, c. 12,) *that a sin to death is to leave faith working by charity even till death.* So likewise in the words before, *a sin not to death,* is not that which we call a venial sin, but any that a man committeth, and continueth not therein till death.

penance." But they affirm it to be lawful to pray for other sins after death.

This again is to pervert Scripture, for the Apostle speaketh not of prayer to be or not to be after his death which hath so sinned, but that prayer must not be conceived for him whilst he liveth, after that it hath manifestly appeared unto the Church, by infallible arguments, that such a one hath sinned unto death; as for *Julian* the Apostate; for whom the Church prayed not while he lived, yea, it prayed against him in his lifetime, after it was clearly discerned that he had sinned unto death, that is, had blasphemed against the Holy Ghost. I pass over that place of Peter before cited, where the Apostle speaks of no difficulty, but of a mere impossibility of being renewed, of repentance, and of remission of sins, where it is said, *Their latter state is worse than the first;* and as it followeth, *But it hath happened unto him, (as it is in the true proverb,) the dog hath returned to his own vomit, and the sow to her wallowing in the mire.* And thus far of this second controversy, and so much shall suffice concerning sin.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OF JUSTIFYING FAITH.

Our effectual calling is effected, first by the Law, then by the Gospel. The whole doctrine of the Law may be reduced to this syllogism; Cursed is he that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of this law, to do them; but I have not continued in them; therefore I am accursed. The proposition of this reason is the voice of the Law, and that commination which is added to the Covenant of Works; which is thus conceived, *Do this, and thou shalt live, but if thou do it not, thou shalt die.* The assumption of this reason is the act of every one's conscience that applieth to itself the transgression of the Law. The conclusion

Or form of reason.

likewise is the act of each one's conscience, applying to itself the just punishment and curse of God for sin. This form of reasoning belongs not so much to the calling itself, as to our preparation to that effectual calling which is properly effected by the doctrine of the Gospel. For by the doctrine of the Law which is comprehended in this argument, we are amazed and affected with the feeling of our misery, which feeling is the first degree unto salvation.

Our preparation to our effectual calling.

Now the doctrine of the Gospel may be comprehended in this form: Whosoever believeth shall be justified and live; But I believe; therefore I shall be justified and live. The proposition is the voice of the Gospel, or of God himself calling. For therein is contained the first part of an effectual calling, which is nothing else but a proclaiming of the free covenant, the form whereof is contained in this proposition. The assumption is not indeed the act of the natural conscience, but of every one's supernatural faith applying to himself Christ Jesus the Mediator of the Covenant, and him first crucified, and next glorified. The conclusion also is the act of faith, applying to every one the benefits of Christ his righteousness, and salvation by him. This reason[1] doth properly belong to calling; and the proposition of it is the first part of calling; and the assumption and conclusion is the second part. And seeing the assumption and conclusion are the acts of our faith, whereby we do, as it were, make answer unto God that calleth, surely we shall not without cause say, that the second part of effectual calling is nothing else but faith. Wherefore the commonplace of faith must be comprised under this of our effectual calling.

An evangelical syllogism.

It followeth, therefore, that we speak of faith, yea, of that faith which is properly and simply so called, that is, of faith which they call "Justifying faith." For as touching the other kinds of faith, which are commonly numbered,[2] as "a dead faith," &c., they are so termed, not simply, but in some respect, and with an addition, dead faith, temporary faith, &c.

Justifying faith.

[1] Syllogism. Original: *syllogismus.*
[2] Enumerated. Original: *enumerantur.*

The object of faith.

Now, in the declaration[1] of faith, the first thing that offereth itself to be considered is the object thereof. The object is generally whatsoever is contained in the Word of God, that is, the whole truth of God. But specially and properly, the object of it is Jesus Christ with all his benefits.

There is a twofold consideration of Christ and his benefits; for first, Christ with his benefits is considered as he is offered in the Word and Sacraments; that is, as he is offered unto us, as in a looking-glass; and yet not so much Christ himself, as a certain image or picture of him. Of this looking-glass of the Word and Sacraments ye read, 1 Cor. xiii. 12, *We see now as it were in a glass, and by a dark speaking.*[2] And 2 Cor. iii. 18, *But we*[3] *with open face beholding the glory of the Lord as in a glass, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory.* Now Christ so considered, is nothing else but Christ preached in the Word, and represented in the Sacraments. *We*, saith he, *preach Christ crucified*, 1 Cor. i. 23. For the Gospel preached doth set Christ in a manner before our eyes. Gal. iii. 1, *To whom Jesus Christ was before pictured before your eyes, and among you crucified.* Next, we be to consider Christ without[4] this glass of the Word and Sacraments, as he is in himself. Of Christ so considered the Apostle speaketh, 1 Cor. xiii. 12, *But then we shall see him face to face;* and 1 John iii. 2, *But we know that it shall come to pass, that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, because we shall see him as he is.*

The glass wherein we may find and see the face of Christ.

A twofold knowledge or apprehension of faith.

As there is a twofold consideration of Christ, so the knowledge and apprehension of him is twofold. The first is called *Faith*, the latter *Sight*. Of both these ye read, 2 Cor. v. 7, *For we walk by Faith, not by Sight.* These two ways of knowing and apprehending do agree one with another in nature and essence; for both of them are the knowledge and apprehension of Christ; but they dif-

[1] Exposition. Original: *explicatione.*
[2] Original: *per ænigma*, Beza's translation.
[3] We all. Original: *nos omnes.*
[4] Original: *extra.*

fer in quantity, and as they use to speak, more or less;[1] for the knowledge of faith is the lesser, as also is the apprehension; whereupon, 1 Cor. xiii. 9, it is said, *that we know in part.* But the knowledge and apprehension by sight is the greater, and so perfect knowledge and apprehension; and this shall have place in the next world.[2] Of this perfect knowledge is spoken in the same chap. ver. 10, *But after that which is perfect is come;* and ver. 12, *Then shall I know even as I shall be taught.*

These things thus laid down and known, it is easily perceived what the special and first object of faith is; namely, Jesus Christ with all his benefits, and even so, as he offereth himself in the Word and Sacraments. Or the object of faith is the Word itself, or the promises which are made of Christ, which is all one. Hence it followeth, that whensoever the preaching of the Word and administration of the Sacraments shall cease, this faith also, whereby we now walk, must also cease. See 1 Cor. xiii. 10, *Then shall that which is in part be done away.*

The necessity of the Word preached.

To conclude, it is to be noted of this object of faith, that it is special, that is, offered to me, to thee, and to every man specially and distinctly. For albeit the words be generally conceived, yet they are specially to be taken as spoken to me, to thee, or of me, and of thee. Thus much touching the object of faith.

Now we are to speak of the subject thereof; namely, wherein it is, and from which it proceedeth.[3] The subject of faith is the soul of man, and in the soul of man the reasonable and principal faculties; those I term, first the mind, then the will. For as touching the other inferior faculties and affections of the soul, faith is not so much said to be resident in them as to sanctify them, and to stir them up unto good, and, as a body, to govern them. Whereupon it

The subject of faith.

[1] Original: *secundum majus et minus.*

[2] This should be: But the knowledge and apprehension of sight is the greater, and is perfect, inasmuch as it is to take place in the life to come. Original: *Aspectus vero cognitio et apprehensio major est adeoque perfecta, ut quæ futura sit in altero sæculo.*

[3] This should be: in what it is, and from what it proceedeth. Original: *in quo est, et a quo procedit.*

is said, *after that by faith he had purified their hearts.*[1] Now, that faith belongs to the mind, it is apparent by those titles which are given to faith everywhere in the Scripture, as when it is called, *knowledge, understanding, sight;* as when it is said, *We see now in a glass.* And that it is in the will, it is evident by that which is said, Rom. x. 10, *For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness,* and Eph. iii. 17, *that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith;* for the seat of the will is attributed to the heart. Furthermore, the names whereby faith is termed in the Scripture do sufficiently convince that the seat of it is not only in the mind, but also in the will and heart; as when it is called an apprehension, and when it is called a certain embracing, and such like names, which signify the office of the heart and will. Thus far of the subject of faith.

Now let us come nearer to the nature thereof, and to the parts of the nature of it. The first part of faith is the knowledge or understanding of the mind, whereby the mind doth plainly understand some sentence or proposition of the Gospel, and by name, that proposition, which is in the syllogism of the Gospel, which we alleged before; for the proposition of that syllogism is, as it were, an abridgment of the whole Gospel. From this part, as the principal, namely, knowledge, faith is named everywhere in the Scriptures.

Parts of faith. The second part of faith is the judgment, or, as it is commonly called, the assent of the same mind. Of this judgment the Scripture speaketh everywhere, as 1 Cor. ii. 15, *The spiritual man judgeth all things.* 1 John iv. 1, *Try the spirits whether they be of God.* This

Judgment twofold. judgment is twofold; the first, of truth; the second, of goodness. The judgment of truth is, when the mind assenteth to the proposition of the Gospel, that it is true; of this judgment see John iii. 33, *He that receiveth his testimony, hath sealed that God is true.* 1 Tim. i. 15, *This is a faithful saying, and worthy by all means to be received,* &c. To conclude, this judgment of truth is gathered out of all places of Scripture, wherein there is mention made of the truths of God's Word. The judgment of goodness is, when the mind assenteth to

[1] Acts xv. 9.

that thing which is in the proposition of the Gospel, that it is good; and therefore to be followed. For it must be known, that all the propositions of the Gospel be practical, as they say; if the naked speculation and contemplation of which none must set up his rest; but they are to be drawn out into the manners and life, every day. Of this judgment of goodness ye have that, Rom. vii. 16, *I consent to the law that it is good.* 1 Cor. i. 18, *The preaching of the cross is to us which are saved the power of God.* And in the same chap. ver. 24, *We preach Christ, to them which are called, the power and wisdom of God.* And thus much concerning the twofold judgment, which, as we have said, must be of the general proposition of that evangelical syllogism: of both which, this, last of all, is to be held, that it is not only general, but also special; whereby I do judge that those things which are spoken in the Gospel are true of me, and good to me. For, as we said before, those things which are published in the Gospel are to be understood to be spoken specially of me, and of thee. And this special judgment is properly that which is called *full assurance.* After this follows *confidence,* which belongs to the heart and will; whereof we will speak in the next place.

The sayings of the Gospel be practical.

πληροφορία. πεποίθησις.

There followeth, therefore, in the third place, the choice or hold-taking of the will, which is, when any one doth with his will or heart peculiarly apply to himself that which he hath judged first true, then good, not only in general, but also in special. This apprehension or application is in the assumption or conclusion of that syllogism of the Gospel, alleged before by us. For after that the mind hath seen and judged the proposition of that syllogism, then the will of every one doth particularly apply unto himself in the assumption and conclusion, those good things which that general proposition did concern. Of this apprehension ye have, 1 Tim. vi. 12, *Lay hold on eternal life.* Phil. iii. 12, *I follow, if I also may apprehend it.* 1 Tim. i. 15, *This is a faithful saying, and worthy by all means to be embraced by us.* To conclude, this third part of faith is to be understood in all those titles whereby the choice of the will is signified in the Scripture. From this part faith is

The third point of faith.

The apprehension of faith.

termed a special confidence or trust; for the nature of faith is chiefly seen in it.

Faith defined. These things thus declared, it will be easy to gather a definition of faith. For *Faith in Christ with all his benefits, as he is offered in the Word and Sacraments, is first a knowledge of the mind; then an apprehension of the will or heart.*[1] In this definition we have first the object of faith; then the subject of it; thirdly, the parts. Under the knowledge of the mind I understand also the judgment or assent of the mind, and that twofold, whereof we have spoken before. It is to be known, that faith thus defined by us, is improperly taken for the function and work of faith, seeing faith is properly an infused habit, as they call it, or a holy quality, first of the mind; then of the will or heart.

Now this quality in the mind, what is it else but that light of which the Scripture speaks everywhere? *Ye were once darkness;*

Faith a light. *but now ye are light in the Lord,* Ephes. v. 8. *The eyes of your mind being opened, that ye may know what is that hope of his calling,* Ephes. i. 18. *God, which commanded that the light should shine out of darkness, is he which hath shined in your hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ,* 2 Cor. iv. 6. *But God hath revealed those things unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God,* 1 Cor. ii. 10.

And this light of the mind, which is the first part of faith, seemeth to be not only a restoring of that natural light, which was impaired in Adam's fall, but also a certain supernatural light put into the mind by the Spirit of Christ, to this end, that the mind might behold and see those things which excel all natural knowledge.

[1] The Original of this important passage is :—His expositis facile erit colligere definitionem fidei. Est enim fides Christi cum beneficiis suis, ut in verbo et sacramento offertur, primum mentis cognitio, deinde voluntatis sive cordis apprehensio. I would not object greatly to the translation in the text. Yet it seems erroneous in this, that the question is not, "What is faith in Jesus Christ?"—but, "What is justifying faith?" To which, I think, our Author's answer is, "It is faith in Jesus Christ with his benefits, as he is offered in the word and sacraments; being, first, the assenting knowledge of the understanding; and, secondly, the hold-taking of the will or heart."

Whereupon, Eph. iii. 17, 18, it is thus said, *That ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to attain with all saints what is the length, and breadth, and depth, and height, and to know that love of Christ, which passeth all knowledge.*

Adam's knowledge before his fall.

I do not think that this knowledge was in Adam, in his first creation, before his fall. For all the knowledge in Adam's mind, before his fall, as it was holy, so it seemeth it was natural; it seemeth it was a natural knowledge of God himself; it seemeth it was a natural knowledge of the things created. Neither did he before this see God in the Mediator Christ, nor was it needful he should see him so. Besides, this light which I speak of is kindled in our mind by looking on the face of Christ the Mediator, as it were in the glass of the Gospel. 2 Cor. iii. 18, *We all with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory.* Also iv. chap. ver. 6, *To give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.* But Adam before his fall, as he heard nothing concerning the Gospel of Christ, he saw not his face in the glass of the Gospel. Besides, 1 Cor. xv. 45, of Adam it is said, *the first Adam was made a living soul;* but of Christ, the *last Adam was made a quickening spirit.* Out of which words the difference betwixt Adam and Christ is seen, that Adam was made only natural, yet holy; but Christ was made spiritual and supernatural; for spiritual things are supernatural. Again, out of this difference we gather this, that spiritual and supernatural light, which we have only by the benefit of Christ, that is, the second Adam, was not in Adam before the fall. For in the same place, (verses 48, 49,) our heavenly or spiritual condition is ascribed unto Christ. But of this thus far, and but sparingly.

Or the faith of the operation of God, Eph. iii. 20. According to the means that worketh in us.*

Also in the will or heart faith is a supernatural ability, put into it by the Spirit of Christ, of which Col. ii. 12, *By the faith of God that worketh mightily in us.* This power, also, as I think, was not put into Adam's heart before the fall, being induced by the

* This note is the translator's own.

same reasons which we alleged before. And seeing that the light of the mind and efficacy of the heart are supernatural, it followeth also, that the functions of that light and efficacy, namely, the knowledge of the mind, and the apprehension of the heart, are likewise supernatural. Wherefore unto that definition of faith before set down, we add this branch, *supernatural*, as the last; so that *Justifying faith in Christ, with all his benefits offered unto us in the Word and Sacraments, is not only a holy, but also a supernatural knowledge of the mind, and apprehension of the will.* Thus, then, we define faith, as we admonished before, as the name of faith is taken for the function and work of faith, for so the divines do commonly define it. So also in the Scriptures is the name of faith wont to be taken, namely, for the function or work of faith, as it is termed, 2 Thess. i. 3. But if the description of faith properly, and as it is taken for an infused quality, do like any man better, thus also he may have it described, that *Faith is a light of the mind, and an effectual action in the heart, supernaturally put into them both, for the knowing and apprehending of Christ with all his benefits, offered in the Word and Sacraments.*

Justifying faith defined.

ἐνεργεία.

Now it remaineth that we speak something touching the effects of faith. That knowledge and apprehension of Christ which we speak of, sith the seat of it is in the principal and reasonable faculties of the soul, namely, the mind and the will, it cannot be idle, neither does it contain itself within the bounds of those higher faculties of the mind, the soul, and the will; but it is effectual also in the lower heart, that is, in all the affections; and there is not any of all the affections, but is affected some way or other by this knowledge and apprehension, being not only sanctified by it, but also wrapt up above itself and the nature thereof. For as we said of faith, that it is a supernatural knowledge and apprehension, the same is true also of the functions of all the affections; for they are all not only made holy, but also supernatural, by a certain supernatural faculty put into them by the Spirit of Christ.

But to speak distinctly of the effects of Faith. Christ with all his benefits being once known and apprehended, a hope of good

to come, and a fear of evil to come, the love of Christ, and the desire of him, and joy and gladness, are in a wonderful manner kindled in the soul, as 1 Peter i. 8, *Believing in him, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and glorious.* Grief, also, which is according to God, is kindled, with groans which cannot be expressed, Rom. viii. 26. To conclude, the whole heart burns to God-ward. By faith also our affections toward our neighbour are stirred up, and that for God and Christ, as love of our neighbour, and delight in the saints, Ps. xvi. 3. And these are the first effects of faith, and those are inward in the lower heart or affections. Note the special effects which follow faith.

There be also outward effects of faith, having their being in the body, and in all the members of the body; and those are outward actions of the body, into which the inward motions of the affections break forth. And those are, first, such as respect God; then, such as respect our neighbour for God's cause. And thus much of the effects of faith, both inward and outward, as also of faith; which is properly so called, which they commonly term Justifying Faith.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE IMPROPER SIGNIFICATIONS OF FAITH.

It followeth that we speak of the improper significations of faith. For this very word, *Faith,* is ambiguous, and signifieth many things. Divers acceptations of faith.

Properly, it signifieth this faith which they call justifying; for that is properly and simply termed by this name. Secondly, it signifieth that faith which they call historical, or dead; which is nothing else but, as it were, the carcase of justifying faith, for it lacks the soul, the full assurance of the mind, and the confidence of the heart in the special assent of the mind, and in the trust and apprehension of the heart.

Thirdly, it signifieth faith which they call temporary, which is a

certain ape of justifying faith. Fourthly, and last of all, that faith which they term miraculous.

These three last significations of faith are improper, and the name of faith is but an *Homonomy*,[1] or improperly put upon them, to signify these things. For not any of these may be called by the name of faith, unless you say, "in some respect," "in part," and "after a sort," and "with an addition;" for example, the knowledge of history is termed faith, but with this addition, historical or dead, and so of the rest. Now a general notion of this word faith is that which is, Heb. xi. 1. And that is a knowledge in general, with assent and agreement to all those things which are comprehended in the Word of God, and that whether general or particular. I mean by a particular word, when any thing is revealed to any one peculiarly out of order, by which kind of revelation it came to pass that miracles were done by some. We must speak, therefore, in the first place, concerning historical or dead faith; and first, for the testimonies of Scripture touching it. James ii. 17, *Faith, if it have no works, is dead of itself.* 1 Cor. xii. 9, *Unto other faith by the same Spirit.* The coherence of the text, and comparison made with other gifts of the Holy Ghost, which in that place are numbered, do show sufficiently that the Apostle speaketh of historical faith. Hitherto belongeth that place which is, 1 Cor. xiii. 2, *If I had all faith, so that I could remove mountains.* Here he doth not only mean the faith of miracles, but also the historical; for he saith *all faith;* and after he sets down one kind, as if he had said by name, miraculous faith to remove mountains. The reason of the name is this: It is termed historical, because it is only a bare knowledge of the holy history concerning God, Christ, the will of God, and his works, and not a holy apprehension of the things known. And why it is called dead, James rendereth a reason in the place before cited, namely, because it hath no works; the reason is from the consequent or sign. For want of works or actions, argueth and showeth that faith is as it were dead, and without life, and, if I may so speak, the carcase of

Historical or dead faith.

Dead faith.

[1] That is, the same in sound only—not in signification.

faith, even as if there be no motions nor actions in a man neither inward nor outward, thereby it is declared, that the man is dead and the body without life, or but the dead carcase of a man.

Our adversaries, that I may speak of this by the way, when they hear of it, of James ii. 17, that faith is therefore called dead, because it hath no works, by and by conclude, that charity and the works of charity is the soul of faith; but this followeth not that charity and the works of charity are the soul of faith, but this followeth, that charity and the works of charity are the signs and tokens of the soul, that is by name, of that *apprehension of Christ which is in the heart;* for this is indeed the soul and form of faith. I will declare this thing by a like example. A man, if he have no works, no actions, neither inward nor outward, that indeed argueth, that there is not a soul or form in him, out of which actions do proceed; but it doth not argue that works or actions are the soul and form of man. The Papists concerning.

But they think that the words of James, chap. ii. ver. 26, do make for their opinion. For out of that that James saith—*As the body without the spirit* or *breath is dead, so also faith which is without works is dead*—thus they infer; Therefore as the spirit is the form of the body, so are works the form of faith.[1] But this consequent is not of force. For the comparison and similitude is not in that, but in this, that even as the body without the soul or breath is dead, so faith without works is dead. The body without the spirit, as her soul and form, is dead; faith without works, as the signs and tokens of the soul, is dead. Even as therefore the want of the

[1] "Some heretics hold that good works are pernicious to salvation and justification; others, that though they be not hurtful, but required, yet they be no causes or workers of salvation, much less meritorious, but are as effects and fruits necessarily issuing out of faith. Both which fictions, falsehoods, and flights from the plain truth of God's word, are refuted by these words, where the Apostle saith, *That faith worketh together with good works;* making faith to be a coadjutor or co-operator with works, and so both jointly concurring as causes and workers of justification: yea, afterward he maketh works the more principal cause, where he resembleth faith to the body, and works to the spirit or life of man."—Notes to the *Rhemish Translation of the New Testament*, James ii. 22.

spirit or the soul doth argue the death of the body; so the want of the sign and token of the soul of faith doth argue the death of faith; it is therefore a comparison of the spirit and works in the like effect, and not in the like nature. For both have the like effect, which is death; but both the things are not of the same nature. Hitherto of the reason of the name. The object of historical faith is all the holy story, that is, the whole truth which is according to godliness, and the word of both covenants; wherein this faith differs from justifying faith, which hath the word of the Gospel, or of the covenant of grace, for the object thereof.

Subject of an historical faith.

The subject of this faith is the mind, which knoweth and judgeth; but the judgment of the mind doth only reach to the truth of the history, as I think, and not to the goodness of the things themselves, which are contained in the story. For although a hypocrite do profess that all those things, of which the Gospel speaks, are true; yet he doth not assent to them in his mind, as good things; which is the first step of practice or action. For after the judgment of the goodness of things, followeth the apprehension thereof, which belongs to the will, out of which after proceed the motions of the affections, and out of them last of all do issue the outward actions of the body. Therefore, this dead faith doth not sincerely, at the least, assent to those things which are in the Word, as good things, but rather doth indeed reject them, and count them as evil; so the devil, who hath this faith, is said to tremble, James ii. 19. Out of which it is manifest, that the devil doth reject Christ and all his good things. For this horror ariseth out of rejecting and hating of the thing. Therefore, in one word, this historical faith pertains only to the mind, and hath that for the subject of it.

Note well.

The nature of a historical faith.

It followeth, that we speak of the nature thereof. By these things which have been spoken of the subject, it may easily be learned what is the nature of it. For it is wholly comprised but only in the general knowledge of the mind, and judgment of truth; it hath therefore one or two degrees of justifying faith. Out of all these things which we have spoken of a historical faith, it is easy

to gather the definition thereof. *For historical faith is a knowledge in the mind of the whole truth both of the Law and of the Gospel, and the judgment of the mind made thereupon, as far as it concerns the truth thereof.* And thus far concerning historical or dead faith. Historical faith defined.

Next followeth a temporary. Of this faith ye have these texts: Matt. xiii. 20, 21, *But he that received the seed in stony ground, is he who heareth the Word, and by and by receives it with joy, yet hath no root in himself, but is for a time, and when persecution and trouble ariseth because of the Word, is offended presently.* To the same purpose read Luke viii. 13. Of this faith see also Heb. vi. 4, 5, *For it cannot be, that they which have been once enlightened, and tasted of the good Word of God, and of the powers of the world to come, if they fall away,* &c. To conclude, of this faith ye have John v. 35, *He,* namely, John, *was a burning and a shining candle, and ye would for a time have rejoiced in his light.* The reason of the name is this; it is called *Temporary,* because it endures but for a time, because it hath no root. 3. Faith; a temporary faith.

It hath the same object with justifying faith, and which is properly so called, namely, Jesus Christ with his benefits, offered in the word of the Gospel and in the Sacraments; wherein it differs from historical faith, which hath for the object thereof the universal truth. It hath the same subject with justifying faith; for it hath its seat both in the mind, and also in the will and heart. The subject of a temporary faith.

Last of all, it hath as many parts of nature as the justifying hath. For it is a knowledge of the understanding, conjoined with both the judgments of the mind, and it is the apprehension of the will or heart, whereout followeth also the stirring of the affections, as of joy, delight, &c.

But that I may speak a little more largely of this apprehension, which is in temporary faith, and of this joy. First, it is certain, by the Scripture, that these things are in the temporary faith. For Christ saith in Matthew, That he, which is but for a time, doth receive the Word, and that with joy. And in John, the Jews are said to have rejoiced for a time in the light of *John Baptist.* And, How the historical and temporary faith differ one from another, and both from the justifying.

to the Hebrews, there is attributed to this faith, not only the enlightening of the mind, but also the taste of the heart, and that performed not only by the Word, but also by the Spirit; for he saith, "They which have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost." Therefore, in temporary faith, there is indeed a kind of apprehension; there is indeed a certain joy, wherein temporary faith differeth from historical faith. For in historical faith, these things are not indeed, but he that hath it doth feign, and dissemble, and lie, in his outward profession, that he hath these things; wherefore he is a shameless hypocrite. But he that hath temporary faith hath these things indeed—apprehension, I say, and joy, after a certain manner, neither doth he so feign or lie, as he that hath an historical faith; yet he is a hypocrite, because this apprehension and this joy are not sincere, albeit after a certain manner they be true.

I say, they are not sincere, because they are not for that cause for which they should be, that is, they are not for Christ himself, offered in the preaching of the Gospel; they are not for God's sake, they are not for his glory, nor for those heavenly benefits of Christ, his righteousness and eternal life; but they are for other causes, as for the newness of the Gospel, which is to be understood in that place, John v. 35, *He was a burning and a shining candle, and ye would have rejoiced for a time in his light*, namely, for the newness of the matter. Secondly, they be, because of a licentiousness to sin, which men by and by snatch to themselves, upon the hearing of free justification by Christ, and Christian liberty. To conclude, they are for riches, honours, and other commodities of this life. Now, seeing the temporising professor hath these causes propounded to himself in hearing and receiving the Word, and in rejoicing, it must needs be that these are not sincere in him. For nothing is done sincerely, unless it be done in respect of the glory of God. And herein differs Temporary Faith from Justifying. For the Justifying Faith doth all things for Christ himself, for God himself, for the heavenly and spiritual benefits of Christ, as much as it can for man's infirmity.

Sincerity.

Out of this, therefore, it follows, that the temporiser is also a hypocrite, seeing he is not sincere, and that the temporary faith is hypocritical, seeing it is not sincere. Out of that again that it is not sincere, another thing followeth, namely, that it is not sound and firm; for nothing that is not sincere can be sound. For those causes upon which it depends are not sound; as, for example, those worldly things, as riches, honours of the world, &c. In which thing temporary faith differeth from justifying faith; for justifying faith, as it is sincere, so it is sound. For of that it is said, Col. ii. 5, *And the stedfastness of your faith in Christ.* For justifying faith is, as it were, a solid body, consisting of three dimensions, length, breadth, depth, for it possesseth the depth and lowest of the heart; but temporary faith is not a body with three dimensions, but only a surface, sticking in the upper part of the heart; for it is not either a sound light, enlightening all the heart, or a sound apprehension, arising from the bottom of the heart; or, to conclude, a sound joy possessing the whole body, but all these things are only superficial in the temporary faith. Whereupon, Heb. vi. 4, that apprehension of heavenly things which is therein, is compared to tasting, or slight touching, seeing that the heart doth but, as it were, with the tip of the tongue, lightly taste those heavenly things, and not quite drink them up, and receive them into itself.

Temporiser is a hypocrite.

The difference between a temporary faith and that of justifying faith.

Again, out of this, that temporary faith is not sound, another thing also followeth, namely, that it doth not endure for ever, but only for a time. For that which is not sound, is not durable and perpetual; but only temporary. Wherein also it differeth from justifying faith, which, as it is sound, so it is perpetual and constant. From this property this faith took her name, and was called temporary; now this property doth presuppose the two others going before; namely, first, that it is not sound; secondly, that it is not sincere, albeit it be in some sort true.

While I consider somewhat more diligently of the cause of these three properties, I find that it is not to be imputed so much to those outward things for which this faith doth apprehend Christ in the Word, and rejoiceth in him, as to the inward evil affection of

the heart. For the heart of man, as Christ saith, is stony ground; that is, it is neither good nor honest of its own nature. Now, we measure this goodness and honesty, chiefly by simplicity and sincerity, which is opposed to hypocrisy and dissembling. Therefore, a deep hypocrisy, which is contrary to sincerity, possesseth the heart of man. Now, the heart, so affected, doth believe, apprehend and rejoice, not sincerely, for a true cause, for which it ought to do these things, but for other worldly causes. It followeth, therefore, that the cause of these evils doth lurk in the heart.

A good admonition for a temporiser.

Wherefore, if any man will not be a temporiser, let him above all things look to his heart, and sift and examine it diligently, night and day, so long till he feel that the faith of Christ takes root in the bottom of his heart, and doth throughout possess the whole heart, as much as may be.

Out of these things which we have spoken, touching the properties of this faith, and of the cause of them, a mark may be taken, whereby any one may discern true and justifying faith from temporary. And that is, sincerity; in a word, sincerity in doing, in believing, in apprehending, in rejoicing, and in doing all things throughout the whole course of the life. Now, sincerity is known by this, if all things be done and performed by us for God and for Christ, whether those things be of small or great moment. *Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God,* 1 Cor. x. 31.

Temporary faith defined.

By these things which have been spoken, it is easy to gather a definition of this faith. *For temporary faith is a knowledge in the mind, and an apprehension in the will, of Christ with all his benefits; but yet temporary, or enduring but for a time.* And thus much of temporary faith.

The miraculous faith followeth, which is the third improper signification of the word faith. Touching this faith these are testimonies: Matt. xvii. 20, *If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed.* 1 Cor.

4. Miraculous faith.

xiii. 2, *If I had all faith, so that I could remove mountains.* The reason of the name is this; It is termed miraculous from the effect of it, because it is powerful to do miracles.

The object thereof is not the bare general Word of God, but ra-

ther a special promise or revelation made to some one, touching the doing of some certain miracle. Now that the bare general Word sufficeth not, it appeareth hereby, for because many holy men have had faith in the general Word, yea, they have justifying faith in the promise of grace; and yet could do no miracles. Simon Magus believed by an historical faith in the general Word, and yet he could do no miracles; therefore he would have bought this faculty with money for a price, Acts viii. 18. Unless, therefore, unto the general Word there be added a special promise or revelation, it is no miraculous faith; which is a certain special and extraordinary gift of the Spirit. Wherein the adversaries do err very much, who think that the general Word sufficeth for this, to make a miraculous faith.[1] The subject of it is the mind, first understanding, and withal judging the special promise; and then the will or the heart apprehending that which is promised.

The subject of miraculous faith.

The parts of the nature thereof are; a knowledge with a judgment of the mind, and an apprehension with the will and heart. Out of these things now spoken, I gather this definition of this faith; that *Miraculous faith is a knowledge in the mind, and an apprehension with the will, of a special promise or revelation, for the doing of a miracle.* Thus far of miraculous faith; and in sum, of the true doctrine of faith.

Miraculous faith defined.

[1] Respondeo; In his omnibus locis, vocabulum fidei accipitur pro vera fide Catholica, qua credimus id omne, quod Deus revelat; non pro fiducia, aut confidentia. Quamvis illud verum sit, fidem qua impetrantur miracula, magna [magnam] esse debere, ut etiam gignat fiduciam quandam impetrandi quod petitur. Nam propterea dixit Dominus Chananeæ: *O mulier, magna est fides tua.* Matt. xiii. et Apostolus 1 Cor. xiii. *Si habuero omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferam.* Esse autem fidem miraculorum, fidem ipsam Catholicam, supra probavimus ex ca. ult. Marci, et ex hoc ipso loco, 1 Cor. xiii.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 750.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE OPINION OF THE ADVERSARIES CONCERNING FAITH.

It followeth now that we see briefly what the adversaries do hold touching Faith. First, they do not acknowledge the divers significations of Faith; they entreat only of one faith, and that they term justifying; that is, as they expound the word, that which disposeth us to justice, being to be infused after in the time thereof.[1] Thus thinks Bellarmin in his Treatise touching Faith.[2]

The Popish opinion of faith.

In this doctrine of faith, which they term justifying, they differ from us, first about the object of it. Indeed, they do not deny that the object of faith is the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, offered in the Gospel; that is, that it is the Gospel, and the promises of grace concerning Christ, and God's mercy in him. But they will have the object to be not only the word of the Gospel, but equally the universal word of God.[3]

[1] In its proper time. Original: *suo tempore.*

[2] Fidem historicam, et miraculorum, et promissionum unam et eandem esse docent [Catholici;] atque illam unam non esse proprie notitiam, aut fiduciam, sed assensum certum, atque firmissimum, ob auctoritatem primæ veritatis, et hanc unam esse fidem justificantem.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 731. Catholici contra, ac præsertim synodus ipsa Tridentina, (quam omnes Catholici ut magistram sequuntur,) sess. 6, cap. 6. Septem actus enumerat, quibus impii ad justitiam disponuntur, videlicet, fidei, timoris, spei, dilectionis, pœnitentiæ, propositi suscipiendi sacramenti, et propositi novæ vitæ, atque observationis mandatorum Dei.—*Ibid.* p. 755. At nos per obedientiam Christi justos multos existimamus in eo sensu, ut merito obedientiæ Christi reconcilietur nobis Deus, et ab eo justitia donemur, quæ sit qualitas animæ nostræ, infusa et inhærens.—*Ibid.* p. 412.

[3] Itaque tribus in rebus ab hæreticis Catholici dissentiunt; PRIMUM, in objecto fidei justificantis, quod hæretici restringunt ad solam promissionem misericordiæ specialis, Catholici tam late patere volunt, quam late patet verbum Dei; quin potius certam promissionem specialis misericordiæ, non tam ad fidem, quam præsumptionem pertinere contendunt. DEINDE in facultate et potentia animi quæ sedes est fidei. Si quidem illi fidem collocant in voluntate, cum fiduciam esse definiunt; ac per hoc eam cum spe confundunt. Fiducia enim nihil est aliud,

To confirm this opinion of theirs, they allege[1] that definition of faith which is set down, Heb. chap. xi. 1. *Faith*, saith the Apostle, *is the ground of things that are hoped for, and the evidence of things which are not seen.*[2] "This," say they, "is the definition of justifying faith. But this definition stretcheth itself not only to Christ, to the promises of God, and to the Gospel concerning him; but also to the whole word of God, and to all things that are contained in the word of God. For example; it stretcheth itself to the word of God, which is concerning the creation of the world, as is evident by ver. 3, which followeth in the same chapter; *By faith we understand that the world was ordained by the word of God.*" Hence they conclude, that justifying faith hath the whole word for the object of it. But to this we answer; that not only justifying faith is defined by the Apostle in that place, but that that definition [of faith] is common to all the significations of faith, as is plain enough by that induction of examples which followeth in that place and chapter.

Neither is that their argument, which they gather out of the coherence of the text, of any force. They say, "that that faith is defined, of which the Apostle spake in the last verses of the chapter going afore; *Now the just shall live by faith*, &c. But there the Apostle spake of justifying faith; therefore here, in the xi. chapter, justifying faith is defined." I answer, this definition, I confess, doth belong to justifying faith, but not to that alone; but it is common to it with other significations of faith, as with historical faith, and miraculous, &c., as is evident by the induction that followeth. Seeing, therefore, that this definition doth not only be-

Heb. xi. 1. A general definition of faith common to all kinds of faith.

nisi spes roborata, ut S. Thomas docet in 2. 2, q. 129, artic. 6. Catholici fidem in intellectu sedem habere docent. DENIQUE, in ipso actu intellectus. Ipsi enim per notitiam fidem definiunt, nos per assensum. Assentimur enim Deo quamvis ea nobis credenda proponat, quæ non intelligimus.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 731.

[1] See Bellarmin, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, lib. vi. cap. 5.

[2] As there is some doubt as to the words here translated *ground* and *evidence*, it is proper to remark, that our Author gives, without translating them, the Greek words, ὑπόστασις and ἔλεγχος.

long to justifying faith, it followeth that out of this definition they get not that they would have, namely, that the object of justifying faith is equally the universal word of God. Therefore, let the object thereof properly be that which it apprehendeth; and that is the Gospel, and the promise concerning Christ.

Secondly, they dissent from us about this same special object, namely, the mercy of God in Christ. For we say and affirm, that the object of justifying faith is not only a general mercy, nor only a general promise touching Christ, but much rather a special mercy, and a special promise; that is, mercy offered in the Gospel, not in common to all, but peculiarly to me, or to thee. For albeit the promises and sentences of the Gospel be conceived generally, yet it is certain, that they are to be received particularly by every one, as if they were spoken to every one in several; as, for example, John iii. 15, the promise of the Covenant of Grace is conceived generally in these words; *Whosoever believeth in the Son shall not perish, but have life everlasting.* This promise is indeed generally conceived, but it is to be understood particularly and singularly by every one, as if it had been spoken to me, or to thee; "If thou believest in the Son, thou shalt not perish, but have everlasting life." The Apostle, 1 Tim. i. 15, doth understand this general sentence, namely, that *Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners*, no otherwise than if it had been pronounced only concerning himself; whereupon he doth apply it particularly unto himself, assuming by name, that *he is the sinner*, and concluding, at the least secretly, that Christ came into the world to save him by name. We may make trial of this thing by those promises that are made specially in the Gospel to save certain men, as to the man sick of the palsy, Matt. ix. 2; to the woman that was a sinner, Luke vii. 48; to the adulteress, John viii. 11; to Zaccheus, Luke xix. 9; to the thief, Luke xxiii. 43. For the Spirit of Christ, when any general promise or sentence touching Christ and his mercy is alleged, doth no less particularly now apply the same to every man, by speaking inwardly to the heart of every one, than at that time Christ did by his holy voice apply those particular promises to some certain persons. Rom. iii. 22, when

How the believer is to make a syllogism in form.

the righteousness of God is said to belong to all believers, and that without distinction, it is plainly signified that that righteousness is offered to men of every sort and condition, and also propounded to every several person. 1 Tim. ii. 4, after he hath admonished that we are to pray for all men, he addeth, *that God will have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth.* Out of which it followeth, that in the publishing of the Gospel, God hath respect not only of all men in common, but also distinctly of every several person; which regard also he will have us to have in our prayers. What need many words? For if there were nothing else that did teach this, the administration of the Sacraments alone hath force enough in it to prove, that the mercy of God in Christ is offered specially to every one. For in both the sacraments, the seals of that mercy are given and offered to every one severally. And let this suffice to show that special mercy, as it is called, is the object properly of justifying faith, against which our adversaries hold.

The mercy of God in Christ offered generally to all the world, particularly applied to every one by the Spirit, is the object of justifying faith.

The object of justifying faith being made to be a general mercy, it followeth, that faith, in the opinion of our adversaries, is a general, and not a special assent.[1] For seeing there is only a general mercy propounded generally to the Church, and not offered particularly to the several members thereof, how can any particular man challenge that particularly to himself, which is not spoken and offered particularly? But we affirm, that justifying faith is that whereby every believer doth particularly, not only assent to the promise that it is true in itself, but also apprehends with the heart the promised thing, and applies it properly to himself. For this being made plain, that the mercy of God was particularly offered to every one, it followeth, that faith must be particular. But for the proof hereof, there are almost infinite testimonies of the Scriptures. We will be content with but a few. Gal. ii. 20, *And the life that I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.* Mark here, he doth by faith peculiarly apply to himself the Son of God, and his life, his love, and his death. Neither is there any cause why any one should

[1] See p. 212, note 3.

say, that this might be lawful for the Apostle, who had some extraordinary revelation of that thing, but that it is not lawful to the common sort of Christians; inasmuch as the Apostle doth in this place bear the person of[1] every Christian and believing man. Rom. viii. 38, *For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life,* &c. Mark here that special trust and particular application is pointed at by the verb of the singular number. Beside, that which is cited out of Habakkuk (ii. 4) by the Apostle,[2] *The just shall live by faith,* doth sufficiently insinuate a special faith; for thereby is signified that every just person doth live by his faith, that is, by a special assent to, and application of, the righteousness of God in Christ. Matt. chap. ix. 2, a particular faith is commended to the man sick of the palsy, to whom it was said, *Son, be of good comfort, thy sins be forgiven thee.* John iii. 36, when it is said, *He that believeth in the Son hath eternal life;* that very same special faith is signified, which is when every one doth assent particularly to, and apply to himself, everlasting life offered to himself. What need many words? The same thing doth that verb, I *believe,* which is found in the Apostles' Creed, teach; for to believe, is there specially and particularly[3] to believe.

Out of the general mercy, and general faith of the adversaries, followeth the uncertainty of particular faith, and of God's peculiar grace, which they defend.[4] For it is easily discerned, that uncertainty doth follow necessarily out of that generality; first, a doubtfulness of mercy, then of faith. For when as mercy is propounded and offered, not specially, but generally, and when there is only a general assent of faith, how can I be certain of that mercy, which pertains not certainly by name to me?

The certainty of faith.

But that there is a certainty of faith, against which they hold,

[1] That is, represent. Original: *sustineat personam.*

[2] Rom. i. 17; Gal. iii. 11; Heb. x. 38.

[3] Individually. Original: *individuo.*

[4] Sicut nemo pius de Dei misericordia, de Christi merito, deque Sacramentorum virtute et efficacia dubitare debet; sic quilibet dum seipsum, suamque propriam infirmitatem et indispositionem, respicit, de sua gratia formidare et timere potest. Cum nullus scire valeat, certitudine fidei, cui non potest subesse falsum, se gratiam Dei esse consecutum.—*Concil. Trident.* sess. 6, c. 9.

first, it easily appeareth by those things which have been spoken of, God's special mercy, and special faith. For seeing mercy is offered particularly to thee and to me, &c., and I again assent particularly to it; now am I certain of that mercy that it is mine specially, seeing I do already by faith and special application possess it. *For Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith*,[1] that is, we now possess Christ, and do enjoy him as present. Of this special certainty, see Rom. iv. 16, *The inheritance is of faith, that it may be by grace, to the end the promise may be firm to the seed.* And in the same chapter, ver. 18, *Which Abraham against hope believed under hope.* But hereof there is a notable place, Heb. vi. 18, *That by two immutable things, in which it is not possible that God should lie, we might have strong consolation, which have our refuge*[2] *to hold fast the hope that is set before us.* Where you see, first, that God hath promised it; secondly, that he hath bound himself by an oath, that is, that he hath declared the unchangeableness of his counsel for saving of us by two immutable things, to this end, that we might have strong consolation. Now the comfort is not strong, unless it rise out of our firm and certain assent, whereby we consent to the truth of God's promise. For if our assent waver and be uncertain, certainly there can no strong consolation arise out of our assent. Secondly, that it may be a strong consolation, some general certainty of our assent is not sufficient, but it must needs be a special and particular certainty of assent, whereby, to wit, I am certain, that that is promised is true of me. For what consolation at all, much less a strong consolation, can that be, when as I am certain that the promise concerning Christ doth belong only in general to the Church, and not to myself also in particular? Nay, rather in that very thing is the grief increased, when one sees that the benefits of Christ pertain to others, but not to himself at all. Note.

But to the end that this which we speak of, touching certainty and uncertainty, may be the more manifest, we must search into

[1] Eph. iii. 17.

[2] Who have hastened our flight thither. Original: *qui cursum eo corripuimus.* —Beza's translation of καταφυγόντες.

this point a little more deeply. In general, therefore, certainty is either of the thing or of the person. Concerning the certainty of the thing, and the firm truth thereof, there is no question. The certainty of the person apprehending the object is nothing else but the firmness of the judgment or the assent of the mind, consenting to the truth of some thing or sentence. Wherefore, certainty is nothing else but a certain property of the judgment, or of the assent of our mind. And seeing the assent of the mind is twofold, either general, when I generally assent to the truth of some sentence that it is true, as, for example, concerning the universal Church; or it is special, when as I assent to the truth of any sentence that it is true, even of me and of each particular; seeing, I say, there is a twofold assent of the mind, it followeth that there is a twofold certainty, one general, namely, the property of a general assent; the other special, namely, the property of a special assent.

The certainty of faith.

Now, that we may come to the state of the controversy; The question is not concerning general certainty, but all the controversy is of the special certainty of a special assent, which they call the certainty of grace or of special mercy. For we do affirm and defend the certainty of special grace; but they oppugn this same certainty of special grace, but, I pray, with what arguments? First, they say, "that in the Gospel no mercy is anywhere offered and promised to any particular, or any one man; therefore there can be no certainty of special grace."[1] I answer, and do invert the argument. In the Gospel grace is promised and offered, not only in general to all, but in special to every one, as we have taught before; wherefore the certainty of a special grace is required in every one.

What the controversy is concerning a particular faith.

Now, to those things which we said touching special mercy offered to several persons, I add these few things, to the end that the whole matter may more clearly appear, and to the end that we may learn

[1] Non potest aliquid certum esse certitudine fidei, nisi aut immediate contineatur in verbo Dei; aut ex verbo Dei per evidentem consequentiam deducatur: Fides enim non est, nisi verbi divini auctoritate nitatur. Neque de hoc principio vel Catholici, vel hæretici dubitant. At in verbo Dei non continetur immediate particularis ista propositio, Talis vel talis homo vere justificatus est.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 866.

by sense and experience itself, that grace is offered to every one by God. The Spirit of Christ only is Christ's vicar on earth, who teacheth and instructeth us in those things which Christ spake, and which are written in the Gospel. Now this Spirit teacheth, not only generally, that the promises and sentence in the Gospel touching Christ and his benefits are true of the whole Church, but much more that they are true of that special and particular man whom he inwardly teacheth. And sith the Spirit of adoption doth *testify with our spirit that we are the sons of God,* Rom. viii. 16, this testimony of the Holy Ghost is not general concerning the whole Church, that they which are in the Church be the sons of God; but it is a special testimony of me and of thee that I am the son of God, and that thou art the son of God. Besides, 1 Cor. chap. ii. 10, it is said of the Spirit, that *he searcheth even the deep things of God,* that is, the Spirit which is given to every one, and which dwelleth in every one, doth search that grace and mercy in Christ Jesus which lieth hid in the deep, and makes it to be known to every one. For the Spirit of God dwelleth in me, reveals to me that which is hid in the very heart of God. Now I demand whether he reveal to me some general mercy only, belonging in general only to the Church; or whether he reveal to me that special mercy hid in God, which belongs to me peculiarly? Certainly there is no man to whom this Spirit dwelling in him hath at any time revealed any grace that lieth hid in God, but he will constantly affirm, that by the Holy Spirit there is revealed to every one not a general mercy, I know not what rough draught of mercy; but a special mercy belonging particularly to himself. Wherefore these same defenders of general grace and mercy only seem to me to be only natural men and not spiritual; of whom that of the Apostle may be truly spoken, *The natural man perceiveth not the things which are of the Spirit of God,* 1 Cor. ii. 14.

The Spirit of Christ is his only vicar on earth.

Defenders of general grace are but mere natural men.

Secondly, they say, "that it is not expedient that every one should be certain of his own grace, righteousness, and salvation, for certainty breedeth pride, but uncertainty humility."[1] I answer, cer-

[1] Tertia ratio probabit, non expedire ut homines habeant ordinarie certitu-

tainty is a gift of the Spirit regenerating, which is bestowed only upon the elect; I speak of true and sound special certainty, which is the property of true justifying faith. Can it therefore be spoken without blasphemy, that the Holy Spirit and justifying faith is the cause of the greatest of all evils that are, and that the worst of all, that is, of pride?[1] Nay, rather the uncertainty of a man is utterly the property of one that exalts himself against God, even when he promiseth and offereth special mercy, and binds it with an oath.

Thirdly, they say, "certainty of special mercy is a special prerogative of some certain men, to whom God was pleased to reveal extraordinarily some special mercy proper unto them. Is, therefore, a special prerogative which belongs but to some, and but to a few men, to be reckoned among God's common or spiritual graces?"[2] I answer, it is false that the certainty of special grace is a special prerogative of some certain men. For if justifying faith be reckoned among the good things and gifts of all Christians, and this special certainty be the property of justifying faith, with what face dare any deny this gift of special certainty to the common sort of Christians? Is it because it was revealed but to some certain and few of them, that their sins are forgiven, as to that man

dinem de propria gratia. *Nam* (ut Sanctus Augustinus ait in lib. de Corrept. et Gratia, c. 13) *in hoc loco tentationis tanta est infirmitas, ut superbiam possit generare securitas.* Unde etiam S. Gregorius scribit lib. 9 Moralium, cap. 17, *Si scimus nos gratiam habere, superbimus.* Et ipse Dominus, Luc. 17, per parabolam Pharisæi et Publicani ostendit, eos qui se justos esse confidunt, facile se cæteris anteponere, eosque despicere; *Non sum,* aiunt, *sicuti cæteri hominum, velut etiam hic Publicanus.* Contra autem ignoratio hujus secreti humilitatem conservat et auget, facit enim ut se fideles superiores arbitrentur, et unus alium honore præveniat.—Bellarmin, vol. iv. p. 868.

[1] Of the worst evil of all, that is, pride. Original: *mali omnium pessimi, hoc est, superbiæ.*

[2] Quarta ratio docebit, re ipsa fidelibus ejusmodi certitudinem non adesse. Nam in primis quibusdam singulari beneficio revelatum esse constat, ipsis remissa fuisse peccata. Id enim testatur de Sancto Antonio Magnus Athanasius, in ejus vita; de Sancta Galla S. Gregorius in lib. 4 Dialogorum, cap. 13; de Sancto Francisco, Sanctus Bonaventura in ejus vita, c. 3; nec desunt alia ejusdem generis exempla. Quorsum autem Deus id certis hominibus revelaret, quasi speciali prærogativa, si fidelibus omnibus esset notitia ista communis?—Bellarmin, *ibid.*

sick of the palsy, to that sinner,[1] to Zaccheus, to the thief, is therefore this gift of certainty no other but special and extraordinary? Nay, we have already said, that the special mercy of God is no less now promised and offered to every several and particular person—as, to me, and to thee—than it was offered in times past to those men by Christ's express words.

Fourthly, "the holiest men," say they, "have bewrayed with a lamentable voice, at the very point of death, and do bewray daily, the uncertainty of their salvation.[2] Therefore there is not that certainty of mercy and life which we say there is." I answer, there is much difference between that which is and that which ought to be. This argument doth only conclude that which is; that is, that there is an uncertainty, but it concludes not that there ought to be uncertainty; nay, it concludes against it, that it ought not to be. For they that weep and lament for the uncertainty of their own salvation do thereby declare, that there ought not to be an uncertainty; but our adversaries do reckon the uncertainty of our own salvation among the chief Christian virtues. Secondly, I answer, that out of that complaint of holy men, being ready to give up the ghost, the certainty of special mercy doth never a whit the less follow than the uncertainty. For that speech riseth out of that war that is between the Spirit and the flesh, between faith and unbelief, between certainty and uncertainty. Wherefore it is no less an argument of certainty than of uncertainty; nay, it argueth that in that war certainty hath the upper hand.

M. Rollock argueth of the conflicts of the godly in their death, that have a good faith.

Fifthly, they say, "the best may fall from grace and faith; therefore what certainty can there be of special mercy and salvation?"[3] I answer, they which are endued only with temporary grace and faith,

[1] To the woman that was a sinner. Original: *peccatrici mulieri.* See Luke vii. 48; and the same list in p. 214.

[2] Deinde non minus constat, alios quosdam, alioqui perfectissimos, in obitu suo propter hoc incertum non mediocriter trepidasse. . . . At certe si viri etiam sanctissimi propter incertitudinem gratiæ, et abyssum judiciorum Dei trepidant, quomodo credibile erit, omnibus fidelibus certitudinem adesse de propria gratia atque justitia?—Bellarmin, *ibid.*

[3] See Bellarmin, *De Justificatione*, lib. iii. c. 14, entitled, *Fidem ac justitiam non esse propriam electorum, et semel habitam amitti posse.*

Of falling from grace.

both may indeed fall, and do fall away; but those which are endued with true justifying faith, and with regenerating grace, can neither fall away totally nor finally. Now that comes to pass, not in regard of the men themselves, for of their own nature they are prone to final and total defection, such is their infirmity and weakness, but it comes to pass, by the nature, as I may speak, of that grace and gift of God which is given in Christ Jesus, *For the gifts and calling of God are such as that he cannot repent himself of them*, Rom. xi. 29.

Sixthly, they object testimonies of Scripture,[1] those chiefly which commend unto us care, thought, and endeavour for the keeping and preserving of grace. As, *He that standeth, let him take heed lest he fall*, 1 Cor. x. 12. Also 2 Cor. vi. 1, Paul exhorts the Corinthians *that they receive not grace in vain*. To conclude, Christ admonisheth that we should *watch* and pray, to say nothing of those places wherein fear is commended to us, as Rom. xi. 20, *Thou standest by faith; be not high-minded, but fear*. And in another place, *Work out your salvation with fear and trembling*.

The Papists cite it thus ever, but falsely; for the text is, ὁ δοκῶν ἑστάναι, and so it is against them.2

Phil. ii. 12.

Out of these and the like places, they say, followeth doubting of a man's own grace and salvation. "For why should there be such commandments given, unless it might be so that one might fall from grace and faith? and therefore that he ought to doubt of his own grace and salvation." I answer, that out of these and the like places, it followeth there is no perseverance in grace, unless there be joined a care, thought, and labour to keep grace. For care and thought is set, God so ordaining it, to be, as it were, the keeper and watchman to grace; forbidding, that a man fall not into carnal security, which is the enemy of grace; and this thought and care is given with grace, yea, and itself is a kind of special grace, and a companion of grace, which never departeth from her side; for where grace is, there is always surely some thought and care to

Christian care and fear, how good.

[1] See Bellarmin, *ibid.* c. 12, entitled, *Refellitur error de certitudine Prædestinationis.*

[2] This had escaped Rollock's notice. In the original he quotes Bellarmin's version, *(Qui stat, videat ne cadat,)* as he does in the quotation from Philippians.

retain that grace, which is never all quite lost, even as grace itself is never wholly lost, for it is ever in proportion to the grace. For when there is great grace there is great care, and when there is but a small grace, the care is but little. And because God knoweth how necessary this care is, which is the companion and preserver of grace, therefore doth he so often in the Scriptures stir us up unto care, and commendeth it unto us. And all these exhortations are nothing else but so many outcries, as it were, whereby this care, which we said is the watchman and keeper of grace, is stirred up and provoked to do her duty; that is, to keep grace, and drive away carnal security, which is an enemy to grace, and which would, except care stood upon her watch, utterly abolish grace itself, as faith, regeneration, righteousness, and life. Wherefore, out of these and the like places, care and not doubting, virtue and not vice, do follow. For doubting hath been ever reckoned in the Scriptures among the worst evils, and of most enmity to God and man.

Subject of justifying faith with Papists.

Now, let us speak of the subject of justifying faith, what that is, according to the mind of our adversaries. They make the mind only to be the subject; and in the mind only one faculty properly, which is, that that judgeth and assenteth to the truth of any sentence;[1] but of the will and heart, they speak nothing, when yet justifying faith doth chiefly belong to the heart, as we have said before.

Parts of the nature of justifying faith with Papists.

For the parts of the nature of justifying faith, they make not so many as we. For as touching knowledge, which is the first part of justifying faith, either they say that it is not necessary, or else that some obscure knowledge will suffice; which thing they labour to prove by this reason. "There is," say they,[2] "a double assent of the mind, whereby we consent to the truth of any sentence. The first assent is, when we consent unto it for some reason or cause;

[1] See p. 212, note 3.

[2] Judicium autem sive assensus duplex est. Alter enim sequitur rationem et evidentiam rei, alter auctoritatem proponentis; prior dicitur notitia, (si proprie loqui velimus,) posterior fides.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 739.

and this is termed knowledge. This assent doth necessarily require knowledge to go before it, to the truth whereof we assent. The latter assent is, when we assent to the truth of a sentence, not for some reason, but for the authority of him that speaketh: this assent is called faith; but it doth not require that the knowledge of that thing whereto assent is given should go before it, being content only with the bare authority of the speaker. Out of this distinction and difference of assent," say they, "it followeth, that in faith there is no need of knowledge, seeing faith is an assent, whereby we do agree to the truth of some sentence, being induced not by any reason or cause, but by the authority of the speaker."

To this reason we answer, and, first, we do grant this difference of assents; but we deny that that assent, which is yielded because of the authority of the speaker, hath no need of knowledge to go before it. For that it may be justifying faith to us, it is required that that which is spoken by God himself be some manner of way understood by us. For God doth not require that of us, that we should assent to his word and voice because of the bare authority of him that testifieth, when as we understand them not at all.

Secondly, they reason out of that definition of faith, Heb. xi. 1, *Faith is the ground*[1] *of things that are hoped for, and the evidence of those things that are not seen.* "Here," say they, "we see faith of things unknown, namely, of such things as are to be hoped for, and as are not seen."[2] But, say I, these two words, *ground* and *evidence*, do argue sufficiently, that those things which are hoped for, and not seen, are, in the meantime, in some sort present, and seen of us. Whereupon Paul, 2 Cor. chap. iv. 18, saith, *While we look not on those things which are seen, but on those things which are not seen.* Here

ὑπόστασις, ἔλεγχος.

The Popish implicit faith.

[1] The same remark as was made p. 213, note 2, applies to this whole passage wherever *ground* and *evidence* occur.

[2] See Bellarmin, *De Justificatione*, lib. i. c. 5, entitled, *Refellitur ex cap.* xi. *ad Hebr. hæreticorum error de notione fidei justificantis.* Bellarmin translates ὑπόστασις by *substantia*, ἔλεγχος by *argumentum*, which he explains, after Augustin, by *demonstratio* seu *convictio*. Itaque definitio fidei, he says, ab Apostolo tradita duas continet fidei proprietates; unam, quod faciat in animo subsistere ea, quæ sperantur futura; alteram quod intellectum faciat iis assentiri, quæ non intelligit.

you see that even those things which are not seen, nor object to these eyes of our bodies, are yet seen and beheld with the spiritual eyes of our faith. And this is their opinion touching the knowledge of faith, which tendeth to this purpose, to establish that faith which they term implicit or infolded[1] faith.

Concerning that assent which we said is the second part of justifying faith, they do place the nature of faith only in that assent, which is yielded in regard of the truth of a thing; for they speak nothing of the assent or judgment of goodness, and they make that same judgment of truth, which they hold, to be only general; namely, whereby one doth judge that some sentence is true, not of himself, but, in general, of the whole Church:[2] when as notwithstanding that judgment, as well of truth as of goodness, which is the property of faith, is rather particular; yea, a very peculiar grace, which, in the Scripture, is called that full assurance, as we have said before. πληροφορία.

Touching the third part of faith, which we termed the confidence of the heart, they do not acknowledge it. For they say "that confidence is nothing else but hope strengthened,[3] and a certain effect of faith;" whereas notwithstanding confidence, which the Greeks term πεποίθησις, is a certain motion of the will or heart not expecting, but in present apprehending some good, and depending thereupon, and rejoicing therein as present. Furthermore, πίστις and πεποίθησις, that is, faith and affiance, are of the same root. For both of them come from the verb πείθομαι, which signifieth to persuade.[4] Besides, the verb πείθομαι is taken everywhere by the Apostle for "to be persuaded, to believe," and not "to hope:" Rom. viii. 38, πέπεισμαι, that is, *I am persuaded that neither life, nor death, nor things present, nor things to come*, &c.: Phil. i. 6, πέπεισμαι,[5] *I am persuaded that he that* Confidence and faith of the same root in Greek.

[1] This etymological hint is not in the original, which simply has, *quam ipsi implicitam vocant.* I can find in Bellarmin no notice of *fides implicita.*

[2] See Bellarmin, *De Justificatione*, cc. 8, 9, 10, 11.

[3] *Spes roborata.*

[4] The original has *persuadere.* But, comparing this with the next sentence it is evident that this is a misprint for *persuaderi*, and that we should here have, to be persuaded.

[5] This should be πεποιθώς. The same mistake occurs in the original.

hath begun in you a good work, &c.: 2 Cor. v. 11, *Knowing, therefore, the terror of the Lord*, ἀνθρώπους πείθομεν, *we persuade* or *draw men to the faith*. I grant that the name πεποίθησις is sometimes taken for confidence, which is a consequent of faith, and a certain property of it; for it comes to pass, that he which believeth or trusteth doth depend on him in whom he placeth his trust. Of this signification of πεποίθησις, read Eph. iii. 12, *In whom we have freedom, and access with confidence*, ἐν πεποιθήσει, *by faith in him*.

Out of these things which we have spoken, it is easy to gather a definition of faith, according to their opinion, who take justifying faith to be nothing else than that whereby every one doth, in general, assent to the truth of the word of God, and that for the authority of the speaker; which definition, what else is it, I pray you, than a general notion of faith, and such as is common to all the significations of faith, which we set down before? From this definition of justifying faith, they gather, and that truly, that justifying faith may be in every wicked and heinous sinner.[1] For in him this general assent may be, which cannot be denied to the very devils, as James[2] witnesseth. "The devils," saith he, "believe and tremble;" and yet they call this justifying and true faith, though not living. For they distinguish between true and living faith. "True faith," they say, "is even that which worketh not by love, yea, though it be dead;"[3] but a living faith they term "that which worketh by love as by her form, and not as an instrument," whereupon they term this by another name, *formed faith*.[4]

A Popish definition of faith.

A Popish definition of faith.

[1] See Bellarmin, *De Justificatione*, lib. i. c. 15, entitled, *Fidem veram posse re ipsa a dilectione, aliisque virtutibus separari.* [2] II. 19.

[3] Fides sine operibus non est falsa sed vera tametsi mortua dicatur.—Bellarmin, vol. iv. p. 607.

[4] Distinctio vero unius fidei in formatam et informem ab Apostolis Christi Paulo et Jacobo manifestissime traditur. Nam quid, quæso, interest, si dicamus fidem vivam et mortuam, vel formatam et informem? Certe enim res viva, per aliquam formam vivit, et res mortua propter absentiam alicujus formæ mortua est. Fidem autem vivam et mortuam Jacobus appellat in epistola sua, capite 2. Sed Apostolus Paulus non solum docet fidem charitate formari, sed etiam explicat dilectionem formam esse extrinsecam fidei, non intrinsecam, et quæ det illi, non ut sit, sed ut moveatur, ac per hoc sive dilectione non desinat esse fides, sed desinat esse res actuosa et operans.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 813.

But we do utterly deny this distinction of true and living faith; for we take true faith and living faith for one and the same; even as one and the same man is true and living, and as true and living man is so termed from his soul or form, so also true or living faith is so termed from her soul or form, which consists in full assurance and trust, as we have said, without which faith is nothing else but a carcase, even as a man without a soul is not so much a man as a carcase and dead body.

But they endeavour to prove out of James ii., last verse, that even dead faith, and not living, is nevertheless true faith. "As the body is to the soul, so is faith unto works; but the body, without the soul, is a true body, albeit not living; therefore faith, without works, is a true faith, although not living." [1] I answer, that this is a sophistical argument; for the comparison of the body and faith, which James maketh, is not in the truth, but in the death of them; and James assumes and concludes out of that proposition: *But the body without the spirit is dead; wherefore, also, faith without works is dead.* For between faith and the body this is the difference; one and the same body may be dead and true, but faith is not both true and dead, even as a man is not both true and dead; for as a man is a compound thing, of his body and his soul, so faith is a certain compound thing, as it were, of her body and of her soul, the tokens or signs whereof are the actions. Wherefore, in James the comparison is made between a simple and a compound; the simple thing, which is the body void of the soul; the compound, which is faith. And the comparison is of force in that wherein it is made; namely, in the death of both, and not in other things.

And so much of justifying faith, according to the opinion of our adversaries, as also of the whole doctrine of faith.

[1] Deinde comparat [Jacobus] fidem sine operibus corpori sine spiritu, quod certum est, verum esse corpus, licet mortuum.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 766.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF HOPE.

Hope.

HOPE followeth faith; for that apprehension of Jesus Christ, with his benefits, offered in the word and sacraments, which is the property of faith, doth give hopes unto us that we shall one day enjoy Christ present. The Apostle, Rom. v. 4, saith, that *experience breeds hope.* Now, by faith we get experience,[1] and, as Peter saith, we taste, how good the Lord is; wherefore, it must needs be, that faith begets hope.

Object of hope the same in substance with the object of faith, and how they differ.

That we may therefore speak of hope, it must, first of all, be seen what is the object thereof. The object of faith and hope is the same in substance, namely, Jesus Christ with his benefits. Heb. xi. 1, it is said, that *faith is the ground*[2] *of things that are hoped for.* It may be again said, that hope is of those things which are believed, or which have, after a sort, a being by faith. By these things it is evident, that the object of faith and hope is the same thing in substance or effect.

Yet the object of hope differeth in reason[3] from the object of faith. The chief difference is this, that the object of faith is Christ in the word and sacraments, or the word concerning Christ and the sacraments, which shadoweth him. Wherefore, the object of faith is a certain image of Christ, which is propounded to us to be looked upon in the glass of the word and sacraments. Whereupon, 2 Cor. iii. 18, we are said, *with open face, to behold, as in a glass, and to be transformed into the image* which we behold in that glass. But the object of hope is Christ with his benefits, not, indeed, appearing to us in the word and sacraments, but appearing as he

[1] Simply: we experience; expressed in 1 Peter ii. 3—*ye have tasted,* ἐγεύσασθε.

[2] See p. 224, note 2.

[3] Rather: in the way in which it is viewed. That is, Faith views Christ's image; Hope, Christ himself.

is, and, as I may say, in his own person. For hope is not settled upon that image of Christ which we behold in a glass by faith, but upon the face of Christ himself, which we hope we shall see at the last. Phil. iii. 20, *from whence also we look for the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ.* Tit. ii. 13, *Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious coming of the great God, our Saviour Jesus Christ.* 1 John iii. 2, 3, *Because we shall see him as he is;* and *whosoever hath this hope in him,* that is, he that hopes that he shall see him as he is. By these things it appeareth that hope hath for its object the very face of Jesus Christ. There be three things which are conversant about one Christ, Faith, Hope, and Sight, but each in a diverse respect. For faith is properly of his image; hope is of his face, but to come and appear hereafter; and sight is likewise of his face, but present.

1. Faith.
2. Hope.
3. Sight.

The second difference between the object of faith and hope is a consequence out of the first, and this is it, that faith is of present of things, namely, of Christ and his benefits,[1] or rather of the image of these things, which we behold present in the glass of the word and sacraments; whereupon, Heb. xi. 1, it is called *a ground and an evidence,* which words signify the presence of those things which are believed. But hope is of things which are to come hereafter; *for hope, if it be seen, is no hope,* that is, if it be of things present it is no hope; *for why should a man hope for that which he sees?* Rom. viii. 24. Beside, hope is of his face, which is not yet seen.

The third difference follows also out of the first; for faith is of the thing only in part, seeing that it is of the image, and, as it were, of the shadow, and, as I may say, of the earnest, which is but part of the sum. See 1 Cor. xiii. 12, *We know in part.* But hope is of the whole thing, it is of the face, of the complement;[2] to conclude, it is of the whole sum, the hope whereof that earnest, which we apprehend by faith, giveth unto us. And thus far of the object of hope.

[1] This should be: Faith belongs to things present—Christ and his benefits. Original: *quod fides sit rerum præsentium, Christi et beneficiorum ipsius.*

[2] The fulfilment. Original: *complementi.*

Subject of hope.

The subject followeth, which is not the mind, or some faculty of the mind, whether of understanding or judgment; nor is it the will, for faith hath made her seat in these. But hope, being content with the inferior seat, hath its abiding in the heart. For it is an affection of the heart, even as fear is, which is opposed to it. If we speak of the nature of it, it is not judgment or assent; it is not an apprehension or trust; for all these belong to faith, but it is an expectation which followeth faith, and is begotten by faith.

How hope is certain.

The property of hope is, not that certainty, properly, which is of faith, or of that assent which is in faith. For faith is properly said to be certain, but hope is not properly called certain; but it is termed certain because of the certainty of faith. In Scripture, I find that patience is attributed to faith [hope] as a certain property thereof. Rom. viii. 25, *But if we hope for that which we see not, we do with patience abide for it.* Heb. vi. 15, It is said of Abraham, that when he *had patiently tarried, he obtained the promise.* 1 Thess. i. 3, there is mention made *of the patience of hope*, or of patient hope. And this patience is it, whereby hope doth sustain all the crosses and afflictions of this life, and doth, as it were, go under them. For all the promises of heavenly things are made with an exception of temporal afflictions. Wherefore, whosoever hopeth that he shall obtain those heavenly promises, he must needs make himself ready to bear and sustain all the calamities which are incident to this life. Wherefore, patience is so necessarily joined with hope, as that hope cannot be without it.

ὑπομονῆς, Patience of hope.

Hope defined.

Out of these things which we have spoken, the definition of hope may be gathered; that hope is *a patient abiding of the heart for the face of Christ, or fulfilling of the promise.* It is to be noted, that this is the definition of hope, as the name is taken for the work and office of hope, which properly signifies an affection of the heart, and that a sanctified one; and not only so, but an affection carried above nature. For when we are regenerated by the Spirit of Christ, we do not only recover that holiness of nature lost in Adam, but also in regeneration there is not a faculty of the mind or an affection of the heart, but some supernatural power or quality is

put into it, for the exercising of supernatural functions. For our regeneration is not so much effected, according to that image which was entire and holy in Adam before his fall, as according to the image of Christ; 1 Cor. xv. 49, *We shall bear the image of the heavenly man.* Whereupon the motions of our heart are termed unutterable, and such as cannot be declared. Rom. viii. 26, they are called *groans which cannot be expressed.* 1 Pet. i. 8, Joy is called *unspeakable and glorious.* And the faculties of the mind and the affections of the heart regenerated, are carried to those things which are incomprehensible, and which, I think, could not be comprehended by Adam's holy nature. Such as these are: *The unsearchable riches of Christ,* Ephes. iii. 8: *the love of Christ, which passeth all knowledge,* in the same chapter, verse 19: as those things which *the eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor ever entered into man's heart,* 1 Cor. ii. 9. But we have spoken of these things already in the doctrine of Faith.

What affections a man regenerate hath in him.

This last of all is to be observed concerning hope, that there be many degrees of it. For there is a certain more earnest or vehement hope, which is called by the Apostle, Rom. viii. 19, the *fervent desire* of the creature. Phil. i. 20, Paul doth profess this kind of hope and earnest looking for. And thus much of hope, according to the judgment of our churches.

Degrees of hope.

ἀποκαραδοκία.

Now be advertised in few words, what our adversaries think of it. They make the object of hope to be those things which belong to him that hopeth;[1] for this difference they make between hope and faith, that faith is of general mercy, and not of proper; but that hope is of proper mercy.[2] But this difference is false; for as well faith as hope is of proper grace and mercy. They say with us, that the subject of hope is the heart; for they teach that hope is a virtue put into the heart.

Popish opinions of hope.

They make the nature of it to consist not in knowing nor in judging, but in expecting. Bellarmin makes a difference between hoping

[1] Should be: which have a special reference to. Original: *quæ peculiariter ad sperantem pertinent.*

[2] Pauci illi viri, et ii valde eximii, fortasse peculari revelatione certi fieri meruerunt de gratia, quam apud Dominum invenerunt.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 885. Spes est tantum pertinentium ad sperantem.—*Ibid.*

and expecting. "We hope," saith he, "for those things which we do not know, certainly, that we shall obtain. Whereupon the blessed souls in heaven are said to expect the resurrection of their bodies, because they know, certainly, that it shall come to pass."[1] But Paul, Rom. viii. 25, seemeth to take the words of hoping and expectation for one and the same thing; *If we hope for that which we see not, then do we with patience expect it.* You see that with Paul, to hope and to expect are one and the same.

ἐλπίζειν, ἀπεκδέχεσθαι.

They make the property of hope to be certainty;[2] for they say that hope is certain, but they teach that this certainty belongs to the understanding. "For it is the understanding that doth know, certainly, that salvation will come to pass; and because of the certainty of the understanding, hope is said to be certain, and the heart hopeth, certainly, that salvation will come. Therefore, this certainty is not properly in hope, but hope presupposeth it." They say that this certainty is not simple and absolute. For they say that no man is simply and absolutely certain of his salvation, or doth certainly know that he shall obtain salvation. Nay, contrariwise, that there is simply and absolutely an uncertainty of hope, and he that hopeth, say they, is simply and absolutely uncertain of his salvation. "But he that hopes," say they, "is certain of his salvation, not simply and absolutely, but after a certain manner and in some respect. First, in regard of the foundation of hope, that is, the promise of God which cannot deceive, and

[1] Quod certo scimus nos habituros, non proprie speramus, sed simpliciter expectamus. Hoc enim modo, animæ beatorum non proprie sperant corporum resurrectionem, sed tantum expectant, quia certissimæ sunt ex parte intellectus, eam sibi deesse non posse.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 886.

[2] Bellarmin's notions of *Hope*, which our Author evidently alludes to, are contained in his treatise, *De Justificatione*, lib. iii. c. 11, of his great work. His views are given here somewhat confusedly. Bellarmin admits that Hope *ought to be* certain. That certainty, however, consists of two parts—of the will firmly cleaving to the object hoped for; and of the understanding, judging whether we are united to God. In this second part lies the uncertainty of Hope. For, while the understanding may firmly believe the truth of God's promises, it cannot but fear as to our compliance with all the conditions on which these promises rest; and, secondly, even in the case of righteous men now reconciled to God by Love, (*caritate,*) the possibility of their falling away must occasion uncertainty.

for which, if there were not other causes of certainty, one might be said to be simply and absolutely certain of his salvation: But seeing there be other causes of certainty, beside the promise of God, a man cannot be said to be simply and absolutely certain of his own salvation for the promise of God only, and the infallible truth thereof. Secondly, a man is said to be certain of his salvation in respect of charity, which," they say, "is the form of faith. For he that hath charity is in this part, and in this respect, certain of his salvation. For charity is a sure cause of salvation, and if it could be that a man might never fall from charity, even for that cause alone, he might be simply and absolutely certain of his salvation. But seeing any man might fall from charity and lose it, therefore there is no absolute certainty of hope in respect of charity neither."

This is, then, their opinion, "that hope is likewise uncertain, but yet that it is certain in some respects; First, in respect of the promise; then in respect of charity.[1] And, therefore, that the certainty of hope is always mixed with uncertainty; for what time it is certain because of the promise of God, at the same time, it is uncertain for other causes which are in ourselves, as in regard of our repentance, in respect of our works and merits, which are also required to make hope certain. Again, what time it is certain because of charity, at the same time it is uncertain, because of the changeableness of charity." This is their opinion. But we hold thus, that hope is called certain because of faith going afore it, and for the full assurance of that faith. For certainty doth properly belong to faith; and it is faith whereby every one of us doth certainly know that salvation belongeth unto us. Hence cometh the sureness of hope, and the certainty thereof. Secondly, we say, that this certainty of hope, which is for faith's sake, is simple and absolute; and we deny that hope is in one respect certain, and in another respect uncertain, which thing they affirm; but we affirm that it is certain in all respects, at least, that it so ought to be in respect

Certainty of hope.

[1] The reader hardly requires to be reminded, that the word here translated *Charity*, is the Christian virtue of love to God.

of God's promise, in respect of charity, and of our whole regeneration, in respect of our perseverance; and so of the rest. For all these things are certain and sound, upon which hope dependeth, and for which it is said to be certain; and these things do depend upon God's unchangeableness, whether they be out of us, as the promise of God, or within us, as charity and all regeneration; for grace once given in Christ Jesus can never be totally and finally lost.

Our adversaries do place some cause of certainty in ourselves, and in our strength, and in our works and merits. And, therefore, it is no marvel, though they say that hope is not simply and absolutely certain; for there is nothing more uncertain than these things, in which they place some, or rather, the chief cause of the certainty of hope.

Concerning the absolute certainty of hope, these be some testimonies of Scripture: Ps. xxxi. 1, *In thee, O Lord, have I hoped, let me not be confounded for ever.* Ps. cxxv. 1, *He that trusteth in the Lord shall be like mount Sion, which shall not be moved for ever.* Rom. v. 2, *We rejoice under the hope of the glory of God;* and after, 5, *Hope maketh not ashamed.* Rom. viii. 24, *We are saved by hope.* Phil. i. 20, *According to my earnest expectation and hope, that I shall not be ashamed.* Rom. ix. 33, *Whosoever believeth in him shall not be confounded.* And thus much of hope.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF CHARITY OR LOVE.

Among the principal effects of faith, charity is reckoned in the next place after hope; and Paul unites them together, as the three special graces of the Holy Ghost, *faith, hope, and charity,* 1 Cor. xiii. 13. *There are three,* saith he, *faith, hope, charity, and the greatest of these is charity.* The Apostle unites these together, and

we do not sever them, specially for that God's love is a certain bond uniting us to God, together with the bond of faith, which is the primary and principal. For this cause Peter[1] saith, that our communion with Christ, now absent from us, doth consist in love and faith. And this moveth us, in the third place, after faith to entreat of charity, in this treatise of our Effectual Calling.

And charity or love proceedeth from that sweet apprehension and taste of the Lord, for that taste stirs up in the heart an exceeding love of the Lord, and of our neighbour for the Lord's sake. And when as charity hath received this life by faith, it becomes the instrument of faith, whereby it worketh other effects of the Spirit; as the gifts of knowledge, of prophesying, of tongues, and of miracles. These also are the instruments and means whereby justifying faith worketh, but the principal is love; for which cause it is said, Gal. v. 6, that *faith worketh by love*, and love with the works or fruits thereof, among all signs and testimonies, gives the surest evidence unto faith.

Whence hope proceedeth.

Love, the best evidence of faith.

If this be compared with other graces of God's Spirit, it must be preferred before them all; for it hath the third place after faith. Therefore, if ye set aside faith and hope, love hath the first place of all the graces of the Holy Ghost, and is, as it were, the soul of all gifts which follow after it. For this cause the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiii., having numbered divers gifts of the Holy Ghost, saith, that if these graces wanted love, they were either as dead, or as nothing, or should profit nothing. Whereby he gives us to understand, that all other virtues have no soundness in them, if ye sever them from love, but to be only certain dead shadows of virtues. We may, therefore, justly call charity the life of all gifts and graces which follow it.

If the adversaries had contented themselves with this prerogative of charity, they had not erred, but for that they avouch it to be also the life and form of faith,[2] herein they sin greatly, that faith

Popish charity.

[1] 1 Peter i. 8, 9.

[2] Itaque sensus Apostoli [*Gal.* v. 6] est fidem a charitate agi et moveri, quo modo a spiritu movetur, et agitur corpus. Ac per hoc dilectionem non esse signum viventis fidei, ut adversarii dicere solent, sed esse ipsam vitam fidei, et fidem sine dilectione similem esse corpori sine spiritu, ut rectissime scribit Jacobus.

rather contrarily is the life of charity, for that without faith, there is no man hath but the dead shadow of love. Wherefore the faith of Christ is the principal life or soul, both of charity, and of all other virtues, for without it they are all but vain and counterfeit, and very sins before God; for *whatsoever is not of faith is sin.*[1]

Object of love.

The primary object of love is the same with the object of faith and hope. For what we first apprehend by faith, and next expect in hope, the same we embrace in love. The secondary object of love is our neighbour, whom we love in and for the Lord. The subject of love is the heart; for we love with the heart, as the

1 Thess. i. 5.

Apostle speaketh, *love out of a pure heart.*[2]

Nature of love.

The nature thereof is not in knowledge, nor in hoping, but in loving. In love two things are principally to be respected; first, a diligent endeavour for the preservation of that we love; next, an earnest affection to be united and conjoined with it, both which we see are to be respected in the love of God and of our neighbours.

The properties of love are many. 1 Cor. xiii. 4, &c. For whereas love is, there is a heap of virtues; for charity is never alone in any man, but hath ever many other virtues as companions and handmaids attending on it.

Of the premises ye may gather some definition of faith;[3]

Love defined.

as namely, that *love is a holy endeavour for the preservation of that which is beloved, whether God or man, with an earnest desire to be united unto it.* For love is that bond, as the Apostle speaketh,[4] whereby the members of the body are knit together. And it serves also in some sort and place to unite us unto God and Christ, notwithstanding that the communion of Christ, the head of his body the Church, be principally to be ascribed unto faith. And in this respect love goes before justification, and is a branch in our

Recte igitur Catholici dicunt fidem sine charitate esse informem, et cum charitate formatam.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 813.

[1] Rom. xiv. 23.

[2] "As the Apostle speaketh," &c., is the translator's own. The marginal reference is also his, and seems to be a mistake for 1 Peter i. 22.

[3] *Faith*, evidently a misprint for *Love*.

[4] Col. iii. 14.

effectual calling, ever going together with faith, hope, and repentance. For which cause principally, I thought good to speak of it briefly in this treatise, after faith and hope, for that faith, wherein we say consisteth the second part of our effectual calling, hath these for inseparable companions, faith, hope,[1] and repentance; after which follows our justification by order, not of time, but of nature. But in another respect love follows justification, and appertaineth to the grace of regeneration; but of this we shall speak in fit place.

Now to return to our purpose; the definition given before is not so much of love itself, as of the work and function thereof. For love is properly an affection, holy or sanctified; and not so only, but also supernatural, carried up to love those things which are above nature, and exceed all natural affection; for like as faith is of those things which excel all natural knowledge and apprehension, and hope is of those things which excel all natural expectation, so love also is of those which be above the reach of all natural affection. For as we have often before admonished, this our new-birth in Christ Jesus, is not so much a restoring of us to that image of Adam, which he had before his fall, as unto the image of Christ, who is a spiritual and a heavenly man, in whom, and by whom, we have not only, so to speak, a natural sanctity or holiness; but also do receive from him a certain heavenly and supernatural virtue and efficacy infused into all affections and powers of the soul. But this our supernatural condition as yet appeareth not unto men, neither do we sufficiently feel it and find it ourselves, but it shall be seen in another life, when as we shall put on, and *bear the image of that heavenly man*, 1 Cor. xv. 49. *Now we are called the sons of God, but as yet it appeareth not what we shall be; but we know it shall come to pass, that we shall be like unto him, when he shall appear*, 1 John iii. 2.

A larger definition of love.

The adversaries spend all their labour in setting forth the commendations of love, and they be too long in extolling charity; for they adorn it with the spoils of justifying faith, so gracing it with

[1] Should be, hope, love, and repentance. Original: spem, charitatem, et resipiscentiam.

stolen colours, and not with its own proper beauty, ascribing the justification and salvation of man, which they take away from faith, unto charity,[1] as shall be seen when we come to speak of the doctrine of free[2] justification. And thus far shall suffice of charity or love.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OF REPENTANCE.

REPENTANCE followeth faith, as the effect followeth his cause; for that godly sorrow which is according to God, and worketh repentance, is the daughter of faith, as we shall see afterward. Of this benefit there are divers names in divers languages. The Hebrew do call it TESCHUBHAH,[3] the Grecians, *μετάνοιαν* and *μεταμέλειαν*. The word *μετάνοια* is of a verb,[4] which signifieth to be wise after a thing is done, to retract his sentence, to change his mind, and to return to a right mind. Whereupon repentance is nothing else but an after-wit, a reversing of judgment, and change of determinations. The word *μεταμέλεια* is of the verb *μεταμέλειν*, which signifieth to be careful and anxious after a thing is done; whereupon *μεταμέλεια* is nothing else but a trouble and disquietness of heart, after a thing is acted. Therefore these two Greek words differ,[5] for that the first concerneth properly the mind or understanding; the second, the heart and affection. They differ also in another

[1] Quod si charitas est forma fidei, et fides non justificat formaliter, nisi ab ipsa charitate formata, certe multo magis charitas ipsa justificat.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 813.

[2] There is no word for *free* in the original. *Or love*, also is the translator's own explanation.

[3] שׁוּבָה. Bellarmin (*ibid.* vol. iii. p. 907) gives תשובה, which our Author has followed.

[4] *μετανοεῖν*, which is in the original.

[5] On this subject, see Erasmus and Beza on Matthew iii.; Calvini *Instituta*, iii. 3, § 5; and Campbell's *Preliminary Dissertations*, vi. 3.

respect, in that μετάνοια comprehendeth the whole work and benefit of repentance, for the change of the mind, which is implied in this word, doth necessarily presuppose the sorrow of the heart, and that same μεταμέλειαν, which is a contrition, and an anxiety after the fact committed; whereas μεταμέλεια is rather restrained to signify only a part of this benefit, namely, the first, which consisteth in sorrow, in contrition, and the disquiet of the heart after a thing is done; for it followeth not, that wheresoever this same compunction of heart be, there should presently follow that sound repentance; as it is necessary that wheresoever sound repentance be found, there also must be that compunction of heart. Some there are which make a third difference between these two, affirming that this sound repentance properly belongs to the godly and to the elect, and only to them; for the elect only, properly, and in very truth, become wise after their falls, and they do only change their minds, and their purposes, and return to a sound mind; whereas some compunction, and disquietness of heart, doth not only belong to the godly and the elect, but also to the wicked and to the reprobates, in whom there is found, after a sin is committed, some grief, and disquietness of heart, not so much for the sin committed, as for the punishment of the sin. But we are to understand that wheresoever this same sorrow is attributed to the wicked, there is not understood hereby that godly care and sorrow which is according to God; but a worldly sorrow, and a sorrow which is unto death. In which sense it is attributed to Judas, Matth. xxvii. 3, *Judas repented himself;* but contrariwise, when it is attributed to the godly, thereby is signified not so much a sorrow for the punishment of sin itself, as for the offence and displeasure of God. Thus far of the Greek names of repentance. μεταμεληθεὶς ὁ Ἰούδας.

The Latins do call it a *conversion*, an *after-wit*, to return to heart and understanding, and *repentance*.[1] *Conversion* doth fitly answer with the Hebrew word; and it is a word which the prophets have Conversio. Resipiscentia.

[1] This should be: The Latin terms are, *Conversio*, *Resipiscentia*, *Pœnitentia*. Holland translates *resipiscentia* by *after-wit, a change of the mind*, and *repentance*, *pœnitentia*, by *repentance, penance*, and *compunction*, generally one of the two latter.

Teschubhah. used in the Old Testament, *Convert me, O Lord, and I shall be converted*, Jer. xxxi. 18. Even as Christ and his apostles themselves use μετάνοιας. μεταμέλειας. the foresaid Greek words in the New Testament of *repentance* and *compunction* of heart, *a change of the mind* is properly signified in the Greek word μετάνοια, for *to change the mind* is to begin to be wise after the deed done. *Penance* is signified in the Greek word μεταμέλεια, for it is derived of the verb *pœnitere*, which signifieth a punishment;[1] for in this kind of repentance, that sorrow and anxiety of the heart is a punishment. For as the Greek word μεταμέλεια doth differ from the word μετάνοια, so doth *pœnitentia*, penance, from Resipiscentia. the word *resipiscentia*, repentance. For to pass by other differences, the word *penance* signifieth properly one part only of this benefit, to wit, sorrow, disquietness, and anxiety after the deed done. But the word *resipiscentia*, which is a change of the mind, doth comprehend this whole benefit; for the change of the mind, and to become wise after our falls, doth necessarily presuppose the sorrow of the heart, as the efficient cause. The old Latin translation doth translate both the Greek words every where *pœnitentia*, penance.[2] The adversaries do earnestly contend, that the word *penance* is every where to be retained, to wit, that they may defend the sacrament of penance, as they call it, even by the very name itself, to consist in external and corporal affliction.[3] The word *resipiscentia*, which signifieth a change of the mind, is more used by our Divines[4] when they speak of this grace. And thus much concerning the names of this benefit.

Parts of repentance. The parts thereof are generally these; first, sorrow, then, after sorrow, a change of the mind and purpose, which is properly, as is

[1] This is the common derivation of *pœnitet*, from *pœna*. Erasmus singularly derives it from *pone*, to give the force of the Greek μετὰ.

[2] See Campbell, *ibid.*

[3] Denique unde vox Pœnitentia dipthongum haberet quem habet vox *Pœna*, si a *Pone*, ut vult Erasmus, et non a *pœna* derivanetur? Maneat igitur omnes Pœnitentiæ voces, Hebraicam, Græcam, et Latinam, secundum Scripturæ et bonorum auctorum usum, non solum mentis mutationem, aut erroris agnitionem, sed etiam detestationem peccati, et vindictam sponte assumptam significare.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 909.

[4] It was introduced by Erasmus.

aforesaid, signified by the Greek word used for repentance. We are, therefore, first to speak of sorrow, which is the first part of repentance, and this sorrow is of two kinds. First, for the punishment of sin, which, 2 Cor. vii. 10, is called *the sorrow of the world*, and also a *sorrow which is to death*. Secondly, it is a sorrow for the sin itself, and because of the offence which is committed against God, which, in like manner, is called of the Apostle, *a sorrow according to God*. Of both these we will speak severally. Sorrow two-fold.

The principal efficient of the first sorrow which is conceived in the heart for the punishment of sin is the Holy Ghost, which, Rom. viii. verse 15, is called *the spirit of bondage to fear*; that is to say, which testifieth unto us of our terrible and miserable condition without Christ, and, therefore, doth beget fear and horror within us. The instrument, whereby the Spirit doth work this sorrow in our hearts, is the preaching of the Law. The sum whereof is in that syllogism, concerning which we have spoken in the doctrine of faith; the proposition of which syllogism is this, *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of this law, to do them*.[1] The assumption is by every man's conscience thus answered:—But I have not continued in them; and the conclusion, therefore, is this, I am accursed. From hence doth that sorrow, or rather that horror of the heart, arise or spring, not so much for sin, which is in the assumption, as for the punishment and fear of the curse, which is in the conclusion. And this is that which is called the prick of conscience, which, by means of the conclusion before showed, doth not only prick a wounded mind, but also pierce even through the heart. And this legal sorrow, if the grace of the Gospel did not put a helping hand between it and us, would drive a man into utter desperation. And thus much concerning that first sorrow.

The very same Spirit of God is likewise a principal efficient cause of the latter sorrow, but not proceeding as before; for now he becometh the Spirit of adoption, *whereby we cry, Abba, Father*, Rom. viii. 16, that is, testifying of our adoption in Christ, and, therefore,

[1] Gal. iii. 10.

doth enlarge both our heart and mouth to call upon God familiarly, as upon our Father.

The instrument whereby the Holy Spirit doth work this faith in our hearts, it is the preaching of the Gospel, the sum whereof is contained in that syllogism, concerning which we have spoken in the doctrine of faith. The proposition of this syllogism is, *He that believeth shall be justified, and shall live*;[1] whereupon faith doth assume, saying, But I do believe; and concludeth saying, Therefore righteousness and life pertaineth unto me. In this conclusion there is, I confess, matter of joy and of unspeakable gladness; but it is as true that there is in it matter of sorrow also, which is conceived after we have known the mercy of God in Christ to be so great, and doth arise in this respect, because we have offended so merciful and so loving a Father. It is then a joy mixed with sorrow, and with the unspeakable and glorious joy of faith, having joined with it sighs that cannot be expressed. And thus much also of the latter sorrow.

Now let us see how both these kinds of sorrow belong unto sound repentance. That first sorrow, which is of the law, and is conceived by reason of the punishment which followeth sin, I confess it is no part of this holy change and conversion unto God, for of its own nature it doth rather estrange us from God, than convert us to God; and, in very deed, it doth altogether alienate the wicked from God as from a terrible judge. Notwithstanding, in repentance it hath his use, for it prepareth the elect by giving them sense of their misery, to that grace and mercy which is propounded in the Gospel. The latter sorrow, which is according to God, and is effected by the Gospel, is properly a part of repentance, and doth effect that change of the mind and reason before specified. And, therefore, the Apostle saith, 2 Cor. vii. 10, that the sorrow, which is according to God, causeth repentance. And thus far of the first part of this benefit which is found to be in sorrow.

The terror of the Law a preparative for the Gospel.

The other[2] followeth, which is called properly by the Apostle,

[1] Mark xvi. 16.

[2] That is, the other part of *repentance*. The first was sorrow,—1. for the punishment of sin; 2. for offending God. The second is *a change of mind*.

2 Cor. vii. 10, *a change of the mind.* For there followeth after that godly sorrow a certain wonderful change of the mind, of the will, and of the heart. As touching knowledge and illumination of the mind, this goes before the sorrow we have spoken of, and is an acknowledgment wrought in us first of sin, and of our misery by the Law; next, of mercy by the Gospel. Therefore, the change of mind which followeth this sorrow pertains to the faculty or judgment of reason, which also is called the *counsel and purpose of the mind;* Acts xi. 23; he exhorteth them, that with one *purpose of heart* they would cleave unto the Lord. And the judgment or counsel of the mind is changed in this sort. The mind disalloweth the evil which is committed, and alloweth the good hereafter to be practised. There are, therefore, two parts of the change of the judgment or counsel; the first is the disallowing of the evil committed; the second is the approving of the good to be done. After the change of the judgment, or counsel of the mind, there followeth a change of the will in this manner. The will rejecteth that evil which is committed, or it declineth from it, and alloweth the good to be done hereafter, or inclineth thereunto. There are these two parts of this change; first, a declination of the evil committed; secondly, an inclination to the good which is or ought to be done. After the change of the will followeth the change of the heart, which is on this manner. The heart hateth and detesteth that evil which it hath heretofore done, and it loves and affects the good which hereafter it ought to do. There are, therefore, two parts of this change; the first is the detestation of evil done and committed; the second is the love of that good which ought to be done.

Second part of repentance.

The change of the mind hath two branches.

Change of the will.

Change of the heart.

In general, therefore, there are two parts of that change of the mind which is an effect of sorrow; the first is a change from evil, and from sin committed; the second is a change to good hereafter, to be practised and followed. Commonly these parts are called mortification and vivification, but I know not how rightly and justly; for mortification and vivification are properly parts of regeneration, which doth differ from repentance, as shall be seen hereafter.

Regeneration and repentance differ.

By that which hath been already said, we understand what be the special points of repentance, from whence it proceeds, and whereunto it serveth. The point from whence it proceeds is the evil or sin committed; the point to which it tendeth is the good hereafter to be done. Repentance, therefore, standeth between two actions, past and future, and it doth differ from regeneration, for the points thereof [1] are not deeds and actions, but qualities, to wit, the corruption of nature or the old man, and sanctity or the new man; but of this we shall entreat afterwards, when we come to speak of the difference of repentance and of regeneration.

Ye see, then, after that great sorrow, how there is a change in the whole mind of man. Next, ye see by that hath been said of this benefit of repentance, that repentance doth begin from the heart, and doth proceed by the reasonable faculties of the mind and will; and, last of all, it doth end and rest in the heart.

Repentance defined.

To conclude, it may easily be gathered, by that which hath been said in the treaty of the parts of it, what the definition of repentance is, *that it is an after-wit, after the deed and evil committed, and a sorrow, because God is offended, and from that sorrow a certain change of the whole mind from evil unto good.* The effect of repentance is in the outward life, to wit, an amendment of life bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance; Matth. iii. verse 8.

There is question concerning repentance, whether it be the same with regeneration or new birth; [2] for the common opinion of Divines is, that the benefits of regeneration and new birth differ not in matter itself. Notwithstanding, it appears unto us that there is a difference between these two, and it shall appear to them also who diligently consider the ends of both; for repentance is to be referred to our effectual calling, and it is an effect of faith, which is another part of our effectual calling, for as many as believe, they repent, they change their counsel, and return to a better mind. But regeneration is the beginning of our glorification, and the beginning of a

Repentance and regeneration differ.

[1] That is, of regeneration.

[2] Rollock uses the words here, *regeneratio sive renovatio*, in the sense of *sanctification*.

new creature. Repentance goeth before justification, even as faith and hope; for of the Baptist it is said, that he preached *the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins*, Mark i. 4; Luke iii. 3. But regeneration followeth justification; for, being justified, we receive the Spirit of sanctification, whereby we are renewed, and, as it were, find a new creature begun even in this life. Repentance is the cause, regeneration is the effect; for therefore God doth renew us in Christ, and make us new men, because we repent us of our old life, and begin to be wise after sin committed. Notwithstanding, in the middle place, betwixt repentance and regeneration, comes in justification, when as God doth of his mere mercy account and repute us as just. The name of repentance implieth sorrow, but the name of regeneration gladness. To conclude, the points[1] of repentance, as whence it proceeds and whereunto it tends, they are deeds, the evil or sin committed, and the good which ought to be practised; but the bounds of regeneration are qualities—inherent corruption, and sanctity or holiness, which is wrought in us; the old man and new man renewed in Christ.

How regeneration and repentance differ.

But you will say, in repentance there is a change from evil to good, a change, I say, of the mind and heart. I answer, in our effectual calling [also, and faith] there begins a change of the mind of man; notwithstanding, all divines distinguish calling and faith from regeneration. Why then should they not in like manner distinguish between repentance, which followeth faith, and our effectual calling, and regeneration? For every change of the mind is not to be deemed forthwith regeneration, but there are certain changes of man's mind which go before regeneration, and which prepare the mind, and so the whole man, unto regeneration, and to that new creation; in which kind repentance is a special grace.[2] These things are to be distinguished not in time but in nature; for at that very same instant, we believe, and be effectually called, and do repent, and be justified, and be regenerate.

How repentance followeth regeneration.

[1] *Points* and *bounds* are in the original, *termini*.

[2] Should be: in which class is repentance. Original: *in quo genere est resipiscentia*.

CHAPTER XXXV.

HOW FAR A WICKED MAN MAY PROCEED IN REPENTANCE.

HAVING thus far spoken of repentance, which is proper to the elect and godly, we are next to consider how far the reprobate and ungodly man may proceed in repentance. All wicked and ungodly men do not make like progress, for they profit, some less, some more, in the work of repentance. We will first speak of them which be least proficient. These first have a sorrow or horror in their minds which cometh from the Law, and that not for sins or any offences committed against God properly and truly, but because of the punishment of sin properly, and for sin accidentally, because punishment followeth sin. Next, after this sorrow there followeth in them some dislike in mind of the sin committed, but because of the punishment; but as touching affection to the good which ought to be done, so far they come not. Further yet, there followeth in the will a declining from evil committed, but because of the punishment; for in the meanwhile their will is not bent or inclined to the good which ought to be done. After this little change of the will, there followeth in the heart a detestation of evil committed, but in regard of the punishment; for all this while the heart doth not proceed to love justice, or the good which ought to be done. And as touching the outward life, there is no good change or holy amendment in it.

Degrees of repentance in the impious.

Note this distinction.

In this kind was Judas the traitor, of whose repentance read Matth. xxvii. 3-5, where first it is said that *Judas did repent him of that he had done.* Note here in this word his sorrow and anxiety of heart. Next, he is said *to have brought the thirty pieces of silver to the high priest,* whence may necessarily be gathered a change of the will, of the mind, and of the heart, which thing also by his own confession may appear, because he said afterward, *I have sinned, betraying*

Judas' example.

the innocent blood; for this word doth argue a dislike of sin in some sort, and a renouncing and detestation of sin, albeit not sincere, but principally in respect of the punishment, accidentally in respect of the sin, because sin and the punishment thereof go together: finally, whereas *he cast the silver pieces into the temple,* it appears there was in him an inward dislike and detestation of evil: and yet that no amendment of life followed this change of mind, it appears in this, because, presently going aside, *he hanged himself.*

There are other impious men, who proceed a little further in repentance than these, having in their minds some change unto good, their minds allowing that which is good, and their will choosing the same, and their heart affecting it; yet these things be not sincere in them, but proceed from fear of punishment. And as concerning the amendment of their outward life, they begin that also; but as the Prophet saith, *Their goodness vanisheth as a morning cloud, and as the morning dew,* Hosea vi. 4.

Of this number was Saul, 1 Sam. xv. 24-31, and Achab, 1 Kings xxi. 27. And of this kind also, it seems, was Esau, Gen. xxvii. 31-38. His sorrow appeareth by his tears shed; the change also of his mind in some sort unto good appears by that it is said, he would have *obtained the blessing, he sought the blessing;*[1] but there was nothing sincere in him, for, forthwith after he returned to his old haunt, or wonted course again. The wicked, which yield best signs of repentance, are those who have attained the temporary faith, whose sorrow also doth arise from the Gospel, and the acknowledgment of the mercy of God in Christ; and the change of the mind unto good is in some sort for the good itself, for they taste after a sort the sweetness of God in Christ, and are delighted in it. And as concerning the amendment of outward life, that also is in them a little longer than in those before described. They also do turn and relinquish many sins.

Of this kind, it seems, Herod was, of whom it is written, Mark vi. 20, *Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just and a holy*

[1] Hebrews xii. 17.

man, and he received him, and when he heard him, he did many things, and heard him gladly. And thus far of these three steps of impious men in repentance; and here also I end the doctrine of sound repentance.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

WHAT THE JUDGMENT OF PAPISTS IS OF REPENTANCE.

It followeth now that we consider what the Papists do think of their penance; for they reject the very name of repentance. Their errors are many which they hold, we will take view of some few of them, and briefly confute them. First, they say "that repentance is a sacrament."[1] But, I ask, if it be a sacrament, what sensible sign hath it? They answer, "that the sign is partly the act of the penitent person, and partly the words of the priest, whereby the penitent is absolved."[2] But, I answer, in a sacrament there must be not only an audible sign, but also a visible; there must be also a certain element, and not a ceremony only, as in Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. Besides the ceremonies and rites, there are elements, water, bread, and wine. Concerning this error, this shall suffice.

A sacrament.

Secondly, they affirm "that the use of repentance is this, to abolish mortal sin after baptism, and to make him, who, of a friend, through sin, was become God's enemy, the friend of God again, that is, a just man."[2] To this I answer: To the restoring and repairing of

2. Error.

[1] Nunc ad veritatem confirmandam accedamus. Ac primo quidem loco habemus verba Domini, Joan. 20,—*Quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt.* Ex quibus verbis duo colliguntur, quæ ad omne Sacramentum proprie dictum constituendum, et requiruntur, et sufficiunt; ritus externus sive symbolum divinitus institutum, et promissio gratiæ justificantis, illi ritui sive symbolo annexa.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 914.

[2] Hic igitur status controversiæ est. An pœnitentia signis externis manifestata, accedente ad eam verbo Absolutionis, sit Sacramentum novæ legis proprie dictum.

man, who hath sinned after baptism, we have no need of any other sacrament than baptism, the force and virtue whereof is perpetual and effectual throughout the whole life of man, for the washing away of sin to regenerate men; for it is false that in baptism these sins only are washed away which were committed before baptism, seeing baptism reacheth to the whole life of man, and the remembrance thereof is effectual for the remission of sins, and our regeneration, even then, when a man gives up the ghost and departs this life.

Baptism effectual to the regenerate all his life.

Thirdly, they say "that the repentance which was in the Old Testament, and before the resurrection of Christ, is not the same which followed the resurrection of Christ; for that was no sacrament, but this is."[1] I answer, that the doctrine of repentance, and of our conversion to God, is one and the self-same, which all the Prophets, John Baptist, Christ before and after his incarnation, and the holy Apostles, have preached.

3. Error.

Fourthly, they say "that the principal efficient cause of repentance is free-will, and the strength of nature, stirred up by a preventing grace, and that grace is but only our helper, working together with nature or free-will."[2]

4. Error.

I answer, that it is clean contrary; for the Spirit, or grace of God, is the principal efficient cause of repentance, but the instruments are the faculties and powers of the mind, not such as they are by nature, but as they are sanctified by the Spirit; which may

Istum enim ritum reconciliandi lapsos post Baptismum, qui ex pœnitentia signis externis prodita, et verbo Absolutionis constet, Catholici verum ac proprie dictum Sacramentum esse affirmant; Hæretici negant.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 910.

[1] Scribit quidem Concilium Trident. Sess. 14, cap. 1. Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ institutum fuisse post Christi resurrectionem, et ea de causa Sacramentalem Pœnitentiam non fuisse Catholici docent Pœnitentiam illam quam Baptista et Christus prædicabant.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* vol iii. p. 902.

[2] Quare cum et Deus conterat corda nostra, et nobis imperet ut ea scindamus, et conteramus; cum det nobis cor novum, et velit, ut nos ipsi nobis faciamus cor novum; cum projiciat peccata nostra, et nobis, ut eam projiciamus, mandet; cum nos convertat, et Pœnitentiam nobis inspiret, et simul ut convertamur, et Pœnitentiam agamus, jubeat; nulla remanet dubitatio, quin ad Contritionem nostram vere cooperemus, et sit contritio, non vere passio, sed etiam actio, eaque voluntanda et libera.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 965.

appear even by this testimony, Jer. xxxi. 18, *Convert me, O Lord, and I shall be converted;* where the principal efficiency, and cause of the work, is given to the Lord himself, and to his grace. But of us it may well be said, that we become active in repentance, being acted and moved by the Holy Ghost.

5. Error. Fifthly, they divide penance essentially into the act of the penitent, as the matter; and absolution of the priest, as the formal cause.[1] I answer, that there is no necessity why repentance should be so parted between the penitent, or confessing sinner, and the priest absolving. For the sinner, who doth repent him of his sin, may privately confess unto God, and of him also be absolved, without any conceived or set form of absolution by the priest. We repent daily, and yet there is no need that the matter should be daily so performed by the sinner repenting, and the priest or minister absolving. Wherefore, repentance is not to be restrained to this form and dialogue or communication, which must pass, as they say, between the sinner repenting and the priest absolving.

6. Error. Sixthly, they divide penance materially into contrition, confession, and satisfaction, for these three parts do, as it were, appertain to the acts of their penitents, which be the matter of their sacrament of penance.[2] I answer, concerning contrition, which is nothing else but a sorrow of heart, we verily admit of it, but without any opinion of merit which they attribute thereunto.

Signs of repentance. And as touching confession, first, we say, that it is not properly any part of repentance, but an outward sign of repentance, which is wrought inwardly in the mind; for amongst the signs these are numbered—confession of the mouth, tears, humbling of the body, and other actions of like kind. Again, we say that their auricular confession, wherein all, even the private sins of a man, must be numbered, as near as they can remember, and whispered into the

[1] Tribus partitionibus dividi solet pœnitentiæ Sacramentum. Prima sumitur ab essentia, quæ duabus partibus constat, materia, et forma, id est actibus pœnitentis, et solutione sacerdotis, secunda a materia, quæ tres partis comprehendit, Contritionem, Confessionem, et Satisfactionem.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 936.

[2] See previous note.

ear of the priest;[1] we affirm, I say, that such a confession is the invention of man's brain, whereof there is no commandment or example extant in the whole Scripture; yea, verily, the will of God is, that many private sins, unto which we alone are privy, should be concealed, and not uttered, even as God doth cover the multitude of our private sins of his free-will and mercy, wherewith he embraces us in Christ Jesus. Notwithstanding this, he requireth of us that we privately repent of them, so oft as we shall remember them.

To conclude, concerning satisfaction, we utterly condemn and renounce it; for by it, as they teach, "we satisfy, of ourselves, the wrath and justice of God, and that by temporal punishments, which we willingly suffer for our sins."[2] This we do utterly condemn, as an opinion which doth derogate from the merit and satisfaction of Christ, whereby alone the wrath and justice of God is satisfied for sinners. And as for these temporal afflictions of the godly, they are not truly satisfactions for their sins, but by them God doth mortify the remnants of sins, and by that means provoke us to earnest repentance; hereby curbing and keeping us from falling into sin again. Finally, as all things work for the best to them that love God, so these things, which are not so much punishments as crosses, do work together for the best for the godly. Neither is that distinction of temporal and eternal punishments to be allowed; for it is certain that whosoever are punished temporally for their sins, and in that respect, and for that cause, such also, without repentance, shall be punished for their sins eternally; for temporal punishments of the ungodly, in this life, are the very beginnings of eternal punishments to be suffered in another life. And thus far of repentance.

[1] Qui mortali peccato se obstrinxerunt, tenentur jure divino, Pœnitentiam agere et reconciliationem cum Deo quærere. Sed medium necessarium ad reconciliationem post Baptismum est confessio omnium peccatorum sacerdoti facta. Ergo tenentur jure divino, qui post Baptismum mortali peccato se obstrinxerunt, sacerdoti peccata omnia confiteri, &c.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 1028.

[2] Concilium Tridentinum, sess. 14, cap. 9, docet, tribus modis Domino satisfieri: pœnas et flagella a Deo immissa patienter ferendo, opera laboriosa sponte

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF MAN'S FREE-WILL.[1]

AFTER the doctrine of Faith, Hope, and Repentance, the doctrine of Free-will is to follow, because the adversaries do attribute faith, hope, repentance, or, as they call it, penance, to the liberty of our will, as to the principal agent or cause; but they assign to grace the second place in the work of faith, hope, and repentance; for they say, "after that free-will is stirred up by a preventing grace, man, by the benefit of his free-will, doth, of his own strength, believe, hope, and repent him of his sins. And as for grace, that is only a fellow-worker," say they, "and a helper of man's free-will, which principally worketh in faith, hope, and repentance."[2] But to this we have answered before in the doctrine of repentance, and we shall hereafter answer it a little more plainly. Now, having thus far showed the occasion, why, after the doctrine of faith, hope, and repentance, we speak of free-will, let us come to the point itself, and discourse of it. The will of man is a faculty of the reasonable soul, following next after the faculty of reason; for the mind first understandeth, and then judgeth. The function thereof is in willing, in nilling, in choosing, in refusing, and in doubting of those things which were before concealed[3] and considered of in the understanding.

The will described.

assumendo, et mulctam sacerdotum arbitrio injunctam subeundo.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 1095.

[1] The title in the original is, *De Libero Arbitrio Humano.* But it is proper to notice, that though the Translator throughout uses the term *Free-Will* as the subject of the chapter, the Author treats of two subjects, between which he makes a distinction. The first is, *Libertas Voluntatis*, and the second, *Liberum Arbitrium.* —See p. 263, note 1.

[2] See Bellarmin, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio:* especially the last chapter, entitled, *Compendium disputationis de cooperatione gratiæ et liberi arbitrii, aliquot sententiis comprehensum.*

[3] A misprint, I presume, for *conceived.* Original: *intellecta.*

The objects thereof are things simply good, and evil, and things indifferent. I call those things simply good, which are commanded by some express law of God. I call those things simply evil, which are forbidden by the same express law of God. And those things I count indifferent, which are neither expressly commanded nor expressly forbidden in the law of God; and if they be commanded or forbidden by any law of God, that is by accident, to wit, so far forth as they further or hinder the edification of our neighbour. These objects of the will I subdivide into their final causes or ends, and into those means which tend and lead us to the ends. And thus I apply the functions of the will to the ends, and to the means. We be said as well to will and nill the means as the ends unto which they serve; for to will and nill are things general; but we are said only to accept, and to reject, and to doubt of the means; for these things are special. And thus far of the will, according to our present purpose. Things simply good.

There is ascribed unto the will a certain property, which the Latins call *Liberty;* the Greeks a *Power;* as Rom. ix. 20, where the Apostle speaks of the power the potter hath over the clay. And 1 Cor. vii. 37, *He that hath power over his own will;* as if he should have said, he that hath liberty or power of his will; in our vulgar tongues it is called *sovereignty.*[1] This liberty of the will is, as it were, a royal power, and the Greek word is used to set forth the power of a king or some supreme magistrate. Rom. xiii. 1, *Let every soul be subject to the higher power.* For this cause the will, in the soul of man, is received as a queen, and, in that respect, is said to have, as it were, the jurisdiction in her own hand. Libertas, ἐξουσία.

But to come to some description of free-will. This freedom of will is a liberty when as a thing being offered to the will, as to a certain queen, whether it be good, or evil, or indifferent, the will even then can, by its own proper right or power, either will it or nill it, reject or receive it, or hold a man in suspense. For which cause commonly in schools it is defined to be a power or faculty, to like or dislike things that are directly opposite, that is, to incline A description of free-will.

[1] Original; *Soveranitie.* Holland: *Soueraingtie.*

to either part of the contradiction, to receive or reject the one or the other, and thus commonly they describe it. Yet I like best this description—to wit, that liberty of will should be,[1] in respect of good and evil things, for concerning them the controversy is, it is, I say, a power of the will, or a certain right it[2] hath, whereby of itself, and of its own inward and natural motion, without constraint, it wills only that is good—it chooseth the good—it wills not that is evil—it rejecteth that is evil;—in one word, liberty of will is a power unto good, not to evil.

I am induced to like best this definition of liberty by the example of the liberty of God himself, who, by the confession and grant of all men, most freely wills and doth all things, notwithstanding the liberty of God is not so defined, that it should be a certain power, whereby he doth so will good as though he might nill it, or doth not so nill evil, as though he might will it; but the liberty of God is this, of his own right, and without constraint, only to will that which is good, and nill that is evil. Again, the same is plain by the example of the blessed angels, who have liberty to that is good only, and not unto good and evil; that is, they do not so will good, as if they might nill it; for they are so governed and strengthened of God, that their will only is inclined to good, and doth abhor from evil. To conclude, the same is showed in the example of Adam, and of his state before his fall; for then truly the liberty of his will was to will good only, and not both good and evil; that is, he did not so will good as if he might nill it, except you understand a remote power; whereas we, by this word liberty, to speak properly, do understand a more near faculty of the soul.

God's free-will.

Freedom of angels.

Adam's freedom in his innocence.

Remota potentia.

I call that a remote faculty which is incident to the matter, as is the power or property of laughter in the body of a man, before it hath either form or life. I call that a near faculty which is incident to the form, as laughter in a man that hath life. So in the will of man there is a remote power, as appertaining to the matter, and there is a near power, as pertaining or consequent to the form;

Propinqua potentia.

[1] Rather, *is*.

[2] That is, *the will*.

but we, as a little before we spake, by liberty understand not that remote power, which is incident to the matter, but that near power which is consequent to the form; and by the form we understand that sanctity which is according to the image of God, which is the soul, as it were, of our soul, and without which our soul is, as it were, dead. For which cause, the Apostle saith, Ephes. ii. 1, that without this holiness we are truly said to be *dead in sins and trespasses*. Whence I conclude, that the liberty of will is properly a power or faculty, which is a consequent of sanctity, as of the formal cause, and, as it were, the very soul of the will. Whereby it cometh to pass, that the will in this state, without constraint, doth incline only to good, and doth decline from evil; for this liberty of a man's will is according to the similitude and image of the liberty of God himself. Unto this liberty, constraint[1] is opposite, proceeding from some outward agent, and is contrary to the nature of the will; for it is not a will if it be constrained, neither is it said that the will is constrained, albeit man himself, in whom the will is, may be said to be constrained. I say that constraint is opposite to liberty and not necessity; for those things which we will or nill freely, we will or nill those things of necessity; first, because of the necessity of God's decree; secondly, because of the incident form of the will itself, as of holiness, of corruption, of both. As when man was holy in his creation, so long as that holiness continued, of necessity he did will that which was good, and nill the evil. So the blessed angels of a certain necessity will that is good, and nill the evil, and at length, when man is glorified, he shall incline to good and decline from evil; so man being wholly corrupt before his regeneration, of a certain necessity, he wills the evil, and nills that is good, and notwithstanding after his manner he doth will freely, albeit this be not a true liberty, as we shall hereafter see. To conclude, a man regenerate partly of necessity doth will good, in respect of his new birth; partly of necessity he doth will evil; for that he is as yet partly corrupt, yet in both respects he willeth freely; for we must distinguish betwixt necessity and con-

The image of God.

The will of the unregenerate.

[1] Original: *Coactio*, which Holland renders throughout by "constraint."

straint, for necessity is more general and large than constraint is, for that which is constrained is necessary, but, on the contrary, that which is necessary is not constrained. And thus much concerning the liberty of the will in general.

1. State. There is, then, a fourfold hate of man to divers conditions or states of man to be considered.[1] The first state, of his innocency before his fall; secondly, the state of his corruption after his fall; thirdly, the state of regeneration; fourthly, the state of glorification. First, then, concerning the first state, it is a question, whether man in his innocency had liberty of will? I answer, if you follow the former definition of liberty, which is a faculty or power respecting inclining to either side, I grant that in things indifferent it had a liberty; but in things simply good and evil, man had not in that state of innocency that liberty of will, whereby, when he did will good, he might nill it, and when he did nill evil, he might will it, except you understand a remote power; for in respect of his near power he was inclined to good only, because of the form of sanctity and goodness in the will which was in him, according to the image of God; but if you follow the latter definition of liberty, which is, when the will of itself, of an inward motion, without coaction or constraint of any external agent, is carried to that which is good only; if, I say, you follow this definition, I answer, that man in the state of innocency had a liberty of will.

Propinqua potentia.

2. State. Concerning the second state of man, the question is, whether man in the state of corruption now hath liberty of will? I answer, if you follow the former definition of liberty, I do not deny that in things indifferent he hath his liberty, but in things simply good and evil he hath not liberty. For man, which is wholly corrupt, doth not so will evil as that he may or can nill it; neither doth he so reject that is good as that he may or can will it, except ye understand a power remote; for in man unregenerate that near power

[1] This is unintelligible, and should be: We must now apply this to the various conditions of man. In all, four states of man fall to be considered. Original: *Nunc applicanda est ea ad varias hominis conditiones. Quadruplex omnino status hominis venit considerandus.*

of the will is only inclined to evil, because of the form of corruption and of impurity which doth wholly possess his will. But if you follow the latter definition of liberty, then verily we cannot ascribe that liberty of the will which is according to the image of the liberty of God himself, and is a near power or faculty, and whereby without constraint he is carried to that only which is good—we cannot, I say, truly attribute this to the unregenerate and his will. For a faculty to evil cannot truly be said a liberty, but rather a certain servitude. And in verity the unregenerate man's will is not free but bound; yet, because the unregenerate doth not will evil by constraint, but of his own accord and mere motion, in some sort it may be said that his will is free.

Here our adversaries dissent from us, ascribing liberty of will to the man unregenerate, whereby also of his own mere power he may will good;[1] "whereas this liberty or self-power, before preventing grace, lieth indeed asleep, yet, notwithstanding," say they, "it is in him like as a man though he be asleep, yet he is both a man and living."[2] From whence it followeth necessarily, as they would

Papists of free-will

[1] See Bellarmin, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, especially lib. iv. c. 9, *(Posse hominem sine fide, cum auxilio speciali, et etiam sine illo, bonum aliquod morale perficere, si nulla tentatio urgeat,)* and the twenty-one chapters that follow.

[2] Bellarmin *(ibid.* p. 708) repudiates this illustration as *deceptio vel fraus kemnitii.* His own opinion is contained in the following extract, which, though long, is interesting and instructive. It must be premised, that Bellarmin identifies *gratia operans* with *gratia præveniens.* Hæc est igitur gratia operans, quæ prævenit conatum et industriam nostram, et operatur ut velimus, quod antea nolebamus, sine nobis operantibus ut velimus, non tamen sine nobis libere consentientibus dum volumus.

Atque hinc intelligemus, cur ad primum actum voluntatis tantum, requiratur gratia operans, ad reliquos autem non sit necessaria operans, sed cooperans: nam posteaquam cœpimus velle converti ad Deum, jam nos ipsi non tantum per liberum arbitrium producimus Deo juvante reliquos actus, sed etiam nos incitamus et impellimus, Deo cooperante, ad eos.

Ac ut corporali similitudine rem illustremus, sit aliquis cui expediat navigare in orientem, et tamen nolit id facere; si quis ad eum accedat, eique multis allatis rationibus tandem persuadeat, et de nolente volentem faciat; deinde ubi eum velle navigare cognoverit, procuret illi navem, pecunias et cætera, quæ navigantibus sunt necessaria; is profecto vere dicere poterit, ego solus feci, ut juste navigationem suscipere vellet; nam etiamsi alter rationes allatas audierit, atque apud

have it,[1] that there is some holiness and integrity in the will of a man unregenerate. For there is no self-power of the will to good unless there be in it the form of sanctity and integrity, which is as it were the life of the will, and quickness of this self-power in the will unto good.

The Papists, therefore, err here two manner of ways; first, because they will have some sanctity and integrity to remain in the will of man unregenerate now after the fall; and, secondly, because they will have this self-power of the will, which necessarily is a consequent of the formal cause thereof, which is holiness, as is aforesaid—they will have this self-power, I say, unto good to be in the will. For as touching holiness and righteousness, it is certain that all the image of God was lost in the fall of man, and what portion soever hereof we shall have in this life, it is repaired, and, as it were, created anew by Jesus Christ; for which cause it is called a new creature. And if this in any respect be old, wherefore is it called new? and if any sanctity, which is the soul of our soul, remain in man after the fall, why is man said after the fall, before regeneration, to be dead and not half-dead? We forbear to use testimonies of Scripture in this matter, which are infinite. And as concerning the liberty or self-power which they ascribe to the will of man, how many evidences of Scripture might be produced to repel the same! John vi. 44, *No man can come to me, except the Father which sent me draw him.* Rom. viii. 7, *The wisdom of the flesh, it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be.* 1 Cor. ii. 14, *The natural man perceiveth not the things that are of God; for they are foolishness to him, neither can he discern them.* These places

Propinqua materia.[2]

se expenderit, et tandem assensum præbuerit: non tamen ipse sibi persuasit, neque se ipse movit, sed amicus eius illum movit eique persuasit.

Cæterum quod attinet ad exequutionem voluntatis, non potest amicus ille dicere, Ego solus detuli istum in orientem sed solum, Ego illum adjuvi et cooperatus sum ut commode navigaret. Siquidem ille qui ab amico persuasus navigare decrevit, sine dubio non sibi ipse defuit, sed cogitare cœpit, quid facto opus esset, et conatum atque industriam adhibere ad futuram navigationem.—*Ibid.* p. 448.

[1] This clause is not in the original.

[2] It does not appear what the Translator wished to indicate by this marginal note.

of Scripture, and other such like, are to be understood of that near power of the will unto good, which, therefore, the Scripture denieth in his corruption, because there is in him no holiness left since the fall of Adam. For as touching the remote power of the will unto good, which is a consequent of the matter, not of the form, we do not deny that it is in the will of a man unregenerate, and that it also becomes of a remote power a near power, so soon as any holiness is wrought in the will of man by the Spirit of Jesus Christ. Seeing, then, we leave this remote power to the will of the unregenerate man, that is, a certain power of the cause material, there is no cause why our adversaries should say that we make men very stocks and blocks,[1] because we deny free-will unto them.[2] For this power of the material cause unto good, which we ascribe unto the will of man unregenerate, may not truly be ascribed to any dead stock or trunk.

We must understand in this place, that whereas we deny this near power to the unregenerate, that is, a liberty to good; we mean hereby that which is good, as it is truly good. For even the unregenerate person may will that which is good in itself, as the conservation of his country, justice, equity, &c. But that which in itself is good, becomes evil in some sort, in regard of the man unregenerate, who doth not will well that which is good in itself, that is to say, neither in that manner, nor to that end, doth he will it as he ought to will it, because himself is not good and clean; *and to the unclean all things are unclean, as to the clean all things are clean*, Tit. i. 15.

Again, be advertised, that, in this matter of free-will, I hold that there is one and the same reason of good things of what kind soever

[1] Can our Author have had in view the following passage from Bellarmin? (*ibid.* p. 700.) Respondet Calvinus, lib. 2, Instit. cap. 5. § 14. Ista omnia loca nihil aliud sibi velle, nisi non moveri nos a Deo, tamquam *stipites et truncos*, sed tamquam homines mente et ratione præditos, quamvis necessario moveamur, nec possimus aliud agere, quam id, quod Deo movente agimus. *Stipites et truncos* are the words used by our Author in this passage. Bellarmin, so far as I can find, never uses this objection. But that it had been made, appears from the words of Calvin, (*l. c.*) Extranea est illa similitudo *qua nos invidiose gravant*; quis enim ita desipit ut *hominis motionem a jactu lapidis nihil differre autumet?*

[2] This should be: what they call freedom of will. Original: *libertatem, quam vocant, arbitrii.*

they be, natural or civil, and human or spiritual;[1] for the unregenerate man hath not this liberty or near power to any good thing, as it is good or acceptable to God, and agreeable to his law; albeit by nature his will is most far estranged from spiritual things, which the natural man perceiveth not, and which, as the Apostle saith, *He cannot know, yea, they are foolishness unto him.* By spiritual good things I mean faith, hope, repentance, justification, eternal life itself. There is no cause, therefore, why our adversaries should ascribe faith, hope, repentance, to the liberty of our will, that is to say, to the strength of nature, as to the principal efficient cause of the same; as if we, by nature, and the strength thereof, could believe, could hope, and truly convert ourselves unto God.

Kinds of good things.

But to the intent this thing may yet be more manifest, we must understand that there be two kinds of good things; the one is of human good things, the other is of divine and spiritual good things. Human good things are either moral, and pertain to every private man; or economical, and pertain to a man's family; or they are political, and pertain to the whole commonwealth, or to the whole city. Spiritual good things are faith, hope, repentance, justification, sanctification, life eternal. To both these kinds of good things man's will is not like affected, for unto human things, or unto human good things, it is somewhat more inclined; as, for example, nature doth incline unto temperancy, fortitude, liberality, justice, albeit it doth neither will nor choose these things, which, in themselves, are good, in that manner, or to that end, it ought. Whereby it cometh to pass, that those things that in themselves are good, yet, in respect of him who is unregenerate, become evil and very sins before God. And concerning things spiritual, the nature of man is more estranged from them; and when they offer themselves to the will, nature itself doth wholly abhor from them.

The thing may be yet more plain by example and experience. There are two certain[2] good things, to wit, justice by works, and

[1] There is here a reference to Bellarmin's answer in the affirmative to the question: *An homo liberum arbitrium habeat in operibus naturalibus et civilibus?* discussed, *ibid.* lib. iv. cc. 5-16.

[2] It would be better to omit the word, certain, throughout this passage. It is the translation of the original, *quædam*, in various forms.

justice by faith, which is called the justice or righteousness of God; we all have experience that our will naturally is inclined to that righteousness which is by works, and which is a certain human good thing. Hence it comes that even to this day all the world, following nature, seeks to be justified by good works. But the same will doth wholly abhor, and utterly dislike, that righteousness which is by faith; the reason is, because it is a certain spiritual and unknown good thing. Hence it comes to pass, that so few seek to be justified by faith, and by the alone mercy of God in Jesus Christ.

Righteousness by works natural.

By this and other such like examples it appears, that man's will is more inclined by nature to human good things, and wholly to abhor spiritual good things. Albeit in truth, to speak exactly, it is inclined to no good at all, as it is truly good. It is not inclined at all, no, not to those human things, as they be truly good and acceptable unto God; for it wills them neither in that manner, neither to that end, it ought. So far forth, then, as it willeth them, even those things that are good in themselves are sins, and unpleasing to God. Notwithstanding they differ from those evils and sins which, even in themselves, and in their own nature, are sins, as manslaughter, adultery, theft, and in which I grant there be more degrees of sin; for in these things men sin both in the substance of the things themselves, and in the manner of doing, and in the end. And the will of man unregenerate is more inclinable unto these things by its own nature, than unto those things which are good in themselves. For, first, it is carried, of its own accord, to those which are evil in themselves. Secondly, it hath but some inclination to things human, which, in their own kind, are good. Lastly, it doth wholly abhor spiritual good things before regeneration. Again, I conclude, that human good things, so far forth as man unregenerate doth will them, become in some sort evil; and the man unregenerate doth sin in the very desire of them, which thing also is true in things indifferent, which are neither good nor evil in themselves. For so far forth as man unregenerate doth will them,

[1] *And unknown*, is the Translator's own.

so far forth they become evil; and the unregenerate man doth sin, when he doth will and desire even that which, of its own nature, is indifferent, because he doth will it neither in that manner, nor to that end, he ought.

Now, concerning the estate of regeneration, the question is, whether the regenerate man hath his free-will? I answer, if you define free-will to be a liberty or power to choose, or will, they say,[1] any of both sides: First, in things indifferent, we say that he hath this liberty. Secondly, we do not deny unto him this liberty also in good things and evil: for seeing that there is a double act and a double form in the will of the regenerate man, to wit, the form of holiness, and the form of corruption; and because he hath the first-fruits of the new man, and the remnant of the old, it cannot be but that the near power of his will be double also, one inclining unto good, the other declining unto evil: so that this received definition of free-will seems unto me to agree best with the will of the regenerate person. But if you define liberty to consist of a power not constrained, tending to good only, and not to evil, then, verily, the man regenerate is not so free, but proceeds[2] only to this liberty, which shall at length be perfected in another life.

Finally, concerning the estate of glorification, the question is, whether man, when he shall be glorified, shall have this liberty of will? I answer, if you define free-will a power to make choice of either part, even in good things and in evil, then, I say, man, in this state of glorification, shall not have it. For he shall have that near power to good only, because of that form of holiness, or glory rather, wherewith, then, his will shall be endued withal. I deny not that there shall be in him also a remote power to evil, in respect of the necessary mutability of the creature, but this remote power shall never be a near power, because God shall for ever strengthen him and sustain him in that state of glory. But if you follow that latter definition of free-will, the glorified person shall at length be set free; for he shall will that only which is good and

[1] *They say*,—an addition of the Translator.

[2] That is: makes progress. Original: *progressum facit*.

acceptable to God, and that without constraint and for ever. Man had free-will in the state of innocency, according to the image of that divine liberty, but in the state of glorification, wherein he shall come more near to the image of his God, and shall bear the image of that heavenly man Jesus Christ, his will shall be much more free, and far more ready, to that which is good only. And thus have we spoken hitherto of the liberty of will, that is, of that propriety or natural quality of the will.

Now we be to speak of free-will.[1] But there be which refer the word *Arbitrium* to the mind;[2] for that they deem it is nothing else but the judgment of the mind, which goeth before the free action of the will, but the word *free*, they say, doth pertain to the will. Notwithstanding I think the word *Arbitrium* doth signify the decree of the will itself, that is, that, by this word, we understand the function of the will, whatsoever it be, whether it will or nill, whether it choose or reject. We ascribe liberty to this purpose or endeavour[3] of the will, and it is said to be free, even as the will itself is called *Free-will*, for that ever the propriety of the cause doth predicate, as the Logicians speak,[4] both of the effect and of the action of the same cause. Free-will, then, is nothing else, in my judgment, but the decree or endeavour[3] of the will, which is without constraint, and which proceedeth from some inward motion of the will, and not from any constraining external power.

A question may be demanded, whether the will, when it doth freely execute his function and office in willing freely, or willing any thing, whether, I say, the mind and understanding have not some working herein? I answer, that object, whatsoever it be, which the will and the free function thereof doth respect, is first discerned by the mind. The judgment also of the mind is twofold; first,

Judgment of the mind twofold.

[1] He has hitherto spoken *de libertate voluntatis*. He distinguishes man's *voluntas*, the power whose promise it is to choose or reject, from *arbitrium*, the act of the *voluntas* in actually choosing or rejecting. See p. 252, note 1.

[2] *Mentem* in the sense of the *intellect* or *understanding*.

[3] Determination. Original: *placito*.

[4] This clause is not in the original.

simple and intelligible;[1] as when, without any discourse or reasoning, it judgeth that this is good, and that is evil; this is to be followed, and that is to be avoided. This judgment of the mind is of the end, or of some means serving to the end, which is but only one. Next, the judgment of the mind is, [the result of reflection,[2]] when as by discourse, or arguing, it judgeth anything to be good or evil; to be avoided or to be followed. This judgment is where divers means fall out, of which, after discourse had in the mind, one is chosen and the other is rejected. Now the object which by the mind and understanding is in some sort showed and discerned, the will doth freely will or nill, choose or refuse; howbeit, since the fall of man such is the confusion of these faculties, or powers of the mind of man, that what the understanding judgeth to be evil and disalloweth, the very same doth the will choose and prosecute; and, on the contrary, that which the mind approveth for good and alloweth, that very same the will rejecteth.

The disorder and confusion which is by nature in the soul of man.

Of the mind it may be demanded, whether it can discern between good and evil—approve the one, improve[3] the other? This question must be answered by the consideration of that fourfold state of man. But because the question chiefly is of the understanding of man in the state of corruption, whether that can accept or approve the good and reject the evil, our answer shall be accordingly. We say, therefore, that if you understand that near power, which is a consequent of that corrupt essential form, the mind of man in this state can but only allow that which is evil; it may also allow that which is good in itself, but not as it is truly good, because it cannot allow it neither in the manner, nor to the end it ought, as is aforesaid of will. But to approve that good which we call human good, the mind of man in the state of corruption is more inclinable, but far is it from enter-

[1] Conceived by the understanding. Original: νοητικὸν.

[2] Not in the translation. Original: διανοητικὸν.

[3] That is, reject. Original: *improbare*. This use of *improve* is not unknown in early English.—See Johnson's Dictionary, *s. v.* It is still found in the peculiar phraseology of Scottish Law.

taining any spiritual good at all; for, as the Apostle St Paul saith, 1 Cor. i. 14, it judgeth every spiritual grace to be folly, for the things which are of the *Spirit of God are foolishness unto him.* And thus far have we spoken concerning the freedom of man's will, or of free-will.

It followeth now that we speak next of the grace of God, which is contrary to free-will or to nature, and which is not only the principal efficient cause of faith, hope, and repentance, but also the sole efficient cause of them. It followeth, then, that we treat next of the free grace of God.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CONCERNING THE FREE GRACE OF GOD.

Grace described.

THE grace of God is the undeserved favour of God, or it is that whereby God favoureth his creature without any desert of his. The Apostle doth intimate this much, Ephes. i. 9, in that he putteth no difference between these words, *grace* and *a good pleasure;* for whereas he saith in that verse, that *God hath elected us according to his free grace,*[1] it seems to be spoken in the same sense and meaning with that with which he said before in that same chapter, ver. 7, *In him we have redemption according to the riches of his grace.* For the grace and love of God are taken indifferently one for another;[2] Rom. ix. 13, *I have loved Jacob.* This is that love, or that free grace, wherewith from all eternity he loved Jacob. Eph. iii. 17, *That,* saith he, *you being rooted and grounded in love,* &c. And this is that grace whereby he loved us from all eternity. Tit. iii. ver. 4,

εὐδοκία

[1] Unmerited *good pleasure. Gratuita benevolentia* is Rollock's translation of εὐδοκία. And his argument is, that, as in the one passage the Apostle uses the term, *grace,* (χάριτος,) and in the other, *good pleasure,* (εὐδοκίαν,) *grace* and *good pleasure* are synonymous.

[2] The *Grace* and the *Love* of God seem also to be used indifferently. Original: *Videntur etiam gratia Dei, et Charitas sive dilectio, indifferenter accipi.*

the grace of God, as it respected mankind, is called φιλανθρωπία, *or love towards man.*

Again, this word *grace* is taken more generally than this word *mercy*, for whereas mercy doth more properly respect such as are in misery and sinners; grace reacheth unto all creatures of what kind or condition soever they be, as well to the blessed angels as to sinful men, as may appear by the salutation which Paul useth to Timothy in the First and Second Epistle, where he wisheth first grace to Timothy, as being a more general thing; then, in the second place, mercy, as a more particular thing, restraining it to the person saluted. For although in those salutations, *grace* and *mercy* are taken metonymically for the blessings and benefits which are conferred, and conveyed to men of God's free grace and mercy, yet hereby may appear that the mercy of God, which is the cause and fountain of these benefits, hath not so general an acceptation as grace. For the meaning of the words is thus much, as if the Apostle had said, the benefits which God doth give us are freely bestowed upon us, without any desert of ours, and not only without desert, but to us which deserve to be punished with all the miseries and calamities that can be.

Grace more general than mercy.

That it may farther appear that all the blessings and benefits of God are derived and conveyed unto us by means of his grace and same favour of God, we will search into and consider more deeply of the doctrine of grace. God, from and before all eternity, purposed to be glorified specially in his grace, Rom. xi. 32. *God hath shut up all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all.* In which place we may see the justice of God to attend on his mercy and grace. So, in like manner, all the other essential properties of God, as his power and wisdom, &c., all which he subordained to serve his *grace* and *mercy*. Hence it is, that, first of all, God had, before all eternity, past his decrees of grace *to the praise and glory of his grace.* Eph. i. 6, 12. The first decree of God's free grace was concerning the incarnation of his Son, and the glorifying of him, at the appointed time, unto the praise of his grace. Concerning the decree of his Son Christ, read Acts ii. 23, and iv. 28 Concern-

The first decree of God's free grace.

ing the love of the Father to Christ, Col. i. 19, *Because the Father was well pleased in him*;[1] where you may see that the love of the Father is the cause why the fulness of the Deity doth dwell corporally in Christ; for it was of his admirable grace that God would have flesh, that is, so base and vile a creature, to be united unto God, the glorious and incomparable Creator.

Second decree of God's free grace.

The second decree proceeding from grace, was concerning the first creation of man after his own image; then after the fall, concerning his restoring by his Son Jesus, I trust,[2] unto the image of his Son; that is to say, by calling, justifying, and glorifying of man to the glory of Christ, and to the praise of his own grace in his appointed time. For the restoring and repairing of mankind after the fall is summarily set down in these three chief points; read Eph. i. 4, 5; Rom. ix. 11; Rom. xi. 5, 6.

Execution of God's free grace.

Hence followeth the execution of these decrees by same grace of God; and the first execution was of the decrees of God concerning man, which by order of nature had the second place; for that which was first in decree and ordination became the second in execution; and, contrarily, that which was the second in decree and ordination became the first in execution. Therefore the execution of the decree of God concerning man hath the first place, and the same was of the free grace of God, unto the glory and praise of the same grace. Therefore the execution of the decree of God concerning man, to speak something thereof, was first the creation of man, of God's free grace, after the image of his Creator, and to the praise of the same grace. Then after the fall of man followed the restitution of man, of God's free grace, in and by his Son Christ, to the glory of Christ his Son, and to the praise of the grace of God the Father. This repairing, which is one of the parts of the execution of the decree of God concerning man, consisteth of many parts, all which proceed from the mere grace of God, and first tend to the glory of Christ the Head, and our Mediator between

[1] Because it pleased the Father that in him, &c. Original: *Quoniam in eo placuit Patri, &c.*

[2] *I trust*, not in the original.

God and man; next, to the praise of the grace of God the Father. 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23. *All things are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's.* And concerning this restoring of mankind, before we come to the parts thereof, ye must be advertised that, in time, it partly went before the execution of that decree concerning Christ the Son of God, and partly did follow after it. For before the fulness of time came, wherein Christ was manifested in the flesh, God began to restore mankind, even from the very fall of the first man: that is, men were called, justified, and glorified; and that partly by virtue of that decree concerning Christ, which was from everlasting, and partly because of the manifestation of the same Christ, which was to come. But when that fulness of time came, and when Christ was now manifested in the flesh, had suffered and was glorified, this redemption of man was more fully and richly accomplished. For Christ, being now come, works our restitution more effectually by his Gospel; I mean his power is more effectually seen and known in our vocation, justification, and glorification, than it was before his incarnation. Therefore the execution of the decree concerning Christ the Son of God, which was first, falleth now as it were into the midst of the repairing of mankind, or of the execution of the decree concerning man's redemption. Wherefore we shall also speak thereof in the middle place, that so from it we may proceed to speak of the parts of the redemption of mankind.

The execution of the decree concerning Christ.

The execution, then, of that decree touching the Son of God, Jesus Christ, consisteth in his incarnation, passion, and glorification, and that of the free grace of God, which respected partly the humanity of Christ, and partly respected us, who be repaired and redeemed by that same very flesh of Christ, hypostatically[1] united unto the Son of God. Therefore, the execution of the decree concerning the Son of God, Jesus Christ, did proceed from a double grace, and was to the praise of that grace of God.

The execution of the decree concerning man's redemption.

Now I come to speak of the recovery or redemption of man-

[1] Original: ὑποστατικῶς.

kind, or of the execution of the decree concerning the restitution of man; the parts hereof briefly be these: vocation, justification, glorification. Our calling, to speak thereof in the first place, is by God's free grace, and that in a double respect. For, first in our effectual calling, the publishing of the covenant, and the preaching of the Gospel, is of the only free grace of God. Eph. i. 9, *Having opened unto us*, saith he, *the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure.* Next, faith, whereby we receive the promise of the covenant, which is offered unto us in Christ, is of the mere grace of God. Philip. i. 29, *For unto you it is given for Christ, not only to believe, but also to suffer for him.* Hence it followeth that faith is the free gift of God. That former grace may be called the grace of our vocation; this grace is common to all that are called, elect and reprobate. But the latter grace in our effectual calling may be called the *grace of faith*, appertaining only to the elect; for it is given only to those that are predestinated to life everlasting to believe. Under the grace of faith I likewise comprehend the grace of hope and of repentance as being subaltern graces, and comprehended under this argument of our effectual calling.[1]

Our calling is by grace.

Faith.

The grace of justification followeth this double grace in our effectual calling. For that very imputation which followeth faith, and that apprehension of faith in our effectual calling, proceed also of a certain new grace of God. For it cannot be but of grace that the justice and satisfaction of another should be imputed or accounted unto us as ours; Rom. iii. 24, *We are justified freely, that is, by grace*, as elsewhere often. This grace the Apostle doth always oppose to works and to merits, making it the companion to faith in Christ; for the free grace of God doth well agree, and stand with the merits of Christ apprehended by faith, not only because that merit is not ours but Christ's, that is, the merit of God himself, but much more rather, because the satisfaction and merit of Christ is of God's free grace and mere mercy; *For God spared not his Son, but gave him to die for us*, Rom. viii. 32. Hence it is,

Merits.

[1] Which are subaltern to the head that treats of effectual calling. Original: *quæ loco de vocatione efficaci subalternæ sunt.*

that the grace of God doth more appear in this satisfaction and merit of his, than if he had justified us without any merit at all, either of our own or of any other.

Therefore, the free grace of God doth very well stand with that merit which God gave us of his own. And if that merit and price of our redemption had not been paid by God himself, then surely the grace of God had not so manifestly appeared in our redemption. And as for man's merit, we say that the grace of God cannot in any ways stand with it.

The grace of glorification or regeneration followeth the grace of justification; for as [the] pronunciation and giving of sentence is of grace, so the execution thereof is likewise of grace, for regeneration or glorification is a certain execution of the sentence of justification aforegoing. Of this grace, see 1 Pet. i. 3; *Who of his great mercy hath begotten us [again] unto a lively hope.* Tit. iii. 5; *According to his mercy he saved us, by the fountain of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.* Eph. ii. 5, 8; *Ye are saved by grace.*

Regeneration or glorification is, as it were, an execution of the sentence of justification.

Here ye must observe, that in this work of the restitution of mankind, and that in all the parts thereof, there is but one only grace of God, which is the beginning and first cause of all these proceedings; but we, according to the variety of the effects thereof, do thus distinguish it, and consider of it diversely; like as the Spirit of God, which is one, 1 Cor. xii. 4, in respect of the diversity of the gifts and effects thereof, is after a sort distinguished, for that in some respect, but not in deed and verity, he seems not to be one and the same, as it were, Rom. viii. 15, *For you have not received the spirit of bondage to fear any more, but you have received the Spirit of adoption.*

By this that hath been spoken, understand that there are, as it were, four graces of God in the restoring of mankind, and in the parts thereof. For whereas there is a double mercy of God in our effectual vocation, to wit: First, an offering of Christ with all his benefits in the covenant of grace, or the Gospel; secondly, faith to receive Christ being offered, (under faith I comprehend hope and repentance, which follow faith), therefore, in our effectual calling

Parts of our effectual calling.

two graces must be understood; the grace of our vocation, or of offering Christ unto us, and the grace of faith, or of receiving Christ by us. In justification we have a third grace, which we may call the grace of justification. And in glorification there is a fourth grace, which we may not unfitly call the grace of glorification.

Hence we may see, that the first grace, which they call preventing grace, is that grace whereby God first calleth us to himself by his Gospel; and the last grace, which is the complement[1] of grace, to be that grace whereby God doth glorify us together with his Son in his kingdom; for he beginneth the last grace in this life by regeneration, but reserveth the full consummation thereof to another life by glorification. Thus much of the parts of the restitution of mankind, all which proceed from the mere grace of God, and are directed unto the glory of his grace. Preventing grace.

We must observe this in general, that all the blessings of God, as well those that were from all eternity as those that are in time, be founded upon the only and mere grace of God. And that in respect of grace there is no difference between those benefits of God that were before all worlds, as his prescience and predestination, and these which are in time, as our vocation, justification, glorification.

This is the truth of God, and it will stand in despite of all the adversaries and enemies of the grace and cross of Christ, which, notwithstanding, hold I know not what freedom of will, and that our meritorious works do concur in our vocation, justification, and glorification, with the grace of God.[2] For as touching our calling,

[1] Fulfilment. Original: *Complementum.*

[2] Sed et illud præterea libenter agnoscimus de justificatione dici posse: *Ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos.* Deus enim est qui justificat, et qui regenerat in spem vivam, et nos ejus factura sumus creati in Christo Jesu, in operibus bonis, id Scripturæ loquuntur. Cæterum, sicut respiciendo terminum justificationis, ut est, habitum charitatis infusum, ipse facit nos, et non ipsi nos, quoniam solus ipso habitum charitatis infundit, ita respiciendo dispositionem ad justificationem, ipsi nos, Deo adjuvante, facimus, quod expressit Ezechiel c. 18, cum ait: *Ipse animam suam vivificavit.*—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 708.

although they confess this to be true, that preventing grace, as they speak, doth so prevent or pre-occupy us, even then, when we think nothing of the grace of God, or of preparing ourselves to receive grace, but being, as it were, asleep in sin; yet they do ascribe to free-will that affiance[1] which we give unto faith, whereby we assent unto preventing grace, and admit the same,[2] as though we had any actual free-will or self-power,[3] as they speak, to receive the grace of God. We do grant some power or freedom of will, whereby it inclines after a sort unto that which is good—I understand a power of the matter[4]—but we do utterly deny that men by nature have any actual free-will,[5] or that we have a self-power[6] to do that which is good, as it is good. That self[6] or near power of will, or liberty of will to good, I define to be that liberty in the will which is by the essential form of holiness, or by the image of God which is imprinted in the will, as may appear in the chapter of Free-will before handled. Therefore we hold and teach, that in receiving the first grace, our will stands before God mere passively and not actively; that is, when the free grace of God preventeth it, we say it hath a power unto good, but the same to be of the matter only, as schoolmen speak, and passive, which they call a remote power. Again, we avouch that the same power is made actual by means of divine grace preventing us; that is, by the working of the Holy Spirit, who taketh possession, as it were, of us by the preaching of the Gospel, whereby the Holy Ghost doth renew our hearts, inspiring that life of God into us from which we were before altogether strangers, as it is written, Eph. iv. 18, creating in us again that image of God which was lost, that image, I say, of holiness and true righteousness.

Potentia propinqua.

[1] Assent. Original: *assensionem.*

[2] Liberum enim arbitrium per gratiam prævenientem excitatum et præparatum, potest per vires, quas a Deo recipit, cooperari ad suam ipsius conversionem. —Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 707.

[3] Proximate power of the will. Original: *potentia propinqua voluntatis.*

[4] See chapter on *Free Will*, p. 254, where he calls this power, in the language of the schoolmen, *remota potentia*, and *materiæ consequens.*

[5] Original: *quæ aetu sit.*

[6] See note 3 supra.

As touching our justification, where our adversaries do affirm that it is twofold, terming the first habitual, and the second actual;[1] they say, that we are prepared by our free-will to the first justification as by a principal agent, and by the grace working together with the same.[2] But as for the second justification, that they place in works proceeding from free-will and from our first justification, which they call infused grace. And here they ascribe life everlasting to the merit of this second justification,[3] which doth consist in the works of our free-will, and of infused grace, as they call it. Popish justification.

Hence we may see that they do not attribute to the only grace of God any of the former benefits, neither justification, nor vocation, nor glorification, nor any of those spiritual graces which God in time gives to his children. But they do part them between God's grace, free-will, and man's merit. Finally, if any comparison be made between God and us concerning the conferring of these benefits, we shall find them to ascribe more to us and our free-will, and our works, than to the grace of God. But we have written somewhat of this before in the chapters of our Effectual Calling, of Repentance, and of Free-will. Therefore I refer the reader to these places, and here I end this matter. Note.

Thus far, then, have we spoken of this common-place of our effectual calling, which, because it comprehendeth under it many other points of divinity, it may be well reckoned amongst the most general heads of theology.

[1] Semper enim docuimus et docemus, justificari homines ex fide et dilectione ac operibus bonis; ita ut ad praeparationem ac dispositionem ad justificationem requirantur actus fidei, spei, et dilectionis, quos ipsos tamen non habemus, nisi Dei gratia nos præveniente, excitante, et adjuvante: Ipsa vero formalis justificatio consistat in remissione vera omnium peccatorum, et infusione habituum fidei, spei, et charitatis, quos propter Christi meritum, Deus in corda nostra gratis diffundit. Denique actualis justitia sit legis divinæ obedientia et observatio, ad quam non ex nobis idonei sumus, sed ex spiritu gratiæ, id est fidei, spei, et charitatis, nobis a Deo per Christum donato.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 1202.

[2] Præterea, potest homo nondum reconciliatus per opera pœnitentiæ impetrare et mereri ex congruo gratiam justificationis.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 1022.

[3] Catholici omnes agnoscunt opera bona justorum esse meritoria vitæ æternæ.—Bellarmin, *ibid.* p. 1009.

OF THE MEANS WHEREBY GOD FROM THE BEGINNING HATH REVEALED BOTH HIS COVENANTS UNTO MANKIND.

Kinds or forms of revelation.

QUESTION. *How many ways are there whereby God from the beginning hath revealed all his will, that is, the doctrine of both covenants, of works and grace, unto mankind?*

ANSWER. They are two.

Q. Which be they?

A. The first is a lively voice, the second is the Scripture.

Q. What callest thou a lively voice?

What is meant by a lively voice.

A. The first means of revelation, whereby God, partly by his own mouth, and partly by men, hath manifested the whole doctrine of both covenants to his Church from time to time.

Q. What were the instruments of that lively voice from the beginning?

Whose it was.

A. First, God himself spake sometimes by his Son in the form or likeness of man, appearing to the Fathers; sometimes by his Spirit inwardly in the heart. Secondly, the lively voice of Angels was heard. Thirdly, the lively voice of men, first of the Fathers, then of Moses and the Prophets; after that of John the Baptist until Christ. Then followed Christ himself, manifested in the flesh. Last of all, the lively voice of the Apostles of Christ.

The quality of it.

Q. This kind of revelation, which was by a lively voice of all those whom you have named, was it by inspiration, and altogether free from error?

A. Concerning the lively voice of God himself, of Christ, and of the Angels, there is no question. And as concerning men, whose lively voice God hath used from the beginning of the world hitherto, in revealing his will to his Church, they truly, albeit they were sinful men, and in part only regenerated; notwithstanding, in the delivery of the doctrine of the truth of both covenants, they were

so extraordinarily governed and inspired with the Holy Spirit of God, that they could by no means err.

Q. Dost thou mean, then, that all men, as many as have been from the beginning of the world hitherto, by whose mouths God hath spoken to his Church, were men extraordinarily endued with extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, and confirmed by miracles?

A. I mean even so; for prophecy in time past came not by the will of man, but holy men spake as they were moved by the Spirit of God. 2 Pet. i. 21.

Q. At what time began this lively voice in the Church?

A. It began even in the first creation of man. When it began.

Q. How long hath the lively voice of God and men, who could not err in delivering the doctrine of the truth, continued in the Church of God?

A. It hath been from the beginning of the world, even to the death of the Apostles, all which time there was almost no age wherein at least some one holy man of God was not extraordinarily stirred up, who could not err in delivering the doctrine of the truth. Continuance of it.

Q. Why do you say almost; was there any intermission at all?

A. Truly there was; but I will name only some more notable intermissions, which may be gathered out of the Holy Scriptures. First, in the age of the Patriarchs it is observed, that there was an intermission in Terach's time, who was the father of Abraham; for albeit he retained some grounds of truth, received from his fathers, notwithstanding he became an apostate and an idolater, as is manifest by the history.[1] Next, there was an intermission also when the people lived in Egypt, for from the death of the sons of Jacob, even to the departure out of Egypt, Ezekiel testifieth, chap. xx. 8, that all the people were fallen from God to the idols of the Egyptians. Lastly, there was an intermission from Malachi, the last of the prophets, until John Baptist, in all which time no prophet was raised up; notwithstanding, the Word of God was continued amongst the people of the Jews by high priests and

[1] Joshua xxiv. 2.

the ordinary ministry, but not without corruptions, so that, at the coming of Christ, for the more part the doctrine of truth was now corrupted.

Whether a lively voice, not subject to error, continues till Christ.

Q. Ought not the lively voice of God, which is not subject to error, be continued in the Church until the coming of Christ, because you said that this lively voice did continue in the Church till the coming of the Apostles only?

A. The lively voice of Christ continues in the Church, I confess, but not the lively voice either of God or of extraordinary men, such as were the Fathers, Prophets, and Apostles; but only the lively voice of ordinary men, of pastors, and doctors, who both may err, and do err, whensoever they depart, never so little, from the prescript word of the Prophets and Apostles.

Q. But God hath given a greater measure of his Holy Spirit to his Church, which now is under Christ, than ever he gave to the old Church. Therefore, if in the old Church there was a lively voice which could not err, how much more shall there be now in the Church of Christ a lively voice which cannot err?

A. It is true, indeed, that together with this full revelation, which is contained in the writings of the Apostles, a more full spirit was given to the Church of Christ which now is than was given to the old Church. But hence it followeth not that either the Church, or the pastors and doctors in the Church, are so governed with that spirit, that they cannot at all err in delivering the truth. For this was the extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghost, which was given but for a time; but the gift of the Spirit, which was given to the Church of Christ since the times of the Apostles, is ordinary and perpetual; to wit, the gift of sanctification, illumination, and regeneration.

Q. The Church, then, which now is, seems to be in a worse case than the old Church was, which had the lively voice of God, and of men which could not err?

A. That doth not follow; for this Scripture of the Prophets and Apostles, which now the Church hath, doth not err in doctrine, and contains also a most full and clear revelation of the truth.

Q. Albeit I should grant the condition of our Church to be better than of that old Church which was before Moses, and which had the tradition and use only of the lively voice, and that very imperfect and obscure; notwithstanding I see not how the Church was not in better case, which was after Moses, even to the coming of Christ, as having not only the use of tradition and of a lively voice, but also of the Prophetical Scripture as a light shining in a dark place?

A. Truly that Church had both, that is, both the sound of a lively voice, and of the Scripture and written Word of God; but neither perfect nor absolute. But this Scripture, which our Church alone[1] hath, contains a most full and plain revelation; for even one form or manner and kind of revelation, which is perfect and full, must be more excellent than two which are both imperfect, or which contain an imperfect revelation of the truth.

Q. But there is no man who would not say it were better with this our Church if it had some lively voice which, in speaking and answering to all controversies, might not err?

A. They have Moses, the Prophets, and Apostles, that is, the writings of Moses, of the Prophets, and of the Apostles, and those truly not only sufficient but most perfect; whence only if they cannot learn the truth by them,[2] and decide and end all controversies, they will not be instructed with the lively voice of any extraordinary man: howbeit, as I have said before, the lively voice was to continue only so long in the Church, as something was wanting to the full declaration of the mystery of Christ. So that, if now there should be any need of the lively voice either of God, or of some extraordinary man in the Church of Christ; that truly should plainly argue, that the revelation of the truth and mystery of Christ is not perfect as yet nor accomplished.

Q. You conclude, then, that since the Apostles' time there hath been no lively voice heard in the Church which could not err?

A. Yea, truly.

[1] Which alone our Church hath. Original: *quam solam habet nostra ecclesia.*

[2] From which indeed if they cannot learn the truth. Original: *ex quibus quidem si veritatem non didicerint.*

Q. Why did a lively voice, not subject to error, continue in the Church all that time, which was from Adam to the Apostles?

A. To speak nothing of the will of God, with the which alone we ought to rest contented; first, the condition of the Church did require this continuance, and then the measure of the revelation that then was.

Q. Why the condition of the Church?

A. Because the visible Church in all that time, which was from Adam to the Apostles, was both in place more strait, as being shut up in one family, or in one nation, and was, by reason of age, weaker, or not so well grown. For the Church before Christ, if I may so speak, was either as a child or as a young man.

Q. What then?

A. The lively voice doth more easily reach, or extend itself to a Church, which is in place more strait, and to the saints fewer in number; and the Church being as yet unexperienced by reason of the age of it, and less grown, had need of the lively voice of a teacher, none otherwise than children have need of the lively voice of a master, who, as it were, stammereth with them. But after the coming of Christ, when the Church was sufficiently instructed by the lively voice of Christ, and of his Apostles, and now come to man's estate, there was no more heard any lively voice either of God or of men extraordinary.

Q. Why did the measure of revelation require this?

A. Because all that time, which was from Adam to the Apostles, there remained as yet something more clearly and more manifestly to be revealed; and the revelation of the doctrine was, in several ages, made more manifest, still as pertaining to the substance of it. And so long as some thing remained to be more clearly revealed, so long a lively voice was to continue; for every new revelation ought first to begin with a lively voice.

Q. Seeing that the last and most full revelation was by the lively voice of Christ and his Apostles, hath there ever since been heard any lively voice, either of God or of any extraordinary man?

A. None at all.

Q. Do you gather by these things, which you have spoken, concerning the causes of the continuance of a lively voice in the Church, what was the use of it heretofore in the Church?

A. Yea, truly; for the use of it was, first, in respect of the Church itself, to give it instruction while it was yet so small for place and so young in knowledge; next, in respect of revelation, to deliver it from time to time more clearly and evidently unto the people.

Q. By this use of a lively voice, which you have here mentioned, it seems that this kind of revelation, which was by a lively voice, was the more simple, and the more familiar, and the more imperfect, and, therefore, the more fit for persons and things that were of like imperfection?

A. It is even so as you have said.

Q. Hitherto I have heard you speak concerning a lively voice; now, I would hear something of you concerning the subject of it; what say you, then, was taught all that time by a lively voice?

A. In all that time, and in every age, the self-same, and the whole truth of God, was delivered by a lively voice.

The subject or matter of the lively voice.

Q. Wherefore, then, said you, that the perfect manifestation of that mystery of godliness was not accomplished till the Apostles' time?

A. By that fulness and perfection I understood not the substance of the doctrine itself, but the quality, that is, the clearness of one and the same doctrine. For the mystery of Christ was in the Church, and was manifested, in some measure, from Adam unto Christ and the Apostles; but if the comparison be made of times, it may be said to be shut and hidden in all ages before the coming of Christ.

Q. Was the purity of the heavenly doctrine sufficiently conserved and kept by a lively voice?

A. The history shows plainly that the doctrine delivered by a lively voice was often corrupted and adulterated.

Q. How, then, was it restored?

A. It seemed good to God, afterward by new revelations, to restore the purity of his word decayed, to conserve and keep it, and to give a more full declaration of it.

Q. Was the purity of doctrine sufficiently preserved and kept so?

A. Not so, verily; and therefore it seemed good to God at length to add hereunto the written word.

Q. Are there no other causes of writing the Holy Scripture?

A. There are; for, first, the condition of the Church required that the Scripture should be added unto the lively voice; and, next, the measure also of revelation.

Q. Why the condition of the Church?

A. Because at length, in Moses' time, the Church began to be both in place more large, as being spread throughout a whole nation, and to grow greater and riper in years; for the time from Moses unto Christ was, as it were, the time of the middle age or young years[1] of the Church.

Q. What then?

A. The written word, therefore, was first[2] in respect both of place and ripeness of age. For both a whole nation is more easily taught by writing than by voice; and the age which is more ripe is more capable of that doctrine which is delivered by writing, that is, by that kind of revelation which is not so familiar and simple, and by writing doth more easily conceive any man's meaning.

Q. Why doth the measure of revelation require the written word?

A. Because, whereas before Moses, the revelation of the mystery of godliness was small and very obscure, it seemed not good to the Lord to cause it straightways to be written, to the intent it might be kept for posterity. But wherein Moses' time the revelation began to be much more clear than before, then it seemed good unto God to commit it to writing, to the intent it might be reserved, and remain for those which should come after. For that which is more perfect and full, that we are to write, to this end, that it may remain both for us and our posterity; but that which is more imperfect, that we do not esteem worthy the writing, or to be reserved unto posterity.

Q. Before you go any further, I would have you declare unto me the ages of the Church, whereof you have so oft made mention?

[1] Original: *adolescentia.*

[2] Suitable. Original: *convenit.*

A. I will do so.

Q. How many ages then, say you, are there of the Church?

A. Three. The first was from Adam unto Moses, which was the infancy and childhood of the Church. The second, from Moses unto Christ, which was the youth or middle age of the Church. The third, from Christ and his Apostles, even unto the end, which may be called the ripe age of the Church, if it be compared with the ages past;[1] for otherwise we are not men grown until we be gathered together with Christ our head in heaven.

Q. Do you mean, then, that God hath respect always of these three ages in his proceedings with his Church?

A. I mean so, indeed; for, that I may so speak, he hath tempered these three things proportionally to these three ages of the Church; to wit, first, the measure of revelation; secondly, his Holy Spirit; thirdly, the manner of revelation.

Q. Declare, I pray you, more particularly what you have said.

A. To the infancy and childhood of the Church he gave the least measure of revelation, to wit, first, the first principles of religion only. Secondly, the least measure of the Holy Spirit, to wit, that which was proportionable to the revelation. Thirdly, one only kind of revelation, which was by lively voice, as being the most fit for the instruction of infants, and of such as were weak in the faith.

Q. I understand what you say concerning the first age of the Church; now, I would have you speak concerning the middle age, which you call the youth of it, and to apply these three things mentioned to it in like manner.

A. To the middle age of the Church he gave, first, a greater measure of revelation. Secondly, so to speak, a greater portion of the Holy Spirit. Thirdly, a double kind of revelation, the lively voice, and the Scripture. The lively voice, I say, because as yet it was but weak; and the written word, because it was in age better grown, and so more capable, in some sort, of the word

[1] Those ages that had gone before. Original: *cum præcedentibus illis ætatibus.*

written; for God hath tempered[1] these two kind of revelations together, and of both hath made a middle kind of revelation, according to the time and age which we call the middle, and, as it were, the temperate age.

Q. You have spoken of the first and second age of the Church, now, I pray you, speak of the third.

A. To the third age of the Church, which I call the manly or ripe age, he gave, first, a full measure of revelation. Secondly, a most plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost. Thirdly, both those kinds of revelations, and that now truly containing a full and perfect revelation; he taught it by lively voice for a certain time, and, after this, he added the writings of the Apostles. And when, as the mystery of our salvation was fully revealed by that lively voice first, and then that full revelation was written, ever since there hath been no more use of the lively voice of any extraordinary Prophet or Apostle. But the Scriptures, written first by the Prophets, and after by the Apostles, remained only without any lively voice, which could not err.

Q. Where must we begin to count the third age of the Church?

A. Not so much from the coming of Christ, and the sending of his Apostles to all nations, as from that time when the Apostles ceased to speak with lively voice as well to the Jews as to the Gentiles; for even then the Church catholic came to man's estate and full growth, and then the Church began to understand and to learn the will of God by the written word,[2] as being a more accurate and perfect manner of revelation. The time then which was from the coming of Christ until the death of the Apostles, was as it were a passage from the middle age of the Church unto the full growth and ripeness of the same.

Q. I understand what you say concerning the causes of addition of the written word to the lively voice and of the several ages of the Church,

[1] Original: *temperavit*, meaning "compounded," which is the sense in which we must understand "temperate," four lines below.

[2] Written word alone. Original: *ex solo scripto*.

now I would have you speak something concerning the Scripture, or of the writing of God's word.

A. I will do so.

Q. What, then, call you writing or Scripture?

A. I call Scripture or writing the second kind of revelation, whereby God either by himself, or by the means of men, extraordinarily revealed those things, which already had been delivered by lively voice before, to wit, in that first kind of revelation.

Q. Who, then, were they who ever since the beginning have written?

A. First, God himself; next, men, Moses, the Prophets, and the Apostles.

Q. This kind of revelation, which was by writing, was it not subject to error like as that kind which was by a lively voice?[1]

A. No, truly; for concerning that which God himself did write there is no question; and, touching men, they were so extraordinarily inspired and governed by the Spirit of God, that in writing they could not err at all.

Q. When began it then[2] *to be written?*

A. In Moses' time.

Q. How long did the word written continue in the Church?

A. The Scripture, or the act of writing, continued from Moses, even to the Apostles, all which time there was almost no age wherein extraordinarily some one was not stirred up, who, in delivering the doctrine of truth by writing, could not err.

Q. You think otherwise of the Scripture itself than of the act of writing?

A. I do so; for the Scripture itself, or that which is now written

[1] Our author does not mean that the revelation by a "heavenly voice," was subject to error—though his words are ambiguous. They are: *An modus hic revelationis qui fuit per scriptionem errori non est obnoxius, perinde ut modus ille qui fuit per vivam vocem?* He evidently understands *non-obnoxius* to be a compound term—"free from" error, as the revelation by a lively voice was (*non-obnoxius*) free from error. And, accordingly, the answer begins: *Ita est*, "Yes, it is free from error."

[2] "When at length," *i. e.* in the progress of the Church. Original; *Quando demum.*

by Moses, the Prophets, and Apostles, yet continues in the Church and shall continue unto the second coming of Christ.

Q. Was there any intermission of writing the word from Moses unto the Apostles?

A. There was; for it appeareth in all that time, which was from Malachi till John the Baptist, none was stirred up, either prophet or writer inspired by God, for the books of the Maccabees be not given by inspiration, as we shall show hereafter.[1]

Q. You said that writing continued in the Church until the time of the Apostles; ought it not then to continue unto the end?

A. Like as, since the Apostles' time, there is no lively voice heard in the Church, which can be said to be so governed by the Holy Ghost that it cannot err at all; so, since the Apostles, nothing is written in the Church which may worthily be called or said to be given by inspiration.

Q. What, then, do you think of so many writings of godly and learned men, which have been published since the times of the Apostles, from time to time, to the great good and profit of the Church?

A. Verily, I think of the writings of the pastors and doctors in the Church as I think of their preaching, to wit, that both be subject to error, and neither is so governed by the Holy Ghost, but in delivering the truth of God they may err.

Q. It seemeth, then, that the condition of the Church, which, since the time of the Apostles, is not so good, as having neither the lively voice, as is aforesaid, nor the writings, as now you speak, of those very men who in delivering the truth cannot err?

A. It hath the Scriptures of the Prophets and Apostles, which, as pertaining to the substance of revelation, is full; and, as touching the kind and form of revelation, it is given by inspiration, and not subject to error; out of the which Scripture whosoever do not learn all things which are necessary to faith and salvation, assuredly such would not receive from the mouth of God himself, openly

[1] He refers to the treatise on "Effectual Calling," where the Apocrypha is discussed. See chap. xvii. The subject forms no part of this Catechism.

speaking in an audible and intelligible voice, the doctrine and instruction of faith and salvation.

Q. Wherefore did the Lord so continue to record his will by writing in the Church all that time, which was from Moses to the Apostles? The cause of the continuance of writing God's Word.

A. There are the same causes of the continuance thereof, as are of the addition of the lively voice unto writing; for both the condition of the Church and the measure of revelation required the same.

Q. Why the condition of the Church?

A. Because the Church continually increased and grew, as in numbers, so in knowledge.

Q. What then?

A. The greater number and riper knowledge do require this, that the word be written.

Q. Why the measure of revelation?

A. Because the revelation of the doctrine of salvation was from time to time made more clear and manifest, even unto the times of Christ and his Apostles, at which time it was in the end complete and perfected. For it was meet that every revelation manifested more clearly and fully should be recorded in writing, to this end, that it might be surely kept and delivered to posterities.

Q. Can ye gather by these things the use of the continuance of Scripture in the Church of God? The use of writing.

A. Yea, truly.

Q. What is then the use of it?

A. To pass by the consideration of the purity of doctrine, the first use was in respect of the Church, for the instruction thereof, as being now in place more ample and large, and in knowledge more perfect. Secondly, it was in respect of the revelation of the doctrine itself, that it might comprehend and keep it more fully and clearly.

Q. By this use of Scripture, or writing, which you give, it seems that this kind of revelation, which is by writing, is somewhat more perfect and high, as that which is best agreeing and fitting to persons and things that are more perfect?

A. It is even so.

Q. Thus far, then, for writing or Scripture. Now I would have you declare something unto me concerning the subject of this writing, and of the matter itself which is written?

A. As touching the substance, the very same is written which was before delivered by the lively voice.

Q. I pray you speak in order unto me of the subject or argument in Scripture, written first by God himself, secondly by men, by Moses, the Prophets, and Apostles.

A. I will do so.

Q. What then hath God written?

A. The sum of the doctrine of the covenant of works, and of the law, even the very same which he had delivered first by a lively voice to the Fathers and to Moses.

Q. What hath Moses written?

Moses' books. A. All the celestial doctrine, which he had received partly of the Fathers by tradition, partly of God himself, who spake mouth to mouth[1] with him, for so the Scripture speaketh; partly he had learned of the Holy Ghost by an inward inspiration; and, to speak in a word, whatsoever had happened to him, and to all the people in his lifetime, for the space of one hundred and twenty years, all these things he committed to writing, and gave to the people.

Q. Did Moses, then, write whatsoever true doctrine was delivered from the beginning of the world to that time?

A. Moses omitted no point of true doctrine, which at any time had been delivered concerning either faith or manners, for from the beginning unto that very time one and the same doctrine of truth, as touching the substance, was taught full and whole in all ages. The difference only was in the measure of the revelation of it, that it is accidental;[2] and Moses delivered this doctrine fully and wholly by lively voice more clearly and manifestly than ever before; then after this, it was recorded in writing.

[1] Face to face. Original: *ore ad os.* See Exodus xxxiii. 11, &c.

[2] *In accidente, i. e.* in a part not necessarily belonging to the essence. The *substance* was the same, but the *fullness*, called in the language of the schoolmen *accidens*, was different. The distinction will be seen from the next note.

Q. What did the Prophets write, who followed Moses every one in their time and order?

A. The same and all, as touching the substance, which Moses had written before; the difference only was herein, that every one by revelation did add a more clear and manifest interpretation, as the bright morning star did approach more near.

Q. What have the Apostles written after the Prophets?

A. All and the same, which from the beginning of the world in all ages before them was both by lively and audible voice delivered and written, they first also by lively voice delivered the same, and after committed it to writing.

Q. Do you, then, make no difference betwixt the writings of the Prophets and of the Apostles?

A. In the matter and substance, none; in the clearness and perspicuity thereof, very great;[1] for the Scriptures of the Apostles, containeth the same revelation of the mystery, which was declared from the beginning of the world, but most fully and most clearly.

Q. I have heard you speak concerning both kinds of revelation, considered without comparison; now I would have you to compare together the lively voice and writing, that by comparison it may appear whether it is of greater dignity and authority.

A. I will compare them together. The lively voice and Scripture are compared either in respect of substance and of matter itself, which is revealed by these means, or in respect of the kinds of the revelation of it. If comparison be made in regard of the matter or substance, they must needs be both equal and alike, seeing that the matter in either is one and the same; but if you compare the kinds of revelation together, it cannot truly be denied but that the first and better place is due to the lively voice, seeing that the lively voice is both in respect of time more ancient, and was before the organs or instruments thereof[2]—for the mouth is an instrument more worthy and to be preferred before the hand—and is a kind of teaching more familiar and more fit for the capacity of such as are

[1] Original: *in re et substantia nullum, in rei claritate et accidente magnum.*

[2] Is first in point of instruments. Original: *organis prior sit.*

more rude and ignorant. Albeit, also, in some respects writing is to be preferred before the lively voice; for it is a more perfect and accurate kind of revelation, fit to instruct those that are more perfect, and to keep the truth more firmly. In the meanwhile, it cannot be denied but that in other respects they are both alike, for they have both spoken and written the same thing, and in the same manner,[1] to wit, as being guided and moved by the Holy Ghost and inspired of God, 2 Pet. i. 21; 2 Tim. iii. 16. To conclude, seeing that now the lively voice by the will of God hath ceased, and in the place of it the Scripture hath succeeded; so, that whole dignity of the lively voice before mentioned is, and ought worthily to be, ascribed and referred unto the Scripture; or written Word of God.

Q. Do you mean, then, that the Prophetical and Apostolical Scripture ought to be now in as great account with us as the lively voice of God himself, and of extraordinary men was in times past?

A. I mean so; and in this kind of revelation alone I willingly rest, as in that which came by inspiration from God, so long, until I shall hear at his glorious coming that lively and most sweet voice of Christ my Saviour; when he shall say to them who shall be at his right hand, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world.* To whom be all praise for ever. Amen.

To God only wise be praise through Jesus Christ for ever. Amen.

[1] For it is this same men that hath both spoken and written; and that in the same manner. Original: *idem enim et loquuti sunt, et scripserunt, et eodem modo.*

CERTAINE SERMONS VPON SEVERALL *PLACES OF THE* Epiſtles of PAVL.

PREACHED BE M. *ROBERT ROLLOK* Miniſter of the Euan- *gell of Ieſus Christ at* EDINBVRGH.

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Cum Priuilegio Regali.

TO THE CHRISTIANE READER.

As all the godlie and profitabill instrumentis in the Kirk of Christ haif not lived togidder at ane time, nor in ane land; bot the Lord, even the Lord of the harvest hes sent furth heir and thair, now and then, labourers, according to his awin gude plesure, and as he hes sene the neid of his people and corruptioun of the time to crave. Sa he hes never at onie time communicat all graces to ane, bot according to the divers turnis that ar to doe in his house, hes given unto diverse men diverse graces, sa that in everie ane thair hes bene and is to espy sum grace (at the leist a greater measure of it) quhilk ane uther laikis. Thair ar diversitie of gifts, bot the same Spreit, and thair ar diversitie of administratiounis, bot the same Lord: and thair ar diversitie of operations, bot God is the same, quha wirketh all in all, sayis the Apostle. Zit thair is never ane quhome the Lord ever sent, or dois send furth, bot they have brocht and bringis with them gold, mirrhe, and franckincense: that is, even he quhais grace in comparisoun will be called mein, being considered in the self, is mair precious nor the maist precious thing in the warld, and mair savorie in the spirituall sanctuarie, then all the odouris and perfumes in the eirth. Amangis the rest of the Lord his Messingers that hath cum furth in thir last times, quhen we remember of that worthy and deir servand of God, M. Robert Rollok, (quha having died in the Lord now restis fra his labouris), and considderis the great varietie and diversitie of excellent graces and gifts quhilk the Lord maid to schyne in him, we cannot bot admire the Lord his bountie and riches of his mercie, schawin furth in the persoun of that man towardis this last and declyning age of the warld. For, to banische

darknes and ignorance, this man come furth with a measure of licht and knawledge far bezond uthers, quhilk he hes employit sa profitablie to the weill of God his Kirk, as I think thair be few pairtis of this land (for of uthers I ceis to speik) that findis not the fruit of his travellis: quhair thair is not ane or mae in quhome the Lord used him as ane instrument to dres and prepair them for his wark. Bot quhen I speik of knawledge in this man, I mon call it sanctified knawledge, quhilk al men that knew him micht cleirlie have persaved: First, for that he used all his knawledge in sciences, in artes, and languages (quhilk in him was not small) as helpis and furtherances to that chief point of knawledge quhairin standis life eternall, even of the Lord and of his sonne Jesus Christ quhome he hes sent. Nixt in his account and estimation quhilk he had of all thir giftis, notwithstanding excellent in themselfis, he estemed him to knaw nathing bot Christ and him crucified; and last of al in that singular blissing of God that accumpanied al his travels, sa that the Lord, be the visibil incres declared, that he planted in his name, he watered in his name, and as he laboured to him, sa he reaped to him. He was wise, bot wise according to sobriety. He was zealous, bot (quhilk is rair), his zeall was tempered with a halie discretioun, quhilk keipis men from committing of that quhilk is unworthie of thair calling. For suppois the Disciples of Christ wer commended fra that effect of thair zeal, that they left al to follow Christ, zit they are als far discommended, quhen (as wald appeir of zeall), they craved that fyre micht cum doun from hevin and consume the Samaritanes. Zea, our Maister sayis to them, Ze knaw not of quhat spreit ze ar. Bot by the way ane of the symptomes of the seiknes of our age appeiris not to be heit, bot cauldnes; and sa our diseis is the mair deidlie; for the bodie that is hait, is distempered, bot the bodie quhilk is altogidder cauld, is dead. Thair was beside all thir graces in that notabill servant of God sic a rare and wonderfull grace of humility and meiknes, quhilk in sic sort seasoned all the rest of his graces, that he was content to abase him self under al, and to becum, as it wer, ane servant to al, that he micht win al to Christ. He cuid

never be drawin to give over hard and rigorous ane censure of ony; he met never the calumnies and bitter speiches of men with the like, he spak never of the maist deboschit sinner, bot with pitie, schawing him self ever touched with ane sense of the common miserie and corruption of nature. He eschewed all schawis and ostentatioun, to lurk at his studie and meditation he tuke pleasure, sa that to be sene he desired never, except quhen the exercises of his calling drew him in publict. To be schort, all that luiked upon him in all his occupations micht have sene him as a man out of the warld, consecrat and sanctified to the service of his God. We have a common proverbe quhairin we say, Familiaritie geners contempt: because men oft frequenting togidder, espyis ilk ane in uther sic infirmities as makis them peice and peice, to tyne that reverent estimation, quhilk utherwayis they wald have: Bot surelie how sa ever he wanted not his awin sinnes and infirmities in the sicht of his God, familiaritie with him brocht out the contrair effect: for as men grew in familiaritie with him, they espied ever farther and farther grace in him, of quhilk it come to pas, the greater familiarity the greater lufe and reverence, as I have heard gude men and of sound judgement, that had bene langest acquaint with him, and wer oftest in his cumpanie, give him this testimonie (efter his departure), that they culd never espy in him onie thing bot that quhilk was worthie of imitation. Now, as in al thir things quhairof I have spoken, the Kirk of God in this time micht think themself mekill addebted and behaldin to thair God in the person of this man: sa especially in that notabill gift of publict preiching and opening up of the Texts of Scriptures, to the greit comfort and singulare edificatioun of the heirers. With quhat haly gravity, with quhat spiritual authoritie, zea, with how greit evidence and demonstration of the Spreit he dischargit this point of dewtie, I refer mee to the conscience of his heirers; the affectioun of his hart, the words of his mouth, togidder with his haill outward actioun did sa concurre, that being as it wer ane man transported and ravished himself, he ever drew his auditor in the same sense with him; and the maist gros of judgement did per-

save that his ministerie was not a bair and naked ministery, bot accumpanied with Spreit and grace. Sa that thair ar monie saullis now blissing the time quhairin it pleasit the Lord to deall with them be the ministerie of that man, and mak the power of religion to cum to their hartis. And becaus that his forme of teiching, being sa weill warranded, and having sa speciall ane blessing accumpanying it, may serve as a reull and exemplar to uthers that sall cum efter, we have not thocht meit that the posteritie suld be defrauded of this benefite, bot rather or sum thing suld not be extant to mak knawin his forme of teiching, we wer content to tak the scrols quhilk we fand in the hand of sum of his schollers quha wrait at his mouth, quhill he teiched, and to give them furth to licht for the comfort of Goddis Kirk. And albeit it be true that in the letters we ar not able to expres and schaw furth that quhilk was maist singular in him, quhill he uttered thir thingis be vive voice, zit in them we propose unto zou his form, that he keip it in publict preching quhilk may serve to monie gude usis, baith to teichers and heirers; for he esteming ever sobrietie, prayer, and humbil meditation to be preferred to curious and presumpteous inquisition, keipit in the handling of the Scripture of God that halie simplicitie quhilk heir ze may persaif. For as every sound is not Musick, sa everie sermon is not Preiching, bot worse then gif ane suld stand up and reid a Homelie. And suppois art had taucht him weil aneuch to go heich in his style, and be exquisite in his termis, zit in this cace of preiching ze sall see him set all that kind of art, and the colouris forged in the brain of man aside; Sa dangerous a thing estemed he it, and sa it is indeid, not to descrive Christ his croce in the awin colours, or to defile it with humane eloquence! Besidis this, of him ze sall leirn heir that preiching and opinning up of Scripture, stands not in liberty of discoursing, men taking small occasions of the words, and thairby carying the heirers far fra the present purpois, bot standis in a plain and evident opening up, and precise sticking be the words and purpois of the text: and then hes thou a warrand in uttering: then is it also that the people edifies in heiring, quhen na thing sounds in thair

eiris bot his word quha hes promeist the blessing, and the thing quhilk is solidlie grounded thairupon. Then ar men brocht to beleve becaus like the nobil man of Berœa efter seking of the Scriptures they find it to be sa as hes bene spokin. We offer then thir few Sermons for the reasons quhairof we have spoken, not to the proud and wise of this warld, in quhais eies the croce of Christ and al preiching semis fulischnes, bot to the humble and meik scheip of Christ, to be weyit be them in the richt balance of the sanctuary, that is examined according to the cannon and rule of the Scripture: and we doubt nathing bot they sal find weicht in them. And seing that the calling hathe of sic ane Ambassadour of peace portendis weir: and the removing of sic a licht threitnis darknes and wraith, let us seik al be the tears of repentance, to prevent the imminent judgement. The Prophet Amos cals it ane evil time, quhairin the prudent keipis silence: sa we may call this a hard and ane evil time quhairin sa prudent, sa grave and learnit a man keipis silence, and is callit hame to his rest for the sins of the land. I will not detein zou Christian reidar with langer letter fra the purpois. As this man in his lifetime waited not for honor, for riches, for pleisure, for the countenance of men, bot with Simeon, waitit for the consolation of Israel: sa having imbraced his Saviour in the armes of his saull, joyfull and peaceable was his departure, and his eies saw the salvation of the Lord, with quhom as he ringis now in saul, sa sal his body be raisit up at the last day, and his glory accomplisched. The Lord mak us to live the life and die the deith of the richteous, that with them we may be pertakers of that glorie. *Amen.*

UNTO THE TOWN AND Kirk of Edinburgh anent the departure of thair maist godlie, learned, and painfull Doctour and Pastour, M. ROBERT ROLLOK.

SONNET I.

Thy Divine Doctor deirest now is deid,
Thy peirless Preicher now hes plaide his part:
Thy painfull Pastor, quha in loue did leid
Thy little Lambes, with sweet and tender hart,
Hes dried his dayes, with sair and bitter smart,
To purchase pleasand profit unto thee.
His words, his warks, his wayes, his vertues gart
Thee get this gaine of great felicitie.
How thou suld live, and how that thou suld die
In Jesus Christ, he hes in word and deid
Declared and done unto thine eare and eye,
Als weill as thou could ever heare or reid.
O follow then, till thou atteyne to this,
And schaw a thankefull hart to him and his.

II.

Richt happie war his hearers, when he lived,
And happie war his hearers at his dead,
Bot happier quha heiring baith, believed
That word of life, quhilk can not fall nor fead.
I heare how humblit mekill dule was maid
Be all his hearers, at the buriall:
And justly, for he stude them in great stead,
To leade them to the life celestiall.
Bot let us Pastors, and zou people all
Haste to that happines wherein he is,
Professing truly Christ on quhome we call,
As he hes teached and practised quhome we mis.
Sa sall the preassing to his halines,
Mak us atteyne unto that happines.

TO THE DEFUNCT.

Of Christ thou was the Pastor, and the scheip,
That hard his voice, and lovingly obeyit,
That fed his Lambis, and cairfully them keipt
With painfull labour, and na tyme delayit,
On Christ thy hart was haillie set and stayit:
Of Christ thou ever thocht, thou spak, and wryte,
With Christ thou wissed all thy warkis arrayit,
In Christ, in life and deid, was thy delyte.
Be Christ, nocht ellis, thou socht to be perfyte;
And finallie thy Christ to thee was all.
Sa hes he cround in thee that wark sa greit,
And brocht thee to his blis perpetuall.
O! micht I follow as I clearlie see
Thy rare example! sa so live and die.

M. I. MELVILL.*

* Mr James Melvill, Minister of Kilrenny and Anstruther, in Fife, and author of the Autobiography published by the Wodrow Society.

THE FIRST SERMON.

2. Cor. Cap. 5.

1. For we knaw that gif our earthly hous of this Tabernacle be destroyit, we have a buylding given of God, that is, a hous nocht made with hands, bot eternall in the heavens.
2. For therefore we sigh, desyring to be clothed with our hous, quhilk is from heaven.
3. Because that gif we be clothed, we sall not be found naked.
4. For indeid we that ar in this Tabernacle, sigh and ar burdened, becaus we wald not be unclothed, bot wald be clothed upon, that mortalitie might be swallowed up of lyfe.

In the Chapter immediatlie going before, the Apostle Paul hes bene speiking of the afflictions that he sufferit in his awin person, and hes declarit that thair was twa things that held him up in those afflictions, the ane thing present, the uther thing to cum. The thing present, the power of God, the lyfe of Jesus; this held him up in sic sort (sayis he) that quhen he was dying under afflictioun in the bodie, zit the lyfe of Jesus was manifest in him, and he was living in saull: and the mair his bodie was decaying and wearing away, the mair the inner man, that spirituall lyfe that flowis from Christ, grew and was renewit. Woe to that man that dyis altogidder: thou mon die, and this bodie and lyfe mon sever, the bodie mon gang* to the dust, bot luik that saul and bodie gang† not togidder. Luik that as thou findis the bodie and lyfe naturall to decay, sa thou find that spiritual lyfe, that flowis fra the Lord

* The body must go, &c. *Edition of* 1634; from which the other various readings given in these foot-notes are derived.

† Go.

of lyfe, to grow, or ellis of necessitie thou mon have ane wofull departure. This is the thing present that held him up. Ane other thing and greater quhilk was not present bot to cum, held him up under all the afflictiounis that was laid on him, quhilk he utteris in thir wordis, "The momentanean lichtnes of afflictioun wirkis unto us ane everlasting wecht of glorie that passis in excellencie." Thir ar the wordis of the Apostle, quhairin he wald leirne us that efter all thir afflictiounis ar done and endit, thair abydis ane glorie efter this lyfe, that passis in infinite degreis above all the afflictiounis that ever came to man in this lyfe. Will ze luik to the nature of the afflictiounis; first, they ar licht, that is ane propertie; then, they last bot for ane moment, that is ane uther propertie; the weicht of them is licht, the time of thair during is bot ane moment. "Bot the glorie," (mark every word of the Apostle), "the glorie" (sayis he) "passis in excellencie." It is not onlie excellent, bot it excellis in excellencie; excellent above excellency; ane heip above ane heip, mounting up to an infinite heip. Then luik to the wecht thereof, it is not licht, bot it is heavie; the afflictiounis war licht as ane fether, or as the wind in comparison of this glorie, bot the glorie is hevie and weichtie, ane wecht of glorie that passis in excellencie, this is the first propertie. Than luik to the tyme, the afflictiounis wer bot for ane moment. And gif thou suld live ane thousand zeirs, and be afflictit als monie zeiris, (for all thy dayis, and thy best dayis, and thou suld live never sa weill, ar bot dayis of affliction,) all the thousand zeiris ar bot ane moment in respect of that eternitie that followis. Then let ever zour eie be upon eternity of joy, or eternitie of paine, eternity either of torment or of rest. Afflictioun is bot for ane moment, this glory that passis in excellencie is eternall in time. Luke how great things is spoken in few words; ane glorie passing in weicht and eternitie. And quhen he hes tauld zou all that he can, he hes not atteinit to the thousand part of the greatnesse of that glorie; never man thocht of it as it is, nor it could never enter into the hart of man that excellent glorie that is preparit for them that love God, 1. Cor. ii. 9.

Quhen he hes set doun thir twa pointis in the end of the chapter preceiding, he gais forward, and he schawis quhat he is doing in the meantime quhill he get this excellent glorie. Learn to do as he is doing. He sayis, "my eies are not upon the warld; My luke is not set upon thir visibill thingis that men hes sa great pleasure into; bot my eies ar liftit up, and I am luking to thingis invisible, that the mortall eie of man can not see, because all thir things visible ar bot temporall, and will decay." Gif it wer ane kingdom and thou begin to rest or repose upon it, it will decay, and thou sall fal doun togidder with it, and perische everlastinglie. Bot the things invisible ar eternall, and he quha leanis and reposis thairon, sall get eternitie. Luke to the condition of those thingis quhairupon thou reposis in this warld. For gif they be thingis hevinly, spirituall and eternall, thou sall be hevinlie, spirituall and eternall. And as ever thou wald wis to see that glorie, luke that thy eie be set thairon in this eirth, luke that thy eie be mountit up above al thir eirthly things, and that thou keip the hevinly things in thy sicht; forzet them not, for gif thou die, and they be out of thy sight, thou sall never sie them. Take pleasure to luke to that excellent glorie, and thou sall obteine it, otherwayis not.

Now I cum to the text: I sal let zou see the dispositioun of the Apostle, and quhat he esteimis of this life present, quhairof we account sa mekil, and quhairupon our hart and mynd is sa set to keep it. All our terrour is for the parting of the saull from the body, luik to Paule quhat he dois, and behald his dispositioun either in lyfe or deith. Brethren, we have the mair mister to tak tent to thir thingis,* because we sall all be put to the prufe: happie is he that can be preparit. The Apostle having spoken this that his eie was set on that hevinlie glorie. It micht have bene said, thou settis thyne eie upon ane lyfe above, bot tak heid Paul thou sall die in the mein time, is not lyfe and deith twa contrares? thou mon die, and that bodie of thyne mon be dissolvit? lukis thou ever to ryse again? thinkis thou anie other thing bot to be disappointed of lyfe? luikis thou that that body of thyn,

* We have the more need to take heed to these things, &c.

being dissolvit in dust, sall ryse againe to glorie? This is ane fair tentatioun, and sundry thinkis efter this maner. The Apostle answeris, "We knaw that gif our eirthlie hous of this Tabernacle be dissolvit, we have ane buylding given be God, ane hous not maid with handis bot eternell in the hevinnis." Leirne ane lessoun heir. Ze se quhil ane man is luiking to hevin, he will not be without tentatioun, nay not Paule himself, nor na other man nor woman, that hes thair conversatioun in hevin. And the special tentatioun of him quha wald faine have lyfe, is deith, and the dreidfull sicht of deith, and deith is ever in his eie. He was never borne bot deith will tempt him, deith will be terrible to flesche and blude; and when he is luiking up to that licht and glorie in hevin, it will cum in betwixt his eie and the sicht of hevin, as it wer ane terrible black cloud, and sum tyme will twin* him and that sicht of hevin. As quhen ane man is luiking up to the Sun, ane cloud will cum in on ane suddainty and tak the sicht of the Sun frae him: sa quhen ane man is luiking up to the Sun of richteousnesse Christ Jesus, that cloud of deith will cum in and cleik the sicht† of Christ fra him. This is our estait heir, and thair is nane acquainted with heavinlie thingis, bot he will find this in experience as Paule did. Bot quhat is the remedie? In the first worde of the text that we have red, he says, "we knaw," and we ar assured, for the word importis ane full assurance, and faith, and ane full perswasion. Then the remedie aganis this tentation of deith is only faith, ane full perswasioun and licht in the minde of the knawledge of the glorie of God in the face of Christ, with ane gripping and apprehensioun thairof: this is the onlie remedie. The man that lyis in ignorance, and hes not this knawledge, he is oppressit be deith. Sa ever seik, and seik earnestlie for licht, Christ is licht: and let zour plesour be in licht, for deith is darknesse, and it smoris‡ the saull except it be lichtnit with this licht that cumis fra the face of Jesus. Bot to be mair speciall, quhat licht and knawledge mon this be? quhat assurance man this be? Thou man knaw and be assurit, not that thou will be

* Sunder. † Catch the sight. ‡ Smothereth.

exemit fra deith; nay, begyle not thy self, die mon thou, and resolve to die: sa it mon not be sic ane assurance as to be perswadit that thou sall not die, opponing thy self to deith, saying I will not die, and I sall not die. Then quhat assurance and knawledge mon this be? Ever this, that efter I am dead I sall ryis againe to lyfe. It is trew, O death, thou sall sease upon my bodie, and thou sall not leave it quhill it be dissolvit in dust, bot quhen thou hes gottin this bodie dissolvit, I sall recover ane new glorious bodie: Thair is the meiting of this tentatioun, assure thy self of lyfe efter deith. Seik this assurance, and labour to pearce with the eie of faith throw the cluds of tentatiounis to see that lyfe in Christ quhilk is hid up above those cluddis. Seik that eie of faith to pearce in throuch those cluds, to schaw thee that life and the Sun of richteousness Christ Jesus. Now the wordis would be weyit particularlie; and first, mark ane descriptioun of this death, and of the tentatiouns that wald sever thee from that life eternall. The wordis ar thir, "Gif our eirthlie hous of this tabernacle be dissolvit." Then quhat is death? ane dissolution and lousing of ane thing that was joynit togidder, ane dissolving and scattering of the parts of it: it is not ane utter destruction of it, the thing that it dissolvis, it wrackis* not utterlie. It lyis not in the handis of deith to wrack† the thing it dissolvis: it may weill louse it and cast it sundrie, bot it cannot destroy it. Then deith is ane dissolutioun, not ane destructioun: ane dissolving, quhairof? Not of the saull, it lyis not in the power of deith to louse thy saull, or sunder the partis thereof, thou hes that advantage. Death will dissolve and louse thy house, the ludging that thou dwellis in, that is, this bodie quhilk cleithis thy saul. Thou art termit be thy saull, and the saull properlie makis ane man to be ane man; it is the cheif part of man, and the bodie is callit the ludging of the saull, and the saull dwellis in it as in ane house. Sa deith is the dissolutioun of the body, of the hous, quhilk it lousis into powder: zea it will louse all the members and partis of the house. O, bot mark quhen it cummis to powder and asches, it lyis not in the handis of deith

* Destroyeth. † Destroy.

to destroy the powder and asches of the bodie, bot that powder and aschis in spyte of deith will be gatherit and set togidder in ane mair glorious forme of bodie nor ever it was befoir. Zit luik how the apostle descryvis this house: first fra the matter, secundlie fra the forme thairof. As for the matter he callis it " our eirthlie hous." This bodie is bot clay, evin ane lump of that clay and eirth quhairupon thou gangis,* esteim of it as thou wil: ze se the mater of this body is vile and contemptible. As for the form thairof, it is ane hous, nocht ane hous that hes ane fundatioun or biggit† on ane groundstane, bot ane tabernacle and flitting tent. It is set doun heir the day, the morne tane up and set doun in ane uther place. Thy body is ane pavillion that men transports hither and thither as they pleis. Then thou seis that thy body is ane thing little worth, quhidder thou luik to the mater quhairof it is maid, of the eirth, or to the form thairof, ane unstabil tent or pavilion. Now mark this weill, Brethren, quha speiks this? It is Paul. How speikis he it? Be faith. Speikis the body this? Na. Quhat then? The saul that dwellis in the body as in ane ludging speikis it. The saull is speiking of the body, the faithful saul of Paul is speiking of his fraile body. Then leirn how little faith counts of deith. Leirne also how little the faithful saul counts of the body, zea even then quhen it is dwelling in the body, it wil lichtly the ludging thairof: It wil cal it ane lump of clay, ane tabernacle, ane tent, an frail hous. It wil count na mair thairof nor ane glorious king wil count of ane coit hous,‡ he having many fair palices. Weil brethren, it is faith that dois this; it is not the saul allane that can count sa lichtly of deith, or the frail body. Gif thou have onlie the saull in the bodie and want this faith, the saull will think the bodie sweit to dwell in. It is faith and the faithfull saull that dois the turn. And thair is not ane better argument nor this to see gif thy saull be faithfull or not. Luke quhat estimation thou hes of thy body and carcase, quhat account thou makis thereof: I say to thee, gif thou hes thy cheif plesour in esteiming of thy bodie, decking and feiding it, following thy appetyte, wallowing in

* Goest. † Builded. ‡ Cottage.

the lust thairof, gif thou lives in sic estimation of thy bodie, I say thou hes a faithles saull remayning within thy bodie. Wo to that faithles man that hes na uther pleasure, nor can grip nor seik to na uther thing, bot to the plesing of that fleschlie bodie, without regard of the pretious saul: allace[1] in plesuring thy bodie thou tynis[2] thy saul, thou makis thy body thy hevin, and thou testifies plainly, that thou wants that licht and sense of that hevinlie bodie, quhilk sall be efter this lyfe. This far for the description of the death of the body, quhilk is the hous of the saul, learning us to esteim of the saul and bodie as they ar in deid, and that not with ane fleschlie sense, bot with the spirituall eies of faith.

Now we cum to the lyfe that is contrarie to deith. Thair is twa partis of man, his saull and his bodie, this glorie quhilk we speik of is not the glorie of the saull onlie, bot the glorie of the bodie likewise, ane glorie belanging baith to saull and bodie. "We," (sayis he), "sall get ane building, not ane saric[3] house, as this eirthlie bodie was, bot ane fair buylding." He callis the bodie quhilk we have presentlie ane hous, bot the body quhilk we sal get he termes it ane building, thou gat this body fra nature, that uther is above nature; nature can not give thee that other body, God sall give thee it above nature, and against nature. Quhat buylding is this? It is ane hous not biggit[4] with the handis of men; it is biggit with God's awin hand; the Lord immediately with his awin hand biggis[5] up this buylding. The former house of this body was unstabil, and had na abiding, for this bodie passis away, but this secund buylding is ane house that sal never fal nor flit, bot sal be eternal: quhen thou sal get this buylding, thou sal not neid to be feirit for the dissolutioun thairof; it sall never be dissolvit. Quhair sal this buylding be biggit? Men regardis mekill[6] situatioun in buylding? This hous in the quhilk we dwel heir it is biggit in the eirth, and it is ane tabernacle pitchit quhylis[7] in this place, quhylis in that place, bot the situation of this buylding sall be in the hevin. For I assure thee, fra anis ane man[8] is glori-

[1] Alas! [2] Losest. [3] Silly. [4] Builded. [5] Builded. [6] Much. [7] Sometimes. [8] When a man is once.

fyit, and enteris in that glorie, he sall na mair returne to the eirth. The eirth dow[1] not beir ane glorifyit person; Christ glorifyit could not byde in the eirth, bot being glorifyit he went to that glorious mansioun in hevin. Thou sall na sooner be glorifyit, bot thou sal mount up to hevin as Christ did. Weill, then, thair is the glorie, and thair is no word heir, bot it aggregis that passing glorie. Everie word lets us see the greatnes of that glory, and zit it is not all tauld. Nay, Paul can not tel thee al the glorie that sal be in the glorifyit bodie, he hes maid[2] bot ane little inckling of it. It is bot ane buylding quhairof he tellis thee. Zit mark, quha is this that spekis this? It is Paul. How speikis he it? Be faith. Is it his mouth that speikis it? Nay. It is the saull that ludgis in the bodie, that fallis out in the extolling of that buylding that it sall dwell in. As ane sillie man in ane coit house,[3] appointit to glorie, suld say: I am now sitting in ane sarie house, bot I sall anis sit in ane glorious palice. Sa marke, faith will cause the saull mount up above the bodie, and quhill the saull is in the bodie, faith and hope will lift it up, and put it (in ane maner) in hevin. Thairfoir this same Paul sayis in the third chapter to the Philip. the 20. verse, Be faith and hope he had his conversatioun in hevin, quhill hee was zit dwelling on the eirth. Get thairfoir faith and hope, that enteris thee in the possessioun of that glorie, and befoir the saull be severit fra the bodie, they will in ane maner put thee in possessioun thairof. It is the to-luik to hevin that makis the saull of Paull to rejoyce in this glory. The coitter[4] that hes not a to-luik to ane better hous, he is a fuil to despyse this coit-house, bot he that hes ane to-luik to ane better, quha can wyte[5] him to despise this cot-hous. I will tel thee my counsel, befoir thou disludge out of this bodie, for als fraile as it is, wit weill[6] of ane better, gang not out of the hous dore, except thou wit that[7] thou sal enter in ane glorious house. I assure thee and thou be not provydit for ane better house, and have not faith and hope of ane better than that quhilk thou ludgis in, thou sal enter in ane worse,

[1] Can. [2] Given. [3] Cottage. [4] Cottager. [5] Who can blame. [6] Be assured. [7] Know that.

thou sal get that bodie againe quhilk was evill befoir, bot then it sall be ane thousand tymis worse: for the saul sall be schot in that body again, and then thou sall be schot baith saull and bodie in that foule dungeoun of hell. Sa, brethren, luke for ane glorious buylding, and thou that esteimis not of this bodie, be cairfull for a better. Ane vain prodigall man will cast his saull out of this bodie, and in the mein time will not be provydit for ane better ludging thairto. He is not estemit ane man in thir[1] dayis, that will not hazard and cast out his life for ane evil cause and quarrell. Trowis[2] thou that saull of thine sall get ane better ludging heirefter, and thou not provydit thairof be faith and hope heir: nay, nay. O blissit is that man that deis in ane gude cause. And quhat better caus can be nor Christis cause, quha is the God of lyfe: assure thee thou that will die for Christis cause, thou sall get ane buylding in hevin: thou that takis na cair of this lyfe for Christis cause, death sall be advantage to thee. The Lord grant us ane to-luiking to that hevinly buylding, and ane assurance of that hevinlie life. This mekill for the assurance that Paul hes that he sall dwell in hevin. Now in the verse following learn how he groundis this assurance, and quhat warrand he hes for him. Faith is not ane word as to say, (I believe); and hope is not ane word as to say (I hope). Na, bot thou mon have ane warrand of thy salvation in this lyfe, or ellis I assure thee in the name of God thou sall never get hevin. It is ane strait way to cum to hevin, and it is wonder[3] hard to get the assurance of it: it is na small mater to get ane assurance of lyfe everlasting efter death. Than luik quhat warrandis this man Paul had, that thou may preis to have the lyke. The first ground of his assurance is in this secund verse. For, (sayis he), "For this cause we sigh, desiring to be clothed, to put on as it wer ane garment:" Quhairwith? "With our hous quhilk is fra hevin." Thir ar his wordis. Then his first warrand and ground of his assurance is ane desyre of that samin glorie. Quhat sort of desyre? Ane earnest desyre with siching and sobbing: not ane cald desyre, bot day and nicht,

[1] These. [2] Trustest. [3] Wondrous.

crying and sobbing for lyfe. Trowis[1] thou sa easily to get hevin that can never say ernestlie in thy hart, God give mee that hevinlie lyfe: na, thou will be disappointed: it is the violent that enters in hevin, Mat. xi. 12; as ze will see ane man violentlie thring[2] in at ane zet.[3] Thou that wald gang to hevin, make thee for thringing throw quhill[4] all thy guttis be almaist thrustit out. Paul, in the viii. chap. to the Romanes, the 22. and 23. verses, usis thir argumentis againis those wickit men that can not sich for hevin. First he takis his argument fra the elementis, the sensles and dumb creaturis, quha sobbis and gronis for the revelatioun of the sonnis of God, and travellis for that time as ane woman in hir birth. O miserable man, the eirth sall condemne thee, the flure thou sittis on is siching, and wald faine have that carcase of thine to hevin. The waters, the air, the hevinnis, al siching for that last delyverance, the glory apperteinis to thee, and zit thou is lauchand, allace quhat sall betyde thee. The other argument he takis fra the siching of men quha hes gottin the spreit of God: "We also, (sayis he) quha hes the first frutis of the spreit, even we do sich in our selfis, wayting for the adoptioun, even the redemptioun of our bodie." Thou that hes not gottin the spreit sall never sich for hevin; flesche and blude will never sched ane teare for hevin. It mon only be the spreit of Jesus, that mon fetch up the sich out of the hart, and the teare in the eie. Rom. viii. 26. Sa he takis his argument fra them quha hes gottin ane sense of the spreit of God, and redemptioun of the bodie, to prove the certaintie of that heavenlie kingdome and glorie. Now thair can not be ane surer argument to us that ever we sall obtein glory, nor this siching in hart for it, and this earnest desyre thairof. Gif thou finde thy hart desyrous of glorie, ane sure argument thou sall be partaker of glorie. It is said, "Blissit ar they that hungers and thirstis for richteousnes, for they sall be fillit." Mat. v. 6. Sichis thou for Christis richteousnesse and thy glorie, assure thee thou sall get ane sweit filling, mark it, I say to thee, thou hes not onlie throuch this ernest desyre of glorie, ane assurance that thou sall ring[5] in glorie:

[1] Thinkest. [2] Thrust. [3] Door. [4] Till. [5] Reign.

bot (luik to zour experience) that desire is not sa sone begun of that life and glorie, bot als[1] sone the saul of the faithfull begins to ryse with joy. Quha ever zet was he that gave ane sich fra his heart, raisit up be the spreit of Christ, that felt not with that sich, ane joy in his heart? Learn it be zour experience. This lets us see, that the desire and thrist of glorie, puts us in present possessioun of ane part of glorie. Or thou cum to it desire it earnestlie, and I promeis thee in the name of the Father, thou sall be presentlie put in possessioun of ane part of that hevinlie inheritance. It is trew thou sall not get it all heir, zit thair is nane other hevin efter this life, bot that hevin quhilk thou gets begun in thee in this life. Alwayis luik ever for that joy that is be sicht. Thair is twa joyis the ane be sicht, the other be faith. 2. Cor. v. 7. The joy be faith is in our pilgrimage in this lyfe. The joy be sicht is efter this life quhen with our eies we sal see Christ. The joy be faith is to luik to Christ afar of, and zit we rejoice, and lufis him that is far absent. 1. Pet. i. 8. Faith hes ane joy that it enjoyis, be speiking and thinking. Sicht hes the joy that it enjoyis be presence. The joy of the eie greit in quantitie and the fulnes of joy: the joy of faith not sa great, for it is the joy of ane pilgrime, not as zit cummit to his hame. The joy of the sicht is quhen we sall see our glorious Lord, face to face, quhom we see only now be faith. 1. Cor. xiii. 12. This is the fulnes of joy. The joy of faith, quhilk is induring our pilgrimage, is not sa full. O how greit sal be the joy at the perfite seing of Christ. Think never to have the joy be sicht efter this life, except in this lyfe thou have the joy be faith, as the arliss[2] penny of the other, and except be faith thou get ane joy anis or thou gang fra this lyfe, thou sall never see the face of Christ, nor have joy in him. Sa brethren, it is ane gude thing to have that desyre of hevin. Sich and sob, and desire with Paull for hevin. For it is ane sure chartour and evident,[3] of thy everlasting inheritance. And never ane eirthlie Lord had ane surer chartour of his land, nor thou, that hes ane desyre of hevin, hes of thy inheritance in hevin. For thir eirthlie evidentis of land ar without

[1] So. [2] Earnest. [3] Evidence.

them in thair kistis, bot this evident of thine is written and ingraft in thy hart. Now quhen extremitie is threatned, it is time to seik thy warrands of this heavinlie inheritance. This present countrie is gude for thee, and the best countrie that ever thou sall see, except thou find this warrand of sicking, and desiring for that hevinly inheritance. And therefoir, let scorners and mockers scorne as they will, the children of God mon powre furth tearis: And this is it that the Lord hes bene desyring thir monie dayis bygane,[1] he hes bene gentlie drawing out of us this sense; bot now he begins to preis it out of us, that our eies may burst out in tearis; and thou that can nocht sob, and desyre in thir miserabill dayis to be dissolvit, thou hes na trew hater of joy. Wo be to them that hes na hart to sich for the trubill of Christis kirk, bot is ay[2] reddie to execute judgement againis Godis servandis quhen the Lord is pressing[3] them. Weill, the Lord sall wring out tearis out of them in his wraith, that will not sob in the time of the daunger and trubill of his Kirk. Then quhat is it that Paul sichis for, and quhat desyris he? He desyris ane new cleithing to be put on abone,[4] as ane cleithing abone ane cleithing, that is, he wald keip this same bodie in substance, and cast off this filthie garment of sinne and death, and put on that glorious schaipe of the bodie of Christ. The reason is set doun, "For quhen the Lord sall cleith us, we sall not be fund nakit." Sa this bodie sal remaine in substance, bot O the glorie and immortalitie of it. Mark the nature of the ludging quhilk we sall receave, it sal not be in ane other body in substance then this bodie quhilk we have heir in eirth. The same bodie in substance we sall have in hevin that we have heir. Heirin onlie is the difference, this bodie is vyle, it is mortall, full of sinne and wickednesse, unglorious, ignominious, full of corruptioun, waik, infirme. Bot quhen this bodie sall be changit in hevin, it sall be changit not in substance, bot in qualitie. Paull, i. Cor. xv. 42, 43, 44, sayis, "The bodie is sawin in corruption, and is raisit agane in incorruptioun, it is sawin in dishonour, it is raisit in glorie; it is sawin in waiknesse, it is raisit in power:" the waikest bodie

[1] Past. [2] Are ever. [3] Visiting. [4] Above.

in hevin sall be starker nor[1] the strongest man in eirth. "Then" (sayis he) "it is sawin ane naturall bodie, and is raisit ane spirituall bodie." Sa the change is in qualitie; and thairfoir he sayis to the Philip. iii. 21., "Quhen Christ cummis he sall transforme (not abolische, bot transforme) in qualitie our vyle bodie like to his awin glorious bodie." Christ keipis in the hevin that same verie bodie quhilk he had in the eirth, and thou sal keip the same bodie in hevin, quhilk thou hes in eirth; bot it sal be alterit in qualitie, als far as the hevin and eirth is different. Brethren, this ministers comfort. Thair is nane of us bot naturallie we love this bodie, then let this comfort thee, that suppois thy saull sall be for ane tyme uncled of[2] this body, zit thou sal get it agane. Ane other comfort; deith dow not destroy it, the grave dow[3] not be abil to swallow up that bodie, bot the grave sal keip it and the dust and substance thairof, quhil the cumming of Christ, and then it sall be compellit to rander it again. "Lyfe sall swallow up death:" Bot deith nor the grave sall not be abill to swallow up the bodie of Goddis elect: Bot the reprobate sall be swallowit up of deith baith in saull and bodie. In the aucht chapter to the Romanes the tent and ellevint verses, Paul ministers thair[4] twa consolationis aganis deith. He sayis; "the bodie mon die because of sinne:" bot he subjoynis: The saull in the mein tyme sall live; and the spreit of Iesus sall tak it and cover it with that blude. And albeit it was ane sinfull saull, zit als sone as the Father blenkis upon it, wompled[5] and wrapped as it wer in the blude of Iesus, immediatlie he biddis it pas to glorie. He gais fordward. And quhair it micht have bene said, sal we have na consolatioun in the bodie? He answeris, "Gif the Spreit of him that raisit Iesus fra the deid, dwell in zour mortall bodie: quhat then? he, that is, God the Father that raisit up Christ from the deid: he, be his Spreit sall rais zour bodies: that same body that is dead and laid in grave, that same body be God's spreit, (for the spreit of Iesus and the spreit of the Father is al ane) sal be raisit up." Leirn then fra anis[6] this halie Spreit of God tak

[1] Stronger than. [2] Without. [3] Shall. [4] There. [5] Wympled, (*i. e.* folded.) [6] Learn then if.

ludging in zou, he sall never leave zou in saull nor bodie: he sall accumpanie the bodie in the grave, and convoy the saull to hevin. The spreit of Iesus sal gang with the saull and lift it up. The eirth gets the body quhen the saull is separate from it, zit the halie Spreit sal gang to the grave with the bodie, and sall remain with it in the grave, and with the leist pickill[1] of dust thairof: and quhen Christ sall cum he sall gadder it togidder, and mak ane hail bodie. Sa happie are they that hes anis ludgit this gaist[2] in thair saullis, for fyre, nor water, nor na uther power, ever sall be able to destroy them, becaus that Halie Spreit ever remaines with them. Now in the next verse, because it micht have bene said and objected: Thou wald not want the bodie, quhy sichis thou then and quhat meinis this desyre, gif thou wald keip the bodie? "We (the faithfull) that ar in this tabernacle, we sich and are burdened: (bot mark our desyre) becaus we would not be unclothed, (as sum will say, saull to God, and banis to the borrow mure[3] in contempt of the bodie: trowis thou to be glorifyit in hevin without ane bodie? Na) but would be cleithed upon, that mortalitie micht be swallowed up of life." As gif he wald say, I wald have this fair cloke of glorie put on this bodie, that it micht consume, and swallow up all this stink of sinne, that is in the bodie. Leirn then first the bodie as it is now, is ane burden. He sayis: "We that ar in this tabernacle, sich and ar burdenit," it is ane lead[4] layit on the back of the saull, it is ane tabernacle, bot ane burdenable tabernacle, as ane house smoring[5] him doun, and he halding the same up on his schoulders, that appeirandlie it wald be better to him to be out of it. Leirn secundlie the estait of them that dwellis in this tabernacle. Gif the bodie be ane burden, then the saull mon grone and sich as ane man under ane heavie burden. And the bodie is nathing bot ane hous of murning to the faithful saul, sa lang as it dwels thairin. The wanton licht man thinkis this bodie quhilk he beiris about to be na burden, and will rin and loup[6] with it, as thocht[7] this carcase wer

[1] Part. [2] Guest. [3] Soul to God, and bones to the dunghill. [4] Load. [5] Smothering. [6] Leap. [7] Though.

licht as ane father. Allace he feillis not the burden, he is sensles, and like ane in ane fever, and in ane rage, that wats[1] nocht quhat he dois or quhat he sufferis. Ane mountane is lying on him, and he feillis it not. Woe to thir men that are sa wantoun under this miserie. Amend in tyme, or the Lord sal thrust thee doun to hell. Fy on thee that dwellis in Bethania, the hous of murning, and can not murne: Murne in tyme, or ellis I assure thee thou sall murne for ever. This being the conditioun of men that dwellis in this tabernacle, siching and desyring, as ane woman with child to be relievit, quhat is the end of this desire? The end of the murning of the godlie is, not that they wald be quyte of the hous, as manie desyris: that were wrang: for manie will murne under this hous desperatlie, and the bodie will be ane burden to the saull in them, and thair life will be displeasand[2] to them: they wil think to get ane relief of the burden be the want of this present life, and wil put hand in themselfis, bot then beginnis thair everlasting murning, they never wist quhat murning was quhill that end come. Sa this is not the way to be delivered of the burdene, bot the way is to seik to put on ane cleithing on this bodie, and heir is the end of our desire. It is cled with mortalitie, and that is all the mater of thy murning, it is not the substance of the bodie that causis thee to murne, bot sinne that seazis on thy bodie, and gangis into the merche of thy banis,[3] deith accumpanying sinne. Then this mortalitie being ane accident of sinne, quhilk is the chief cause thairof, the remedie is: Seik to be cled with the lyfe that cummis of Christ. Souk[4] in be faith ane drop of that lyfe of Christ. This will not destroy thy bodie, bot it will destroy the deith and sinne that seazis[5] on thy bodie. And the lyfe of Iesus Christ in ane moment will swallow up all that deith, and sinne, and all that misery that lay on thee. Thair is the way to dwell with ease in the bodie. Seik not to destroy the bodie, bot seik the slauchter of that sinne and deith that lyis on thy bodie, utherwayis saull and bodie baith

[1] Knoweth. [2] Unpleasant. [3] But sin that possesseth thy body and corrupteth the marrow of thy bones. [4] Suck. [5] Possesseth.

sall perische, the hous sall fall doun, and the man that ludgit in the hous sall be destroyit.

Remember then, lyfe and deith ar not maters to mow with,[1] they ar not wordis, nay, nay. Think gravelie of them, and befoir thy saul be disludged, luik that thou be preparit for ane better lyfe, luik that thou finde the Lord of lyfe Christ Iesus be his Spreit wirking the deith of mortalitie in thee, and the beginning of the lyfe that sall last for ever. The Lord be his Spreit wirk thir thingis in zour hartis: To quhome be all prais, glorie, and honour, for ever and ever. Amen.

[1] Life and death are not matters to be scorned withal.

THE SECOND SERMON.

2. Cor. Cap. 5.

5. And he that hath created us for this thing, is God, quha also hes given vnto us the arlis[1] of the Spreit.

6. Thairfoir we ar alwayis bauld, thocht we knaw that quhylis we ar at hame in the body we ar absent from the Lord.

7. (For we walk by faith, and not by sicht.)

8. Neverthelesse, we ar bauld, and love rather to remufe out of the bodie, and to dwell with the Lord.

Brethren, ze that wer present the last day, hard quhat was the purpos of Paul in this place. First he beginnis to comfort himself, and all others that ar to die, and to be dissolvit, against deith, and the terrours of deith. He (as he sayis in the chap. preceiding ver. 18.) is luiking up to hevin, and whill he is luiking up to hevin to see that end that he was anis to attein to, thair cummis in betwixt his sicht, and the licht of that glorie and lyfe, ane cloud of deith, to have cleikit[2] out of his eies (gif it had bene possible) all to-luik to lyfe everlasting. The remedie aganis it, we schew zou was faith, and ane constant hope, with ane schairp, eirnest, and stedfast luiking, even to pearce in throuch deith, and that cloud of deith, and throuch deith to get ane sicht of that lyfe, and licht of glorie, that lyis hid up in hevin bezond deith. "We knaw" (sayis the Apostle) "and ar assurit, that our bodie and the eirthlie house of this tabernacle, sall be dissolvit, zit we sall get ane buylding for ane hous, ane buylding that is fra God, not maid with mannis handis, ane buylding eternall, that is situate

[1] Earnest. [2] Caught.

in the hevin above the eirth." Quhen he hes set doun this remedie, he beginnis to comfort himself and utheris, be ane sure faith, that efter deith he sall live agane, efter the dissolutioun of his mortall bodie, he sall receave ane glorious bodie. The first argument of his assurance is fra the desire he had of lyfe, siching with ane eirnest desire of that kingdom quhilk is fra hevin. This desire never disappointit man. Never was thair onie man that had ane eirnest desire of lyfe and glorie, and had the trew knawledge and mein to attein to this glorie, that was disappointit of his desire: bot quha ever desirit maist eirnestlie to be glorifyit, maist certainlie they live now in hevin, and at this hour they ar glorifyit thair: and nane thair sall be that sall have this desire, and stryvis to thring in to hevin violentlie, Mat. xi. 12; bot they sall enjoy hevin efter thair departing. Now in the text quhilk we have red, we follow out the assurances, and warrands quhilk the Apostle hes of the glory of the lyfe to cum. The secund assurance and warrand of the lyfe to cum, is in the first words: "He" (sayis the Apostle) "that hes creatit us for this thing is God," &c. The argument of the lyfe to cum, in thir wordis, is fra the end of our creation, God hes creatit us to this end, to wit, that in the end this mortality quhairwith we ar cled, micht be swallowed up of lyfe, thairfoir live mon we in hevin. This is the end of our creatioun: thairfoir it cannot fail, bot glorifyit mon we be. Learne then: The maner of our glorifying is this: It is God, not man, that hes maid us and creatit us to this end: It is impossible that God can be disappointit of the end quhilk he settis befoir him of his wark. Man may be disappointed, for he wil begin ane wark for sum purpose, bot oft tymis he will be disappointed of that purpose: He will big ane house to dwell in, bot it may be he never dwell in it, ane uther will dwell thairin. God quhen he workis ane wark to ony end, it is impossible that he can be disappointit. All the warld gif they wald stand up and oppone to Goddis wark, they cannot hinder it: That wark that God workis in us, is sic ane wark that tendis to lyfe as to the end thairof. "Quha sall condemne" (sayis the Apostle) "it is God that justifyis." Rom. viii. 33. Wil he justifie thee? al

the warld sal not be able to condemne thee. Wil he save thee? all the warld sall not be abill to make thee perische. Sa it is of his haill Kirk[1] in general. Suppose al the warld wer conspyrit aganis his Kirk, he will have it saif: and wonderfullie workis he the salvation of his Kirk, and every member thairof: throuch deith he bringis them to lyfe: sa that it is follie to men to stryve against the warkis of God. Zit luik to the wordis: "He that hes creatit us to this end, is God." Quhat creatioun is this that he meinis of? Is this that first creatioun of Adam and Eva? Of everie ane of us in them that was at the beginning? Not swa:[2] that creatioun faillit. Indeid we wer first creatit to live and throw that first creatioun everie ane of us gat ane certane richt to live for ever: bot that richt we lost in our awin default, we ar fallin fra that richt of our creatioun in the fall of Adam. Sa we mon seik ane uther creatioun or we sall never see lyfe: for we have na richt to that first creatioun that was in all halinesse according to the image of God. Eph. iv. 24. Gif thou stick to that first creation and auld birthricht, thou sal never see life. Then the Apostle meinis of ane uther? Quhat uther making or creating of us is this? It is our regeneratioun and renewing again, quhilk is nathing ellis bot as it wer ane new birth and begetting, fra the quhilk we ar called new creatures. 2. Cor. v. 17. Then brethren wald thou have ane sure argument that thou sall live efter this life? (and wo to thee and thou live not efter this life, wo to them that ever saw this warld, and they get nocht ane lyfe efter this lyfe, for this lyfe will away.) Luik gif thou be regenered and renewed, luik gif thou be sanctified, and finds ane slaying of thy lustis within thee. Luik gif thou finds the lyfe of God be his Spreit wirking within thee, not this naturall life, bot this hevinlie and spirituall lyfe begun in thee, not be nature, bot be grace. Gif thou hes this, thou hes ane warrand thou sall live, and albeit this naturall lyfe sall be takin from thee, thow sall get ane uther lyfe everlasting in glorie: Bot gif thou find thee not renewed be the Spreit of grace, tak this life from thee, thou sall not get life everlasting in glorie. Sa luik gif thou be a

[1] Church. [2] So.

new creature, thou hes gottin ane greater grace, nor to be borne to ane earthly kingdome, gif sa be thou may assure thy self of life everlasting. Quhat is this newnes in the new creature? This newnes that is in the new creature is nathing ellis bot that same life quhilk we sall live in hevin, and is begun heir. This newnes is only this new life of regeneratioun, quhilk lyfe sa lang as thou livis heir (fra time thou hes gotten ane sponk thairof) peice and piece eatis up the auld cankerit nature. The lyfe of God within thee, will consume, (evin as thou consummis the meat thou eatis) the auld corruptioun that lyis in thy nature: and in the end, in the glorious resurrectioun of the deid, it sall be altogidder abolisched. This lyfe then quhilk is begun heir, it sall oppin the mouth and swallow up deith, and deith thairefter sall have na mair place. This life is onlie eating up peice and piece[1] deith heir: bot at that time it sal swallow it up haillely[2] and thou sall say with Paull, "Death is swallowed up," 1. Cor. xv. 54. Sa weil is the saull that hes ane warrand of his new creation, quhidder he die in his bed or out of it, he sall die with joy. Then my counsell is, seing deith is daily threatned, let every ane preis to get this assurance of this new lyfe begun in him heir, that it may swallow up deith: woe be to them that hes not this assurance. This is the secund assurance of life everlasting. I pray zou mark thir assurances, for Paul had sic ane earnest desire, that he socht al assurances and warrands of this life, and he is reigning now in hevin. Sa thou quha thirsts efter life, learne at him. Now restis the third warrand in the nixt wordis, "Quha alway hes given us the arlis of the Spreit." Learne the wordis, for all the doctrine rysis of the wordis. Then the third warrand is the Spreit of Christ Jesus in thee. Gif ever thou myndis to have life heirefter, thou mon have Goddis Spreit in thee: not onlie thy awin Spreit, bot Goddis Spreit, flowing fra God through Jesus Christ and entering in thy bodie and saull. Behald the liberality of God, quhen he be his Sprit hes renewit thee, he will not tak that Spreit fra thee, as ane man will doe quhen he his biggit ane wark, he will tak his hand fra it, stand

[1] Little and little. [2] Wholly.

gif it will or not. Bot the Lord dois not swa: he hes renewed thee be his halie Spreit, quhilk he puttis within thee. O how the Lord puttis the third person of the Trinitie in thee, and makis him ane arlis-pennie to thee of life everlasting. Because thy regeneratioun is imperfite, and thou hes not zit atteined to that life, thairfoir he lets his Spreit byde in thee, assuring thee as ane arlis-penny, that quhatsaever God hes promised, he sall performe it to thee, and thou sall not be disappointed of ane jot thairof. Sic is the infidelitie of our nature, all the promises, all the aithis quhilk he makis to confirme his promises, all his sacramentis quhilk he hes joynit to his promises cannot perswade us: bot luik to this third warrand, hes thou the Spreit of God, gif he be in thee, he will be quick, wirking joy with sichis, he can not be idill, he will be wirking the wark of regeneration baith day and nicht. "Then anger him not." Eph. iv. 30. Away with filthy cogitatiounis, away with everie rotten word, away with every evill deid, labour to plesour him day and nicht, and preis[1] to keip him, and thou sall have ane warrand in thy bosome of lyfe, and quhen thou is dying, thou sall find sic sweitnes in death as is wonderfull to tell. Nane ever had the Spreit of God bot in deith they had unspeikable joy. Sa[2] seik to be in Christ and get his Spreit within thee, and getting this Spreit, keip him diligently, and powre out thy awin Spreit, bot never Gods Spreit for then in all distressis thou sall have comfort. Now to resume all: Ze that takis greit plesour in zour chartouris, the evidentis of zour inheritance and land, take tent to this,[3] zour inheritance is in hevin: and thou is ane fuile quha thinkis that thou hes ane inheritance in eirth. For either sall thou be ruggit fra[4] it, or it sall be ruggit fra thee. Na, luik as ever thou wald be ane inheritour, that thy inheritance be in hevin. Thou is the fulischest begger, and the puirest that ever was, and thou wer[5] ane king, gif thou think thy inheritance to be in airth: having laid this count with thy self, my inheritance is in hevin, then nixt luik that thou have thy evidents: thou sall not bruik[6] hevin, and thou have not the evidents thairof laid up in

[1] Strive. [2] Then. [3] Take heed. [4] Pulled from. [5] If thou be. [6] Possess.

thy chartour kist. Now thy evidents ar the same evidents that Paul had, and the same kind of evident servis for all, it is ane inheritance that all men mon get, ane sort of chartour mon serve for ane inheritance. Quhat then can be the chartour and evident? Can thou sich for that hevinly inheritance? can thou have ane desire of it? thair is thy first evident: then findis thou thy self to be renewit? findis thou Christ's life in thee? "the life of Iesus is manifest in me" sayis Paul, 2. Cor. iv. 10. Findis thou the wickit lyfe of this warld reformit? thair is the secund evident. Zit mair, finds thou the worker of the desire, and the worker of thy regeneration, the Spreit of Christ within thee? then keip him weill. Thair is the best evident of all the evidents of thy inheritance: having thir assure thee of hevin: want thou thir or onie of them, thou sal never get that inheritance in hevin. As thir three ar three evidents of thy hevinly inheritance, sa they ar three proppis of faith that grippis this hevinly lyfe, they are three pillars that halds up faith that is biggit on them; cut ane of thir pillars away, thou sall tyne faith and hope. Bot heir it may be speirit,[1] Ar all thir three of the nature of the life to come? I answere: As for the desire, siching and sobbing for that hevinly inheritance, it endis with this lyfe, and in that lyfe to cum "al weping sall be tane away." Revel. xxi. 4. Murne and grone in time, then heirefter sall cum joy, and puir joy. Ane trublit joy is heir in this life, bot heirefter thair sall be ane puir solide joy, and nathing bot joy. Sa this murning ceisses then, and is not of the nature of the lyfe to cum. Bot as to the new creature and regeneratioun, it is of the nature of the lyfe to cum: and it is the beginning and first part of that hevinly glory, sa that our hevinly glory sal be na uther thing bot the perfyting of our regeneratioun. For quhen all this peltrie[2] sall be taken away, then we sall fullie be renewed. As to the Spreit, gif ever he was powerfull in eirth, he sall be mair powerfull in hevin, sa that the same spreit that heir dwelt in thy body, sall then glorify thy body, and mak it schyne mair bricht then the sun. Thairfoir let us seik this regeneratioun, and the Spreit of Christ:

[1] Asked. [2] Pelffry, (*i. e.* vile trash.)

for in thir twa standis the perfection and the glorie of the life to cum. Now when he hes reckned out al the warrands of lyfe, quhairby he assuris him self thairof, he concludis in the next verse: "Then (sayis he) we have confidence alwayis:" As gif he wald say: having thir warrands, I have confidence alwaies, that is, I am assurit of my glorie: and zit the wordis importis not onlie ane assurance, bot the effect thairof, quhilk is ane sweit securitie in the saull: for quhen ever onie man is assurit of lyfe, then the saull with sweitnes will rest: then cummis that peace of conscience assuring us quhidder we live or we die we ar Christ's: sa this drawis on that bauldness and confidence. Then luik the nature, the beginning, and rysing of Faith. It standis and is buyldit upon zon[2] thre pillers, ane earnest desire of lyfe, regeneration, and the Spreit of God: Thir ar the three proppis thairof, quhilk ar sensible to them that hes faith, and we suld be acquainted with them: Then of this rysis the sweit confidence of glorie, and securitie, the repose and rest of the saull and conscience, and fra the saull it cummis up to the mouth, and brekis out in ane glorying: As this same Apostle upon this confidence in his saull brekis out and sayis, "Quhat sall sever us fra the love of Christ? sall tribulatioun, or anguische, or persecutioun, or famine, or nakednes, or perrill, or sword:" "Na, in all thir thingis we ar mair nor victorious throw him that luiffit us." Rom. viii. 35, &c. Sa that faith being biggit upon thir three pillers, securitie and confidence being biggit upon faith, than bauldness in mouth will say, I defy all contrarie powers: lay the sword, lay fyre, lay deith before mee, it will say, I defy them all: zea, let all the devillis of hell cum befoir a man, and his faith be weil biggit, and confidence on faith, he will defy them all: zea, albeit they threatin damnatioun to him; for gif thou stand in Christ, live sall thou: albeit thou may be severed from this mortall lyfe, al the warld can not sever thee fra the lyfe of Christ. Seik this lyfe now in tyme, that in troubill we may say that we will rest on Christ, and all the warld sall not sever us fra him. Zit to go fordward in the wordis: The Apostle as

[1] Whensoever. [2] These.

zit hes not the full contentatioun in hart, for all this assurance. "For (sayis he) we knaw that whyll we ar at hame in the bodie, we ar absent fra the Lord." Gif we be at hame with ane thing, we ar on feild fra ane better.[1] Allace! thou being at hame at thy awin house and fyre, thou is far on feild[2] fra thy hame in hevin: whill we ar at hame in this mortal bodie we are strangers and pilgrimes fra the Lord. Brethren, ze sall leirn heir ane great difference betwixt confidence and contentatioun. It is ane thing to have contentatioun, ane other thing to have confidence. This Apostle had confidence bot not contentatioun. Thou art al begylit[3] that thinkis thou hes sufficient contentatioun in this warld. Wo is thee, zea althocht thou have hevinlie graces, and thou think thou hes contentatioun either of glorie, or of sicht: all is naething. Quhy? because thair can not, nor suld not be contentatioun heir: na, the best nor maist confident man that livis, suld not think he hes contentatioun in this present life. All thy halines, faith, confidence and hope, suld not give thee full contentatioun. Al the kingdoms, honour, and riches of this warld, quhilk is nathing but dirt and peltry in respect of those hevinly thingis, suld not give thee full contentatioun. And zit the warldly fuil will say in hart, I have contentatioun and sufficiencie. O, bot quhat said Christ to him that decreit with his hart to mak wyde barnis: "Fuil, this nicht thy saul sall be takin fra thee." Luk. xii. 20. Away with ane opinioun of contentation in this eirth an thou wer ane king of al the eirth: Will thou have contentatioun without Christ? Will thou have sufficiencie, and not have him quha is thy lyfe and glorie: Quhen thou is ane pilgrime fra Christ, and wandring fra thy countrie and inheritance, will thou say thou hes thy hartis desire? Had ever pilgrim full contentatioun during the time of his pilgrimage? Then na contentatioun to the faithful saull bot in Christ. I sal never think contentatioun to be in my saul quhil[4] I se Christ face to face. I give the same counsel, zea, and I had al spiritual graces in never sa greit ane measure, na contentation for my saull quhil I

[1] We are far from a better thing which is abroad. [2] Thou art far abroad.
[3] Far deceived. [4] Till.

see Christ. For all our blissitnes stands in the sicht of Christ, and thou can not see Christ heir, becaus thou is absent fra him. "For sa lang as I am at hame," (speiking of the saul sa lang as it is closit heir within this eirthly tabernacle), "I am absent from Christ." And this preson of my bodie sa closis me about that I can not see Christ. Brethren,* it is this mortall bodie that is cled with sinne and mortalitie, wherewith we mon be cled sa lang as we are heir, that haldis us fra the sicht of Christ: It is impossible sa lang as thou art cled with the sinfull body, to get that full sicht of Jesus, albeit he were standing on the earth, cled with his glory. Sa thou mon be uncled of this mortalitie or thou can see him. And thair is the ground quhairfoir we suld think na contentatioun quhill we are in this bodie. Because sa lang as we dwell in this mortall bodie, we shall never see Christ, nor get ane full fruitioun of his countenance. Thairfoir, Brethren, tak not sa meikle plesure and delyte in this mortall bodie, for I assure thee it is bot ane presoun halding the faithful saul, and the eie of the faithful saul from the sicht of Christ: bot how sone sa ever[1] it sall be lousit thairfra,[2] it sall mount immediatlie with joy to Christ, and thair get full contentatioun in his face. Ze think sa lang as ze want thir eirthlie thingis, ze can not get contentatioun: (I speik not of the wickit bot evin of the regenerate man): bot when the saul gettis this glorious presence of Christ in hevin, it sall have ane joy in infinite degreis greater nor ever it had in eirth. And albeit the bodie sall lie heir in grave, and ignominie for ane time, zit all that sall be recompensed be the glorious sicht of Christ quhilk the saull sall enjoy in the hevinnis, being separate from the bodie. We think we can have na hevinlie glorie and joy, except we have this eirthlie bodie thair. It is trew indeid, the saul can not have sa great joy, as gif the saul and bodie were togidder, bot it is als trew that the saull being separate hes greater joy in hevin, nor saull and bodie can have togidder in this eirth: Otherwayis how wald Paull have desired to have been dissolved, he having that confidence and arlis penny of glory, except he had desired that joy in

* But as soon as. [2] From it.

the saull. Allace, we are sa senselesse that we think joy cannot cum, except we get it in our bodie eirthlie. And this is ane pairt of our miserie. Now in the next verse in ane parenthesis, he castis in the cause quhy he is absent fra God, and ane pilgrime heir, and sayis: "For we walk be faith and not be sicht." As gif he wald say, All the sicht quhilk I have of him is far of, luik how far the hevinnis is distant fra the eirth, als far is Jesus distant fra the eie of the faithfull saull: thair is only ane far sicht of him heir: all the sicht of hevinlie gloir quhilk we haif heir is like ane mote in respect of that sicht we sall get. It is sa far fra thee, that it semis not to be the thousand pairt of that fulnes that it is in deid. Thou seis it now as it were ane mote, bot thou sall anis see it as ane mountane in great fulnes. Sa Paull sayis, I see my Lord bot far[1] of, that is ane greit distance betwixt the eie of my saul and him: and besides this farnes, sic mist aryses out of the stinking bodie of corruption betwixt my Lord and mee, like ane cloud, that it hydis my Lordis face fra me. Sa thair is twa impedimentis that hinders from the full sicht of Christ. The first is the far distance of place betwixt him and mee. The secund is the reik[2] and mist of my corruptioun that gangis in betwixt me and him, that takis the sicht of my Lord fra me. Find ze not this in zour selfis be experience? In the beginning of ane hour thou sall have ane sicht of him, and agane or[3] the half-hour be past the sicht of him is away, let be ane day or half ane day. Then mervell not suppose Paul compleinis of this, that he cannot see Christ in respect of the farnes, and reik, that cummis betwixt them: wald to God we had ane sense of this. Quha is he that anis granis for this, and sayis, Allace, I am ane pilgrime, it is ane far sicht quhilk I have of my Lord. O gif my saul were lousit fra my bodie, that I micht be with him. Quha can say this? Na: we ar all sleiping, and thair is na eie liftit up to Christ in this great miserie? Will thou aye[4] cry peace in sic ane miserie? at last thou sall be pressed doun to hell. Zit to insist upon this verse, "We walk," (sayis he), "be faith and not be sicht." Ze see heir then the conditioun of ane

[1] Afar. [2] Smoke. [3] Ere. [4] Always.

Christian is walking, not sitting, or sleiping, he mon be on fute. This word is ever in the Apostle's mouth. 1 Thes. v. 6; Col. iv. 2, &c. Ever walking, ane pilgrime mon not sit doun. Thou is ane pilgrime upon thy journey toward ane other countrie, thou mon not sit doun: for otherwayis thou sall never cum to thy journeys end. The secund thing quhilk I mark heir: This walking mon not be in darknes, bot it mon be in licht. Woe to him that walkis in darknes, for gif he were never sa weill occupyit, he sall die in darknes, he that walkis in darknes he sall get hell, for hell is darknes: sa that walking mon be in licht. The licht is of twa sorts, they are baith set doun in this verse. The first is the licht and knawledge of faith: the second the licht of presence and sicht. The knawledge of faith is bot ane glimmering in respect of the other licht that is be sicht, quhen thou sall see Christ. In his presence is ane wonderfull licht: quhen he sall luik to the, and thou to him, the beamis of his glorie sall sa stryke on thee, and cause the schyne that thou sall be astonyit. Thair is na saull bot sa sone as it cummis in his presence, it will be astoneist, and mervel that ever thair was sic ane licht in Christ. Faith hes bot ane sarie licht, bot the licht be presence is mervellous. He sall translate us to ane mervellous licht. 1. Pet. ii. 9. All the angellis wonders at the licht quhilk is about the Lamb: and thy saull quhen it sall come in glorie, sall stand wondering at sic ane glorie: and thy bodie quhen it sall fallow, sall wonder, and all sall be wondring at sic ane passing glorie. Thir ar the twa sichts. Wald God we culd tak tent[1] to get ane glaunce of that hevinlie glorie, then all the plesures of this eirth wald be bot vanitie, dirt, and peltry to us. The Lord zit oppin our eies to get ane sicht of this glorie. Thir ar the twa lichtis. As thair is twa lichtis, sa thair is twa kindis of walking: the ane is in this life, the other in hevin in the life to cum. In this lyfe we have ane sarie glimmering without ony sun, ane blenk of licht environed about with darknes. Thairfoir becaus of the want of licht, thair is sic stammering[2] in our walking in this life. Bot when we sall walk in the hevins with that hevinly

[1] Heed. [2] Such stumbling.

licht of God, with the countenance of Christ befoir our eies, then na snappering[1] neither to this side nor to that, becaus of that licht that is in the face of Christ schyning ever in our eie. The darkness ze see is unplesand, the licht is plesand. It is ane wonderfull thing that we sal get leif to walk in that inaccessible light of God, quhairin the Father and the Sone walkis. Brethren, think on thir thingis, for thir ar the chief end of al.[2] All eirthlie thingis evanischis as the sunne gais to,[3] and darknes cummis. Thairfoir set zour eie on that glorie that never sall evanische, as ever ze wald desire to ring thair. Thir dayis cravis[4] this preparatioun. Certainlie preaching and heiring will evanische, and preiching being taken away, faith will fail, and without faith how can men attein to glory. Thairfoir to keip in the glorie of this licht, we suld ernestlie cry: Lord give us this word. For gif it be taken away we sall be worse nor Sodome and Gomorrah. Now quhen he has schawin this, he cummis back agane, and he sayis, "Nevertheles we have confidence." He that hes confidence, he will rejoice to speik of it, and it swellis sa in his hart that of necessitie it mon be utterit, and he will say anis, twyse, thryse, I have confidence. Bot now with confidence he joynis ane other thing, to wit, his love to die, and to flit out of the bodie to reigne with Christ. Love to die is the companion of confidence. He sayis, "I have confidence, but I love rather to remove out of the bodie, and to dwell with the Lord." Thair ar twa gude thingis, the ane confidence, the other licht. The apostle makis ane choise heir: he will leif confidence heir in the bodie, and he chusis to die that he may attein to the licht. And in this respect he wald cois[5] all the confidence that he hes with deith. Thou will not cois a fut of eirth with death, bot the Apostle will cois confidence with deith, and confidence is mair pretious than all the eirth. Few will doe this, and zit thou will die and thou had sworn it. Weill is that bodie that is sa resolvit to die as Paull was. Bot makis Paull ane chose of deith for deith itself? Cer-

[1] No staggering. [2] For these are the chief points of all. [3] When the sun goeth down. [4] Require. [5] Change.

tenlie na man will chose deith for deith itself: for except the Lord lichten deith and transforme it, it is ane entrie to hell: And gif thou have na other respect in deith bot to be quyte of this miserabill life, (as sum will say, "Wald God I wer dead that I might be quyte of this miserie"), thou sall be in greater miserie efter deith nor ever thou was quhill thou was living. Quhat then suld be the speciall cause that suld move a man to say, "Wald God I were dissolvit," even this, I am burdenit with sinne, I am burdenit with mortalitie. This burden suld be ane great motive: Weill is the saull that is fred of sinne. Quhat plesure is it to ane saull that wald faine serve God, to live ever in sinne? Na, nane plesure. This is the speciall motive that suld move us to mak choise of deith: to be with Jesus Christ, to dwell with him, and to be in his companie, in the participatioun of that glorie that is in the countenance of Christ. For that cause I wald flit, that I micht be with my Lord, and embrace that joy. Sa as the misery of this warld will put thee fordward to God, sa the sweitnes of Christis cumpanie will draw thee fordward. Then to end: the Apostle hes preconceaved in him selfe ane wonderfull joy of that glorie, when he saw it not zit, sa mon we doe. All his walking was be faith, and not be sicht: bot he seis befoir the hand ane hevinlie joy and pleasure, in respect of that fruitioun that he sall anis get of the countenance of Christ. This suld learne thee to luik ever for mair nor thou seis. Think not that thou hes sein all the glorie that sall cum to thee, and hes felt all the plesures that is laid up for thee in hevin. Bot think that thair is greater joy and glorie thair, nor ever thou culd heir of. For Christ himself never utterit all the glorie that is laid up for the saintis. All that we see heir is bot in ane mirrour. All the glorie of Christ in the Scripture, is bot in ane mirrour: lyke as quhen the sunne schynis in the mirrour, thou lukis not to the sun that schynis, bot to the glauncing thairof in the mirrour. And as thair is greater schyning in the sunne, nor in the glancing thairof that thou seis: sa think ever thair is greater glorie in hevin nor ever thou hard of in

the Scripture. Trow[1] not that thou can think of the joyis of hevin as men on eirth dois[2] of eirthlie thingis, quha can think ane thing greater nor it is. Na, the glorie of hevin, and the joy with Christ mountis up above the reache of thy faith and hope, and all thing, that is abill to consave the same. It mountis up hicher than the hevin of hevinnis is above the eirth. Thairfoir think not with thy self, it is over meikle[3] that I luik for: thou failis onlie in narrownes, thy faith and hope is sa narrow, that they cannot comprehend the thousand part of that glorie. And sa we suld say, "I hope and I believe mair nor I dow[4] comprehend." And heir is the caus that thou cannot get that full sicht of glorie that is laid up for thee. The waik begun grace of faith, and the Spreit of God in thee is not abill to attein to the thousand pairt of that glorie. The Lord give us grace to preconceave this glorie in sum measure, that we may seik the same, and say with Paull, I have faith and hope, bot that glorie passis all. The Lord graunt this even for Christis saik. Amen.

[1] Suppose. [2] Think. [3] Too much. [4] More than I am able to.

THE THIRD SERMON.

2. Cor. Cap. 5.

9. Wherefoir also we covet, that baith dwelling at hame, and removing fra hame, we may be acceptable to him.

10. For we must all appeir befoir the Judgement seat of Christ, that everie man may receive the thingis quhilk ar done in his bodie, according to that that he hath done, quhidder it be gude or evil.

11. Knawing thairfoir that terrour of the Lord, we perswade men, and we are made manifest unto God, and I trust also that we are made manifest in zour consciences.

We have hard, Brethren, thir dayis bygane[1] the remedie that the Apostle sets doun against this temporall deith, and the dissolution of the bodie. In ane word, it is ane full assurance and perswasion of the hart, that quhen we ar deid concerning the bodie, zit we sall live againe, and sall receave at the handis of God ane mair glorious bodie nor ever this bodie wes. It is ane hard mater to get this assurance, for the naturall reason of man can not, nor will not perswade him, that he anis being deid, the bodie being dissolvit in asches, that ever that bodie sal be recovered againe. Thairfoir the Apostle bringis in three arguments of this assurance: the first is, the earnest desire that the godlie hes in this life to be glorified: it is ane thing impossibil that this desire can be in vaine. He that gevis thee ane desire of glorie and siching for it, he mon give thee the life and glorie that is desirit and sichit for. For otherwayis he wald never give thee grace to sich anis for this life and glorie, except he were purposit to put thee in possessioun of that glorie ane

[1] These days past.

day. The secund argument is taken fra our regeneration, or the end of our regeneration. God is he that makis us over of new againe, efter we were dis-maid be the fal of Adam: he creatis us of new againe, to this end, that we suld live the first creatioun. It endit indeid, and we have lost the richt thairof evin in the first creatioun. We wer creatit to live everlastinglie, zit we dyit. Bot the secund creatioun in Jesus will never brek, bot as in him we ar renewed to lyfe, live sall we in the hevinnis everlastinglie: it can never faill. Peter sayis, 1. Epist. chap. i. ver. 3. We are regenerat againe into that livelie hope. The third argument is, the spreit of Christ, quhairby God workis in us baith the desire, and regeneration: having anis given us that Spreit, he takis him not fra us againe, bot lets him dwell in saull and bodie, to be ane arlispenny in us assuring us he sall never leif us, quhill the haill promises in Christ be fulfilled to us. And thairfoir he is callit the "spirit of truth." John xv. 26. Notwithstanding of al this confidence and assurance, proppit up upon thir[1] three pillars, desire, regeneratioun, and the Spreit, the Apostle hes not full contentatioun of hart: and the reason is, becaus he seis not the Lord. He is zit wandring as ane pilgrime in this warld, and hes not gottin that joyfull countenance of Christ, in the quhilk countenance is onlie saciety of plesures. For assure zou, the faithful hart sall never have contentatioun quhil it se Christ. Thairfoir to attein to this thing, and to get the full satisfactioun of the hart, he makes chose of deith and removing out of the bodie: he preferris it to all grace that can be had in this life He preferris it to that confidence and assurance, and to all other graces that he can have in this body, that he micht win[2] up to that presence of Christ. This far we have spoken hitherto. Now to cum to this text that we have presently red: The Apostle considering that sicht that anis we sal see, and that presence that anis we sal haif of the Lord Jesus, quhilk he hes not gottin, and will not get unto the time it pleis the Lord to call on him; (and nane of us will get it, albeit we wald never sa faine, quhill that the Lord call on us) he schawis

[1] Under-propped with these. [2] Go.

thairfoir quhat he will do quhill the time cum that he get that presence, and how he will be occupyit living heir in this pilgrimage, quhat will be his studie and cair in life and deith. "Thairfoir," (says he) "also we covet that baith dwelling at hame, and removing fra hame, we may be acceptabill to him." Thair is his cair in the mein time. All my cair, wald he say, sa lang as I live in this eirth, sall be, to be acceptable to my Lord, to quhome I gang, that I may be the welcummer quhen I cum. Zit, brethren, becaus the wordis ar wechtie everie word wald be weyit. "We covet," (sayis he) thair is the first word, and in the first language this word importis not onlie ane common desire, bot ane ambitioun: Sa be this word he utteris that he is gredie of honour, and ambitious; for thair is ane halie ambition that is lesum,[1] that is requisite, that is neidful in everie Christian man, evin in the purest man that is. Bot to cum to the honor quhilk he covets;—"We covet," (sayis he) "that we may be acceptabil." Thair is the honour to be acceptable to be countit and lykit of. The warldlie man that huntis efter the honour of the warld, he desyris to be estemed of, to be had in admiratioun, and to be in gude grace. Sa is it with the man of God, the honor quhilk he desiris is estimatioun, he wald be accountit of, he wald be in grace and gude lyking, and gif it wer possible, he wald be esteimed above al the men in the warld. Bot quhome wald he have esteimand[2] of him? The warldlie ambitious man wald be accountit of be men; he hes na regaird of Goddis estimatioun of him; he wald have the Prince accounting of him above all courteouris; he wald have the people accounting meikill of him. Bot the man of God that hes this holie ambitioun and gredines of honour, he cairis not the account and estimatioun of men, and seikis not his prais of men, bot of God and Christ, with quhome he mon dwel efter this life. He desiris in this pilgrimage to be assured that Christ hes ane liking of him, that efter this lyfe he may ring with Christ as ane king for ever. That is his honour. To ga fordward in the words. Quhen seikis he to be acceptable to Christ? At quhat time?

[1] Lawful. [2] To esteem.

Thair is twa tymis; ane tyme of living, and ane uther tyme of dying; ane time quhen the saull dwellis in the bodie, and ane uther tyme quhen scho flittis. The ambitious halie man seikis to be acceptable to the Lord baith thir tymis, baith dwelling at hame and flitting fra hame. All the honour of the wardlie man is in this life, and quhill the saull is dwelling in the bodie. Bot anis lay him doun in his bed, and let death seaze on him,[1] thair he layis doun his honour; and gif ze tel him of the honour quhilk he was seiking, he will spit at it. Bot the godly man, gif ever he was gredie of honour in this life, in the hour of his deith he is gredier thairof, and the neirer deith, the gredier of the honour of Christ. He can have na contentatioun in hart, quhill he knaw his saul is acceptable to that Lord quhom to he is going. As for the meinis quhairby he seikis to cum to this honour, ze will heir of them in the nixt verse heirefter. This same Apostle, 2 Timoth. ii. 15, sets them doun also. Quhen he hes desirit Timothie to studie to approve himself to God, immediatlie he subjoynis, Gif thou wald be approven be ane wark-man, thou will not get this acceptatioun be dryving over thy lyfe in idilnes or sluggischnes; let everie man in quharsaever estat be ane wark-man. The warldly man is claiming to his honour be meinis unlesum,[2] be flatterie, be falset,[3] bot it endis in miserie. Bot the godlie man let him seik to be approvin be the King of Kings, being ane faithfull wark-man in his calling, and diligent thairin. Thair is the mein of thy acceptation in this life; in thy dying, and quhen all thy sensis, thy toung, thy hand, and all faillis thee, and thou dow not work, zit suffer with patience, and set thy hart patientlie to suffer deith, that in thy deing God may be glorifyit, and sa thou may consecrat baith deith and lyfe to him. Mark heir ane lessoun. Paull of befoir he makis ane choise to gang and dwell with Christ. He wald faine have bene dead, bot heir is ane uther desire, quhilk man ga befoir that, and thou mon have the lyke desire befoir thou desire to flit out of this bodie, and to be with Christ. First desire quhil thou is in the bodie to be acceptable to him, and then desire to flit, utherwayis

[1] Assail him. [2] Unlawful means. [3] Falsehood.

not. For certeinlie gif thou die befoir thou be acceptable to God in thy lyfe, thou sal not be welcum to him, and he sall be the maist terrible sicht to thee that ever thou saw. I sall never desire to see him quhen I die, gif I desire not to be acceptabill to him first in life and deith. Thairfoir studie be ane faithfull discharge of thy dutie heir on eirth to be acceptable to thy Lord, begyle not thyself. Leirne againe heir. Quhen he hes maid ane choise to gang and dwell with the Lord, he desiris that he may live ane godly lyfe heir first; then the lessoun is, ane godlie lyfe heir is ane to luik to that lyfe that we sall have in Christ, that makis ane faithfull pilgrime desire to be with Christ. It is ane easy thing to have ane eie to the life to cum, gif thou study to live weill in this life. And on the uther pairt, it is the hope of that life and glory to cum, and ane eie to hevin, that makis ane pilgrime to live weil in this life; quhair this eie to hevin is not thair is na gude life. Quhairfoir suld we speik farther? Allace thir evill lyfis of men, thir murthers, adulteries, thiftis, tellis us plainly thair is na sicht of hevin, nor regaird of the lyfe to cum. Thou that passis thy time taking thy plesure in the displesing of God, testifies that thy eie was never on hevin, that the eie of thy saull was never liftit up above thy bodie; and assure thy self, gif thou live on sa, thou sall never see hevin. Now, in the nixt verse, he subjoynis ane other argument, moving him to be ambitious to be with that Lord of lyfe. The first argument was, because he was to dwell with that Lord in hevin. The secund is, that terrible judgment that al flesche sal se, except they indevour them selfis to serve God in this life. "For," sayis he, "we mon all appear befoir the judgement seat of Christ." Learne ane lessoun of the pith of this argument. As thair is ane force in hope of the lyfe to cum, sa thair is ane force in the feir of ane terrible judgement to move ane man to live weill heir. Luik how neidfull the ane is to cause thee to live weill in this life; als neidfull is the uther. Hope of life is neidfull, feir of judgement is neidfull. Quhat suld be the cause of this? Knawis thou not thy nature how bakward and thrawart[1] it is, sa that ex-

[1] Froward.

cept thou be broddit[1] fordward with terroris of judgement, thou wil never addres thee to hevin, bot will linger and sit doun be the gait.[2] Brethren, thair is twa thingis in hevin, and twa thingis in eirth, baith serving to mufe us to live weill heir in this life. In hevin thair is twa saitis, ane sait of grace, that is callit the throne of grace: the uther ane seat of judgment, ane tribunall: Fy on al tribunals in the eirth, in respect of that hevinly tribunal. The throne of grace is spoken of in the Heb. iv. 16. "Let us goe bauldly to the throne of grace, that we may get mercie." Bot this will not suffice except the tribunal of judgement be also befoir thee, to draw thee fordward. Baith mon befoir thee, and as thou luikis to the throne of grace with the ane eie, sa luik to the throne of judgment with the uther eie. Thair is siclyke in eirth twa thingis[3] to draw thee fordward: The ane, the Gospell of grace: the uther, the Law threatning judgement. The Gospell drawing thee lovinglie to God, the Law threatening thee to gang fordward or thou sall die. The Gospell gentlie alluring thee fordward, promising that thou sall get lyfe; the Law standing about the Gospell as ane fyre, to terrifie thee, and gif thou gang out of the richt way, it will burn thee. It will not be the Gospell alane that will do[4] the turne. Indeid gif thair wer na canker in thee, the Gospel wald do the turn, bot in respect of this wickit canker in thy nature, thou mon be thretnit with the Law. Seis thou not thy nature: fairnes will not do the turn, thou mon be ruggit[5] be the hair fordward, or ellis thou will fall in damnation. Tak me away the rebuikis of the law, and thou wert king or monarch, it is bot a deid Gospell to thee. Sic is the corrupt nature of man: Tak away the canker of the nature of man, I sall speik na thing of the law: bot sa lang as this canker remaynis, the Law mon threatten al, fra the king to the begger. I were ane fals doctour gif I usit not the threatning of the law to rebuke this canker of nature. Quha is mair halie nor Paul was? He luiking up to hevin seing the mercie sait, likewise seis the judgement sait, and gif he had not sein the judgement sait,

[1] Pricked. [2] Way. [3] There are also in like manner two things in earth. [4] Serve. [5] Pulled.

and bene terrified thairwith, he suld never haif gottin ane sicht of that mercy sait: sa mon it be with us, we mon see that judgment sait als weill as the mercie sait. This is mervellous. He was evin now speiking of Christ as ane sweit Lord, and fain wald be at him, and now agane, he sets him up as ane judge to terrifie men. Is this the Lord at quhom he wald be? Quha desiris to compeir[1] befoir ane terribil judge, quha hes lyfe and deith in his handis? Tak tent: this is Paullis meaning. The Lord Jesus is baith terrible to men and joyous to men, and he mon be baith joyous and mercifull in deid to thee quha indevouris thy self to pleis him in this life. Terribill to them quha endevouris them not to pleis him in this lyfe. Wald thou have him mercifull to thee, studie then to live weill, serve him sinceirlie in thy calling. Will thou have him terrible to thee, thou sall in deid find him terrible to thee, and thou sall schaik and trimbill at his countenance, in cace thou seik not to pleis him in this life. And this sall be the first sicht that ever the wickit quha desired not to pleis him in this life, sall get of him. Hevin and hell are thocht mowis[2] now a dayis: and this tribunall is nocht luikit to, bot certeinlie compeir mon thou either befoir the throne of mercie, or the tribunall of judgement.

Zit to gang fordward in the wordis: I sall onlie touche them, without discoursing on that generall judgement. Then first heir, to let you see the terribilnesse of that judgement, thair is ane compeirance[3] quhairof Esaias in his fourtie and five chapter, and the 23. verse thairof: and Paull, Rom. xiv. 11, speikis: "As I live (sayis the Lord) all kneis sall bow to mee, and all thingis sall confess mee to be GOD." Thair is the reverence that sall be at that compeirance, all kingis in the eirth sall bow thair kneis: and the toung that wald not speik in this eirth to Goddis glorie, sall then be compellit to speik to his glorie. Then thair is first ane compeirance, secundlie ane necessitie, compeir mon thou: thridlie, ane universalitie, all sall compeir without exceptioun, all sall be callit and all mon answere, HIC SUM, I am heir. Nane sall be away, man nor woman, riche nor poore, from Adam the first man to the

[1] Appear. [2] Are thought jests and mocks. [3] Appearance.

last borne man on eirth. Then fourthlie, the sait befoir the quhilk this compeirance mon be, is ane tribunal: the judge is Christ, Jehovah, God, not man onlie: all kneis sall bow to him as God, and not onlie to Christ as God, bot to Christ in our nature, as man he he sall sit as ane glorious judge, as it is said Joh. v. 22. The Father judgis na man, bot hes committit all judgement to the Sonne. And as thair sal be ane compeirance of all, sa thair mon be ane receiving: nane sall compeir bot sumthing they sall receiue. Quhat sall be received? Ane rewaird of thy actiounis, and doing in thy bodie, quhilk reward sall perteine to the bodie als weill as to the saull, becaus thou did them in the bodie. As to the qualitie of the rewaird, it is proportionall to that quhilk thow hes done in the bodie, be it gude or evil: gif it be gude thou sall be rewairdit with glorie: gif evil, thou sall be rewairdit with ignominie and schame. To insist sum thing on the last wordis, becaus the Papistis sticks on them, and thinkis they have ane advantage of this place: quhen they heir that everie ane sall receive according to the thingis quhilk they have done in the flesche, incontinent they conclude: ERGO Warkis meritis. I answere, Evill warkis indeid meritis damnatioun, and damnatioun sall be thy portion for them, gif thou be out of Jesus: bot gude warkis hes na merite. In all thy gude warkis thair is na deserving, albeit they wer ten thousand mai[1] nor they ar. Thair is force aneuch in ane evil wark to condemne thee, bot in a thousand gude warkis na force to save. The Apostle sayis not heir, they sal receive ane rewarde for that quhilk they have done, bot according as they have done: he sayis not *Propter*, making warkis ane cause, bot *secundum*, that is, according to the testification of the warkis. Bot to leif the larger insisting in this, as mair pertinent to ane uther place, and to cum to our purpose.

Wey the wordis, for everie word is ane word of wecht, importing ane terrible judgement, ane compeiring, ane necessitie of compeiring, ane universal compeiring without exception, na respect of person of the king, mair nor of the begger, na mitigation of the

[1] More.

severity of the judge: Christ wil have na mitigation, bot gif thou be ane reprobat, thou wil be handlit seveirlie, albeit thou wer ane king. The judgement then being sa terrible, the judge Christ mon also be terrible: And sa the Apostle sayis, "Knawing thairfoir that terrour of the Lord," &c. And all this is to learne everie saull, not sa to presume of the mercie of Christ, that thou sall think to find him mercifull in that day, except that thou have studied to be acceptable unto him in this lyfe, and can say: Lord I imployed myself in serving thee. Away with that presumption of mercie, that makis the lowne quhen he is murthering and committing adulterie to say, God is mercifull. Having set doun the terrible judgement, he concludis quhat he will doe in his awin persoun. Is the judgement and judge sa terrible? I will be wise: (the Lord give us this wisdom.) "Knawing," sayis Paull, "that terrour of the Lord," I will doe my dewtie in this lyfe. My dewtie is to preiche to bring men to the faith in Christ: I will walk in the discharge of that dewtie nicht and day. He sayis, "Knawing perfytely that terrour of the Lorde:" It is nocht ane blind terrour that will mak ane man to doe his dewtie in this life, bot it is the knawledge of ane Tribunall: to beleve that thair is ane Judge and ane Tribunall in hevin, and that thair is ane maist terrible day abyding. And gif ane beleved that thair is ane tribunall in Hevin, ane terrible Judge sitting thair to tak account of his doingis in eirth, for all the warld he wald not offend that God: bot this can not sink in the hart of man. He will say, thair is ane general judgement: bot this is fra the mouth onlie, and not fra the hart: and surelie sa lang as ane man continewis in sinne, albeit he suld sweir that thair is ane Tribunall, it is ane takin[1] he knawis it not. The wordis of judgment availlis nathing: it is the beleving, and sure knawledge that thair is ane judgement, and ane terrible Judge to sinners in hevin that dois the turne. Thairfoir seik perswasioun, and luik to that article of thy Creid, that the Judge sall cum and tak account baith of the quick and the deid. Beleve it, and then it sall draw thee to live ane godlie life. "Knawing thairfoir that terrour of the Lord, we per-

[1] Token.

swade men," or causis them beleve. He sayis not, I go to play the pairt of ane King, or of ane politick man, I am bussie in this or that turne that perteinis[1] not to my calling: Na, bot according to my calling I preiche the gospell, to perswade men to beleve in Christ, that they may be saif. To speik the treuth, it is not thy laboring and doing in ane uther man's calling that will profeit thee, bot thou art ordanit be God to do thy dewtie in thy awin calling: and quhen the account of thy deidis sall be tane[2] in that greit day, he sall not say, Quhat hes thee done in ane other man's calling: bot quhat hes thou done in thy awin? I maid thee ane minister, how travellit thou in that vocation? Thairfoir I say as every man wald be reddie to give ane account of his doings, let every man be walkrife[3] in his awin vocation, seiking the glorie of his God thairin. Now it micht have bene said to Paul, Thou boistis mekil of thy doing and preiching, bot luik with quhat sinceritie thou hes bene occupyit, and with quhat uprichtnesse of hart thou hes bene preiching in thy lyfetime? He answeris: and first, he takis God to be witnes of the sinceritie of his hart in discharging his ministerie: and then he takis the Corinthians amang quhom he had travellit, to be witnes also of his sinceritie. As for God, he sayis, "We ar made manifest unto God": And as for men, "I trust also I am made manifest in zour consciences." He takis first God to be witnesse, quha knawis the hart; and then the Corinthians quha saw his actiounis. Then, brethren, it is not aneuch for ane minister that preichis Christ as Paull dois, for perswading men to beleve in Christ, to speik outwardlie to men, as I am now speiking to zou, bot he mon luik in the mein time, that inwardly his hart be set upon God: that is, luik that he approve his hart in sincerity to God quha seis the hart. Men markis the wordis that cummis out of the mouth, bot God markis the sinceritie of the hart, to se with quhat sinceritie the man speikis. This that I speik of Paul in his calling, I mein of all uther men in thair callings. Dois thou onie thing outwardlie to men? Luik that thou doe it inwardlie in thy hart with sinceritie to God, utherwayis

[1] Appertaineth. [2] Taken. [3] Diligent.

thou tynis all thy travell, albeit it were never sa gude in the presence of men. Of this it followis, all thir ar but vain voices, to stand up and say, I haif done this thing, or that thing. To speik to men quha knawis not the hart, except in the mean time as thou art speiking to men, thou may draw the Lord to be witnes (as Paull dois) to the sinceritie of thy hart, and may say, I have bene travelling, with quhat sinceritie the Lord knawis: That quhilk I have done I haif done it in sinceritie. Not being content to call God onlie to be witnes, he turnis him to the Corinthians, and he appealis thair conscience to beir record of his sinceritie in his doing, and he sayis, "As for zou Corinthians (speiking sparinglie) I trust, &c." He was assurit of God's testimonie, bot he trustit that the Corinthians buir[1] him recorde, that he had travelled trulie: He sayis, "in zour consciences." It is to be markit, that he appealis thair consciences, not thair mouthis, bot thair consciences: for the mouth of man wil give an testimony, bot the conscience wil give ane uther. And quhen the conscience will be saying the man hes spoken trulie and in sinceritie, the mouth in the mean time wil be backbyting him, and the conscience will say, thou leis mouth. Speik thairfoir ever according to conscience: for gif thy conscience speik ane thing, and thy mouth ane uther, thou sall be challenged of ane lie. It is trew in deid men knawis not the hart of man, as quhen ane minister is speiking, ze can not judge of his hart, the Lord judgis it, zit ane faithfull and sincere man, he wil utter sum time the inward sinceritie of his hart in his wordis and deidis, that all that seis and heiris him, will luik in thairthrow,[2] and see the inward sinceritie of the hart, and give ane outward confessioun of it. Now, Brethren, then in this example of Paull ze have sic ane protestatioun as the faithful Pastour suld make in the hour of his deith, and quhilk suld be his Testament. Thair is twa thingis in his ministrie, the outward speiking, and the inward sinceritie of the hart: Gif he wald protest of his faithfulnes; luik that he protest as Paull did: first outwardlie, I have used all diligence in discharging all the outward parts of my

[1] Also would bear. [2] Throw.

calling, I have keipit na thing aback: and then inwardlie. As for my sinceritie, First I take God to be witnesse, quha knawis and onlie seis my hart, with quhat sinceritie I have spoken; and then I take zou witnes, that hes bene conversant with mee, sa far as ze can knaw the inward sinceritie of my hart, be my living and outward actiounis Wald to God we culd have this sinceritie. And I pray the Lord grant me this sinceritie, and I beseik[1] him that as he hes bene with mee sen the beginning of my ministrie: sa he wald never leif mee, untill the time I finish my cours with joy, to his glory, and comfort of his Kirk, through Jesus Christ our Lord. To quhome with the Father, and the Halie Gaist, be all honour, praise, and glorie, for now and ever. AMEN.

[1] Beseech.

THE FOURTH SERMON.

2. Cor. Cap. 5.

12. For we praise not our selfis agane unto zou, bot give zou ane occasioun to rejoice of us, that ze may have to answere against them, quhilk rejoice in the face, and not in the hart.

13. For quhidder we be out of our wit, we ar it to God, or quhidder we be in our richt mynde, we ar it unto zou.

14. For that love of Christ constraynis us.

15. Becaus we thus judge, that gif ane be dead for all, then wer all dead, and he died for all, that they quhilk live suld not hence furth live unto them selfis, bot unto him quhilk died for them, and rose agane.

To repeat schortlie that quhilk we haif hard in this chapter, we hard first of that assurance of glorie and of lyfe everlasting quhilk is the onlie remedie against deith and the dissolution of this bodie We hard secundly of the three warrands of this assurance of lyfe and glorie: the first, the earnest desire quhilk the heart had of that glorie and lyfe: the secund regeneratioun and renewing: the thrid, the Halie Spreit quha is the worker of all grace in our hartis, and quha nevir leifis us, bot bydis in us as ane assured arlis-penny of the ful accomplischment of all that glorie promised to us in the Word of God. And zit for all this, we hard that the Apostle had not that contentatioun nor full satisfactioun of his hart, because he is zit ane pilgrime, living heir by confidence, and hes not gottin the full presence of his Lord, he choisis to leif all the thingis in this life, and thairfoir he taks resolutioun quhat he wil do in life and

[1] Abideth.

deith, to the end that when he cummis to his Lord in the hevinnis he may be welcum. The thing he resolvis to do is this, he endevouris himself in his calling to be acceptabill to him in life and deith, and he will consecrate al the actiounis and sufferingis of baith to him. Beside that glorie to cum quhilk movis him to studie to be acceptable to his Lord, he settis doun ane uther motive, ane terrible Tribunall quhilk abydis him and all men and wemen, quha studies not to be acceptabill to the Lord. The saull sal not sa sone depart out of the body bot it sall als sone be presentit befoir that Tribunall, and sall receive that dolorous sentence, gif they have not studied to be acceptable to him. Thairfoir the Apostle concludis, Knawing thairfoir the terrour of the Lord we travell in our calling to preiche Christ, and to bring men to faith, and that not for the fassoun,[1] bot in sinceritie of heart: sa that we tak God (quha seis the hart) to be witness to us of our sincerity. And as to zou Corinthians upon quhome we have bestowed our labour, we appeale zour consciences, and we tak zou to be witnes of that same sinceritie of our calling. This is the sum of all quhilk ze have hard hitherto in this chapter.

Now to cum to this text quhilk we have red, in this first verse the Apostle having spoken of his sincerity in preiching, the Corinthians quha had not that lyking of him quhilk they suld have had, micht have objected: Weil Paull, zit vauntis thou of thyself? Thou hes anis vaunted of thy self (as appeiris in the second and third chapter preceiding) and zit art thou commending thy self? He answeris: Na, I commend not my self agane. I vaunt not of myself, neither befoir nor now: bot quhen I said, "*We ar maid manifest to God, and I trust also that we ar maid manifest in zour consciences.*" In thir wordis, I give zou occasioun to glorie of mee, and not for my caus sa mekill, as for the caus of fals flattering apostles, quha gloryis in thair outward doings, without sinceritie in the hart: the repressing of thir mennis vain glorying, is the cause of this my speiking. This is the meining of this verse. Then this text being

[1] Fashion.

plaine, learne thir lessounis. I mark first in the persoun of the Corinthians quha objectis this vaunting to the Apostle mistaking his words: Scarse may ane godlie man speik ane or twa wordis of the grace quhilk the Lord hes given him, and that not to his awin praise, bot to the prais of his God, quhen he is mistaken be evill men, quha sets them selfis to wry[1] everie word that is spoken. And gif ever thair was ane age in the whilk this vice rang,[2] I am assured (and experience provis it) na age may be compared in that cace to this age. Zea, ane godly man can do na thing, bot incontinent he is mistaken: he can speik na thing bot he is misconstrued, and especiallie the Ministeris in thair callings, amang all men thair wordis ar maist misconstrued. The day rysis not bot thair is ane evident experience of this point, and ilk[3] ane seis it. Thairfoir quhat remedie bot patience. All this judging is bot for ane time, tarie ane littill quhyle, and keip ane guid conscience in the mein time, and we sal see ane uther judgment, quhen he sall cum that judgis richtlie. Then secundlie leirn in the person of Paull. He will not have it sa meikill as seming anis,[4] that he praises him self. Everie gude man, and especiallie ane minister suld fle al occasion of vain glorie. Zea, that Christian modestie and sobernes cravis, that everie man and they wer indewit with the greatest gracis in the warld, zit they suld speik and think of themselfis soberly. The mair they have, the greiter grace that God hes given them, the les they suld account of themselfis: zea, suppois they be sum thing in the sicht of God, zit luiking to the nauchtines that abydis in this cankert nature, they suld say of themselfis, I am na thing. For the Apostle sayis 1 Cor. viii. 2, and Galat. vi. 3. "He that thinkis him self sum thing, he is na thing:" and Phil. ii. 3. "Let everie man account ane uther man better nor himself." Gif ane man will meditate on his awin estait, either be night or be day, let him think of his infirmities, his sinnis and naughtines: Will he rejoice of himself in his awin minde? Luik to Paull quhat he sayis, 2 Cor. xii. 9. "I will rejoice in my infirmities, that the power of Jesus may dwell in mee." The power of God never dwelt in ane proud

[1] Wrest. [2] Reigned. [3] Every. [4] So much as once seeming.

nor ambitious hart bot in ane humbil hart. "God resistis the proud and gevis grace to the humble." 1 Pet. v. 5. Sa Paul quhen he was prasing of himself, albeit he had sene greit visions, 2 Cor. xii. he compleinis of his infirmitie to the Lord. The Lord answeris, "My grace is sufficient for thee, my power is maid perfite throch waiknes." Then thou that wald be strang in God, be waik in thyself, think nicht and day of thy infirmitie and miserie be sinne. I mark agane in the wordis of the Apostle; ane godlie man may rejoice and glory in the grace of God. Quhy suld not the grace of God be gloried in? The Apostle in that xii. chap. 2. Cor. 5 verse, quhen he hes spoken of that hevinlie revelation. "Of sic ane man I wil rejoice," sayis he, "of myself will I not rejoice, except it be of my infirmitie." Then may not ane godlie man speik of himself? Zes, he may speik of himself as the instrument of God, as the dispenser of the grace of God, as Paull did heir. To quhat end? That they unto quhom the Lord hes maid him ane gude instrument, upon quhom he hes bestowed his travels, may glorifie God, and may rander him the honor of ane minister. Paull, 1 Cor. iv. 1, sayis, "Let ane man count of us as of the ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secreitis of God." And sa ane minister suld have honour, and they upon quhome he hes bestowed his travellis and the grace quhilk God hes given him, suld honour him, and they ar als strait detbund[1] to give him it, as onie debt that ever they aucht to pay. Thairfoir the Apostle sayis in the 2. Epistle to the Corith. xii. chap. the ellevinth verse: "I have bene fulisch in glorying, bot zee have compellit mee, because I suld have bene commended be zou." It is a point of sacriledge to tak onie honour fra them that God hes given them. Now, quhairfoir is this that the Apostle wald have them glorying of him? Not sa meikil for his awin cause, as for the caus of fals teichers, quha rejoiced in the face and not in the hart; that is, not in inward sincerity, bot in outward thingis, having ane fair schaw of eloquence and fair wordis. Then leirne, ambitioun mon not be borne with. It is pernicious baith to the man in quhom it is, and to uther men quha

[1] They are as greatly indebted.

hes ado with him. This vain glorying is ane kind of blasphemie, for that quhilk thou takis to thyself in thy vaine glorying, thou spuilzies[1] God of it in quhat calling sa ever thou be. Thairfoir this vaine vaunting of our selfis is ane vice, quhilk amang all vices suld be maist repressed. Allace that stinking flesch suld stand up and spuilzie God of his glory. Now wald thou have ane mein to repres this vaunting in the mouth of ane ambitious man? Quhen he is vaunting of thir outward graces and benefites, as ane tume tub[2] sounding without sinceritie in his hart, cast thou up in his teith the sinceritie of the hart. Say, Vaine man, all thy speach is in thy face, and not in the hart. Set up the hart against the face, and it sall blek[3] it. It availes not to speak of onie thing that thou can do, except thou have inward sinceritie in the hart. For thir outward thingis sal evanische, and dar not appeir befoir God in that great day: bot sinceritie remains for ever.

To cum to the nixt verse. Zit they will not let him be, zit they will object unto him his fulischnesse. Quha will vaunt of himself bot ane fuil? Paull, thou is ane fule, thou braggest of thyself? The Apostle answeris with modestie "Quhidder we be out of our wit, we are it to God, or quhidder we be in our richt mynd, we are it unto zou." Thair is the Apostle's answere. Than, Brethren, that quhilk God countis wisdome, the warld counts it fulischnesse, and that quhilk the warld countis wisdome God countis it fulischnes. Wes thair onie fulische talking heir, quhen the Apostle sayis, "We ar manifest to God, and I doubt not bot we are manifest also to zour conscience:" Was thair onie bragging heir? Sa the wisdom of God is fulischnes to the warld, and sall be sa lang as corrupt nature is within us. And the Apostle says, 1 Cor. iii. 19. "The wisdome of the warld is fulischnes with God." Bot the questioun cannot now be decydit, quhat is the trew wisdom, and quhat is fals wisdom, the end will prove. Trew wisdome is justified of hir awin children, Math. ii. 19. Weil, the end wil schaw and speciallie that day quhen all thingis sall be reveiled. Fulischnes sall stand up, and all the warld sall see it to be fulisch-

[1] Reavest. [2] As an empty vessel. [3] Shame.

nes: wisdome sall stand up, and all the warld sal see it to be wisdome, and then it sall have the awin approbatioun. Sa that thir men that will be countit wise in this warld, will be compellit to utter thir wordis of them quhome they estemed fuillis in this warld, Ar thir the men quhais life we countit fulischness? And I beseik God to oppin our eies to see this trew wisdome, and specially in thingis concerning religioun, quhilk wisdom onlie will abyde approbatioun. Secundly learne, Paul heir zeildis to them. Let me be wod,[1] I am wod to God. My God is befoir my eies, and I cair not to be mad to this warld. And as for zou, gif I be in my richt minde, it is to zou. Ze Corinthians have na thing to lay to my charge, for I have done my dewtie faithfullie to zou. Brethren, see ze not heir the cair quhilk we suld have of the glorie of God, and of the Kirk of God, and hir salvation? It suld cause ane man of this calling that Paull was of, to be ravisched in Sprit, and to be content to be countit ane fuill in this warld, that God may be glorified, and men helped forward to hevin. Gif God be glorifyit in my wodnesse, quhat regaird I to be wod? Quhat reckis[2] of man in this warld? Quhat reckis of mannis[3] ruine and decay, gif God be glorified? Bot allace thair is sic ane self-love ingraft in the hart of everie man, that we will not let God be honourit, except it may stand with our honour. And we will say, I will not be esteimed ane fuill, I will not be disgraced: gif it may stand with my honour and profite I will glorifie him: bot gif his honour and mine standis not togidder, I will cheiflie have respect to my awin honour. Sa it will never be weill quhill we get this cankert self-love submitting the self to the glorie of God. And it suld be the greatest endeavour that ever we suld have in this warld to cast out this self-love, that we may be content that God may be glorified, and it wer with our dishonour, zea, and it wer with our destruction. It is not self-love that bringis honour and glorie, onlie honour is of God, and thou sall never get honour except thou cast away self-love, that God may be glorified.

Then to gang fordward. Paull mon have sum thing for him

[1] Mad. [2] What respect is to be made. [3] What if men go to.

quhy he will bee wod for Goddis cause: he will not bee wod without sum reasoun. Thairfoir in the nixt verse he sayis, "For the lufe of God constraynis us." As gif he wald say, I am constrained to this fulischnes; and ane charge is laid on mee to doe sa. I am bund and obleist sa to do: that is, to be ane wod man for the glorie of my God. And quhairfra[1] cummis this necessitie? It is the love of God (sayis he) that constraynis me: this band that bindis mee is the love of Christ, not the love quhilk I beir to him, (that is over waik) bot the love quhilk he beiris to mee, it bindis all my sensis, and careis[2] mee to honour my God with my haill bodie. Thir ar the wordis. Then the verie necessitie quhilk lyis on thee to be ane wod man for Goddis cause, it is not ane thing quhairof thou can free thee: thair is ane necessitie laid on thee to be counted wod for Christis cause. Then gif thair be ane necessitie laid on us to do this, (albeit it be to our awin dishonour) quhat gif we doe it not, bot will schaik of this zoke? Then I tell thee, in place of it, ane uther necessity mon cum in, ane necessity of wo. Paull sayis, "Woe to mee gif I preiche not the Gospell." 1 Cor. ix. 16. Hes God laid this necessitie on mee to preiche, and I cast it off, ane uther necessitie of woe sall be laid on mee. Allace, this warld thinkis all this worschipping of GOD to be voluntarie, that men may serve GOD as they pleis, and that men may preiche as they pleis, this way, or that way, and speik heir, and hald thair toung thair as they will. Bot I say to thee, will thou free mee of that necessitie that lyis on me? Is thou abill to take it off my back? Gif thou be not abill, then for Goddis saik let mee preiche the gospel with fredome and sincerity of hart. I tell thee, thair is sic ane necessitie laid on the schoulders of the ministers, to utter everie thing quhilk the Lord puttis in thair mouth, that gif thou schaik of this necessitie, ane uther necessitie of wo sal be laid on them. And this sall be thair cry on thair deid[3] bed, Wo be to mee that I preichit not trewlie the Gospell.

Zit to gang fordward. Quhairfra cummis this necessitie? He sayis, "It is the love of God that constraynis me." It is the love

[1] From whence. [2] Urgeth. [3] Death.

of Christ quhilk he kythit[1] in his suffering for mee, that bindis mee. Sa, it was the love of Christ towardis Paull that moved him patientlie to be callit wod for Christis caus. Christ for the love quhilk he buir to us, sufferit himself not onlie to be called wod, bot to be called ane Devill. Mat. xii. 24. He suffered the extremitie of paine and ignominie for our saikis: and all the revylings and reprochis that suld have lichtit on us, he tuke them on him. Sic was his love quhilk he buir to us. Then will not thou suffer to be called ane wod man for his cause. Gif thou wald have ane pairt of the inheritance conqueist be Christ,[2] bund mon thou be, ane necessitie mon be laid upon thee, and gif thou be lousèd, thou is lowsed fra the love of Jesus, and then wo and destructioun everlasting sall cum on thee. I see then, all our service of Christ, is of necessitie: Then quhat pleisure can be in the service of Christ, gif it be constrayned service? The thing I am compelled to doe, I will have littil pleisure in the doing of it? In deid it is trew, thou art not lous, bot bund. Fra time thou enters in the Kirk of Christ, thou enters in bondes. Bot thair is ane great difference betwixt band and band: ane band will bind thee and force thee to doe ane thing, wil thou, nill thou[3]: Ane uther band will onlie leid thee the richt way quhilk thou is to gang. Brethren, this band that Paull speikis of in this place, it is sweit band the band of the love of Christ, and it bindis thee sweitlie and lovinglie to discharge thy dewty to God: and al thy dewty be this band is voluntarie, and he quha is bund with this band, wil rejoice mair to be callit ane fule for Christis saik, nor to be esteimit ane king upon the eirth. Bot thou mon tak tent quhair this band is that bindis thee, that it may leid thee to do thy dewty willingly. Gif the love of Christ quhilk is the band, be outwith thee, only sounding in thy eir (as quhen it is tauld thee, Christ lovis thee) I tel thee it wil not bind thee. Al the preiching in the warld wil not bind thee, and it be without thee. Paul sayis thairfor, Rom. v. 5. "The love of God is sched abrode in our harts throw the Haly Spreit that is given us." Then that that love may bind the hart, it mon be pourit

[1] Shewed. [2] Which Christ conquered. [3] Whether thou wilt, or wilt not.

in thee, and quhen it enters in the hart, it lowsis the hart with sic ane sueitness to do God's wil as is unspeikable: it bindis the hart with ane exceiding joy. Wald to God we had ane taist of this love. All is bot wordis. Thair can be na sic sweitnes as that is, fra anis the Sprit hes powrit the love of Christ in thy hart, then let all our travels be quhen we heir of thir things, to get ane sense of the lufe of Christ in our harts. All the powers in the warld will not move thee to doe thy dewty sa meikle, as the feiling of this love of Christ towards thee. And na thing will be abil to stay thee fra Christ and honouring him (and it wer with thy awin ignominy) gif anis thou have ane sense of it. In the nixt verse he gevis twa reasounis quhy the love of Christ constrained him. The first reason is takin fra that misery that Christ fand him in, quhen he sufferit for him: the secund is takin fra the end of the deith of Jesus. As to the first, this was our miserabil estait befoir Christ loved us: "We were all dead." How provis he that, "Gif ane be dead for all, then wer all dead," gif thou had not bene dead, in vaine deit Christ for thee. Gif thou had ben bot half deid (as the Papists sayis, quha vaunts of thair fre wil,) the Son of God had never deit for thee. Gif Paul had had this fre wil, and sa bene half deid, Christ had neyer deit for him: and gif ther wer na uther argument bot this, to import that thair is not ane free will, nor spunk of godlines in men be nature, it is sufficient to say, Christ hes deit for al: we were without all spunk of free will to gude quhen Christ come. Mark the force of the argument. It is fra that miserabill estait and spirituall deith quhairin Christ fand us, quhen he began to kyith[1] his love on us. We wer deid spiritually in sinne, deid in trespassis. Quhat reckis of this corporall deith, gif thou be deid in sinne, thou is worse nor ane carrion. This spirituall deith suld move us to think that the love of Christ was wonderfull towards us: it suld ever mak us aggregé that love quhairwith he hes loved us. He died for thee quha was deid in sinne and trespassis, and sa ane enemie to him. "Quha is he (sayis the Apostle) that will die for his enemie?" Rom. v. 7. Thou

[1] Bestow.

being deid in sinne, thou lived in sinne, and sa lived ane enemy to the lyfe of Christ. And thairfoir thy hart can never sufficientlie aggrege the benefite of his deith. Men ar miserable, bot allace they feill it not: thou hes na want nor scant of miserie, bot thou wantis sense: and the less feiling thou hes of thy deidness, the greater is thy deidness: for the sense of deith is the beginning of life? the greater thy inlaik be of the sense of deith,[1] thou is ever the deider: the quikker[2] the sinner be, lowping[3] and playing him in his wantonnesse, the deider is he in saull. For he hes ane burden on his back that will presse him throw the eirth, and mak him sink to hell ane day: and in the mein time he is running to his mischeif and villanie, and kennis not that he hes deith everlasting on the back of him. O wo be to that miserabill cative suppois he wer ane king. Allace, men ar deid in sinne and half in hell, and will not considder it. It is ane pitifull thing to considder how thair is na sense of this infernall miserie, that followis upon this deith. Quhen it is tauld them, the Lord hes died for them, they will mak na account of it. The word of the croce of Christ hes bene to the multitude of this land bot ane vain sound, and they have never counted of sic ane mercy. And thairfoir quhat wonder is it to see thir vexatiounis. O Scotland, thou sall get ane uther walkning, thou hes sa lang contemnit grace, quhilk is the maist pretious that ever was: The Lord can not be Lord and he suffer sa lang contempt and lichtlying of Christ and his love unpunisched! The secund argument is taken fra the end and purpose that Christ had in deing: luikit he to this end that thou suld play thee, and follow thy awin lust? that thou suld abuse that life, quhilk he had bocht sa deir with his precious blude? Na his purpose was that not onlie in his deith and satisfactioun thou suld be justified and counted just, bot also that thou suld be sanctified, that thou suld cast of thy warkis of unclennes, and dedicate thy life in halines to him. It is said, Rom. xiv. 9. "That he rais againe, that he micht be Lord over thy life." For thair was never man that had sic ane richt to an eirthly thing as he hes to thy life:

[1] The more thou wantest the sense of death. [2] Livelier. [3] Leaping.

then do quhatever may pleisure him, and it wer to die ane thousand times, and it were to be ane fule for his cause, quhat ever may pleisure him, set thee to do it, or of necessitie thou sall tyne that life of thyne. Bot heir is the miserie: Man knawis not quhairfoir Christ died. Will ze speir at men and wemen, quhen they ar lying bathing them selfis in wickitnesse, gif they will gang to hevin: they will answere, Zes, they will gang to hevin or ever thair feit be cauld. Bot vain lown, thou never knew Christis purpose in deing for thee. His purpose was that thou suld be ane new man, and thou suld not live to thy awin self, bot to him. And the end sal prove (and thou proceid sa, living to thyself and not to him quha hes died for thee) that the deith of Christ had never force in thee. Thairfoir luik gif thou lives to Christ? and gif thou dois sa, then assure thyself Christ died for thee. Luik gif in the morning thou can say, Lord thow died for mee, I will give thee my life, and consecrate to thee this day all my actiounis, and all that I have. Weill is the saull that can say this way. Then all turnis to this, Seing Christ died for mee, I will tak this resolutioun, I will live to him all my dayis. The Lord grant us this resolutioun that we may live to him in this life, that heirefter we may live with him in hevin for ever. To quhome be all honour, prais and glorie for ever. Amen.

THE FIFT SERMON.

2. Cor. Cap. 5.

16. Quhairfoir hencefurth knaw we na man efter the flesche: zea though we have knawne Christ efter the flesche, now zit hencefurth knaw ze him no more.

17. Thairfoir gif onie man be in Christ, he is a new creature: auld thingis ar passit away, behauld all thingis ar becum new.

18. And all thingis ar of God, quhilk hes reconciled us unto himself through Jesus Christ, and hath given unto us the ministerie of reconciliatioun.

Ze heard the last day, in the last part of this chapter, the reasounis set down quhairfoir ane man is bund and oblisched in conscience to live to God, to consecrate his life, his deith, and all his actiounis to Jesus Christ: to wit, first the love of Christ constrainis and oblischis us sa to love him agane, that we be content even to be fuilis to this warld for his saik. Ane uther argument was taken from our awin estait quhairin we wer, quhen he kythit[1] this love of his on us, we wer deid in sinne and trespassis. Sa this miserabill condition that we lay in, quhilk was the beginning of hel and everlasting damnatioun, suld move us never to think on pleising of ourselfis, bot onlie to pleisure him quha hes delyvered us fra sic damnatioun. The thrid argument wes taken fra the purpose quhilk the Lord had in dying for us: to wit, that the lyfe that was bocht be his deith, suld be consecrate to him, and imployed in his service: for being anis redeemed by him we ar na mair our awin men, bot

[1] Shewed.

his quha hes coft[1] us. And thairfoir as the servand sets his eie upon his lord, waiting to plesure him; sa in our haill actiounis, with our haill mind, we suld be set to pleisure our Lord, quha coft us quhen we wer bund slaves to sin and Sathan. Utherwayis we sall fall aback to that damnation quhairfra[2] we wer redemed.

Now to come to this text that we have red. In the first verse thairof we have the resolutioun of the Apostle Paull, and the purpose quhilk he takis concerning this matter. Seing Christ his Lord hes set himself to pleis him, and to redeme him fra deith, and to conqueis[3] life to him, his resolutioun is to give him agane that life quhilk he hes conqueisit to him, to imploy the haill life of him in the service of that Lord that hes redemit him. Thairfoir, Brethren, befoir I gang fordward learne ane lessoun of this general, Gif this was the purpose of Christ in deing for us, and in deing sa schamefull ane deith, that we for quhome he deit suld live to him, and not to ourselfis; our purpose suld be on the uther part, to give him this life that he hes bocht sa deirlie. Give him it, or ellis thou sall give it to ane worse man. Imploy it in his service, or els thou sall imploy it in the service of ane worse man. And ilk[4] ane suld say for thair awin partis as Paul did for his pairt, Hes Christ died for me to this purpose that I suld live to him, then will I tak purpose and will resolve in my hart to give him the life that he hes conqueist to me be his deith. This was his purpose in his deith concerning me, I will not disappoint him of his purpose. That life that he hes win to mee, I will consecrate it to his service. It is true, thou can never disappoint the Lord of his purpose: his purpose standis immovable. The man to quhome he luikit in his deith he mon live, and every man for quhom Christ died was in his eies quhen he died. Na godlie man was out of his minde in his suffering, bot he said in his hart, I will die for this man and for this woman, that they may live to mee. Sa he will not be disappointed. Bot luik thou disappoint not thyself. Gif thou say, Christ died for mee, and in the meintime thou wil not give thy life to him, bot will live to thy lustis, and not to him, thou of necessitie in the end sall bring

[1] Bought. [2] From which. [3] Purchase. [4] Every.

thyself to ane miserable point. Thair is nathing in the warld that ane man suld take mair tent[1] to, nor to the life to cum, to thair maner of living heir, and to the actions that they have in hand, and the things about the quhilk they ar occupied in thair conversation. For gif thou have ane conscience, thy conscience wil tel thee by thy actions quhat part thou hes in Christ; gif in thy actions thou be serving him, thy conscience wil tel thee, thou hes a part in the Lord quhom thou is serving. And thou in the mein time (gif thou wer bot eating thy denner) gif thou do it to his glorie thou sall finde ane sweit apprehensioun of the deith of Christ, and it sall raise a greit joy in thy hart. Bot be the contrair, gif thou be evill occupied, and about to doe any evill turne, thy conscience within thee will give thee ane secreit warning, and wil say, Oh! man, thy wark testifies thou hes na thing ado with Christ, and thou sall find in thy hart na comfort of Christis deith, nor of his resurrectioun. Sa it is gude to be weill occupied everie man in his awin calling, and in all his doings ever to have Christ befoir his eies, quha hes given him this life. Wald thou then try quhidder the turnis[2] that thou dois be service done to the Lord or not, I sall tell thee how thou sall ken, (I will not speik of outward takinnis) bot luik day and nicht within thyself to thy awin hart quhat thow feillis thair: Feillis thou ane conscience be nicht and be day testifying to thee that thou art upon ane gude course, and serving Christ quha died for thee, it is weill with thee: gif thy conscience be richtlie informed, and thou find in the mein time ane sweit apprehensioun of Christis deith, passion and rysing, it is weil. Bot gif thou feill not this testimonie of ane gude conscience, bot rather ane displesour and grudging in thy saul, al is wrang. Weil is thee gif thou find in all thy doings ane sweit apprehensioun of Christis deith and resurrectioun: gif thou find it not, woe is thee, leave that turne, away with it. Away with all busines that will not furneis ane joy of conscience in Christ, and will nocht mok thee to say, Christ is myne, I am doing him service.

Now to cum to the purpose, the special point of service that suld

[1] Heed. [2] Deeds.

be given to Christ is set doun in thir wordis :—"From hencefurth knaw we na man efter the fleshe:" thir ar the wordis, wey them. The speciall point of service set doun heir, is the richt estimatioun of men among quhom we live in the warld. It is na small mater to esteim of men and wemen as we suld do. The rule quhairby the Apostle will esteim of them is not in the flesche, nor be fleschlie doing, that is, be na outward thing. All thir outward thingis, as kindred, nobilitie, beautie, wisdome, warldlie eloquence, riches, honour, with all the rest of thir things quhilk men hes in admiratioun, is nathing. This is not the rule of the Apostle, nor we suld not be that rule esteim of them. How then? Quhat is contrair to the flesche? the Spreit. Quhat is contrair to nature? Grace. Quhat is contrair to the auld man? Regeneration. Then quhat aucht to be the rule according to the quhilk we sould judge of men? the Spreit, Grace and Regeneratioun. Bot ze will say, ar not all thir warldlie thingis benefitis of God, suld not men be estemed of for them? I answere: the Apostle speikis not simplie of them, bot in comparisoun, in respect of the spirituall graces. The nobilitie of the King is bot dung in respect of the leist drop of the blude of Christ: the leist spunk of grace is worth haill nature; the leist portion of hevinlie glorie is worth all the glorie in the warld; the leist spunk of regeneratioun is worth all the genealogies that can be in this warld. Quhen Christ cumis with his Spreit, grace and regeneration, all thir eirthlie prerogatives vanisches as the mist. Then mark: Thair is the special point of service done to Jesus, discerne betwixt deid men and living men in this warld. Deid men ar they quha ar naturall men and na mair. Hes thou na mair bot nature with al the prerogatives that can follow nature thou art deid suppois thou were ane king. Living men ar they quha ar born again be Christ. Hes thou the Spreit of Christ thou livis: want thou the Spreit of Christ thou art bot deid. Sa thair is ane speciall point of Christis service, discerne betwixt living men and deid men: thou art in the middis of them, and living men on the ane hand, and deid men on the uther hand. Discerne betwixt them. Count not of the dead man althocht he had all the

prerogatives under hevin. Gif he have na mair bot nature, cal him not blissit. The living man is he that hes the Spreit of Christ in him, albeit he wer ane begger; and the men quha makis ane account of thir warldlie prerogatives, and followis nature and the auld generatioun, ar bot natural men: thou quha accounts of deid men art deid thy self, and as thou art deid, sa al thy estimation is of deid men. To go fordward to the words, he amplifies this be the example of Christ. He sayis, howbeit I countit anis of Christ efter the flesh, befoir I knew him weill; zit from hencefurth I wil ken him na mair efter the flesche, and thairfoir quhy suld we ken men efter the flesche, quha ar inferiouris to Christ, the heid of all flesche. Now to speik of this Lord. Quhen he was in this warld he was cled with thir eirthlie prerogatives as uther men; zea, I think he had thir outward prerogatives in his awin person in greatest measure above all men. For never man descended of ane mair excellent race and genealogie than he did. Then luik to his beautie, albeit it is not set doun in the Scripture, I doubt gif ever thair was ane man[1] sa fair in beautie as he. He was maist wise, maist eloquent of all men, and thairfoir the Apostles had him in admiratioun for thir prerogatives. Bot fra anis by his glorious resurrection (as the Apostle sayis, Rom. i. 4) he was declared michtelie to be the Sone of God, then all thir thingis evanisched, and the onlie admiratioun remained of that glorie quhilk he declared by his resurrectioun. All thir eirthlie prerogatives (sayis Paul) then past out of thair eies, and the graces of Christ only remained to be mervailled at. The lessoun is plaine. The Lord Jesus is the rule of the estimatioun of all flesche. In thy estimatioun hald thy eie ever on Christ, or ellis thou sall fall. First cast thy eies up to hevin, and then cast doun thy eies on man quha is bot ane worme on the eirth. Luik up to ane glorious God, Jesus the Mediatour, and then to ane worme on this eirth, and he wer ane king, and say, Those thingis that I will not count of in Jesus, quhilk he had, being in Galilie and in the eirth, I will not count of them in thee that art bot ane worme, I wil not do it. Bot be the con-

[1] Yet I think there was never man.

trair, that thing quhilk I esteim of in him, that passing glorie quhilk is in him, quhen I luik to thee and seis ane glaunce thairof in thee, indeid for that littill resemblance quhilk I see in thee like to my Lord resembling him in grace, I will esteim of thee, utherwayis I may weill give thee this warldlie reverence, bot gif thou want this resemblance I will never count thee happie, and[1] thou had all the eirthlie prerogatives in the warld. And certainlie they quha hes men in admiratioun for thir eirthly prerogatives never saw Christ, nor his glorie. Thou that will see ane tribunall, ane monarche heir, and mervell thairat, thou never saw the tribunall of Christ. Sa the thing that garris[2] people esteim of men for thir eirthlie prerogatives, is because they see not the glory and graces of Christ. Wald the people have estemed sa mekill of Herode, gif they had knawin the majestie of the greit God quhen they callit him ane God. Act. xii. 22. Na, not for all the warld, and thairfoir seik ane sicht of the glorie of God, gif ze wald richtly esteim of men, and give them only thair awin place.

Now to go fordward. Ze have heard of the purpose that the Apostle takis in serving of his Lord, be the richt esteiming of men in this warld amang quhom he livis. In the nixt verse he cummis to the estait of this warld, and schawis quhat alteratioun was made in the warld be the alteration made in the person of Jesus; for quhen Jesus altered all creatures altered with him; quhen he went from the eirth to the hevin, and left behind him all thir eirthlie plesures, thair followit ane wonderfull change and alteratioun in al the creatures. Bot to cum to the wordis: he first speikis of the estait of man; and, secundly, of the estait of the rest of the creatures in the eirth. As for man he sayis: "Thairfoir gif ony man be in Christ, let him be a new creature:" mark this: gif onie man be in Christ he is a new creature; he is changed, he is altered, and wonderfullie altered: he is changed fra ane auld creature to ane new creature; fra ane auld deid creature to ane new living creature; fra nature to grace; fra deith to lyfe; fra hell to hevin: Quhat suld becum of ane auld rottin stock bot be castin in the

[1] Albeit. [2] Causeth.

fyre? Sa gif thou had continewed ane auld rotten creature, brunt had thou bene in that fyre quhilk is unquenchable. He settis doun the meinis how this change is maid: First thou mon be in Christ; as ever thou saw ane imp ingraft in ane tre, sa thou mon be planted and ingrafted in him. Being planted in him, than cummis that fresche sop[1] out of him into thee, and transformes thee, and makis thee ane new creature. Then leirn of this first, luik the force of the alteratioun of Jesus: quhen he altered fra eirthlie thingis to hevinlie glorie, man especiallie altered with him. Then luik, secundlie, the dignitie of man,—amang all creatures he hes the first place of chaunging, and Christ was first effectuall in man to make him ane new creature. And this preferment hes man above al the hevinnis and above al the creatures. The maner how this cummis to pas is this. Or thou be altered thou mon be raised up to him, and be joyned with him, and ingraft in him as ane imp in ane tree; then thou and he, and he and thou being made ane, the glorie that is in Jesus spreddis the self over thee, and covers thee. Bot gif thou be not in him, thou sall never get ane part of his glorie. Luik that thou be in him, be faith, (for faith ingrafts thee in him), and being in him thou sall get a part of his glorie; and zit thou is bot ane creature, and not ane creator. The differencee is in newnes, thou wes made befoir ald, bot now made new, green and livelie, fra anis thou be planted in Christ thou is flurisching. It is true all thir thingis ar not sene zit, and this flurisching of us in Christ is not fund zit perfitelie, and this conjunction of him with us is not sa sensible as it sall be, bot this sall anis be fund true, we sall find that we wer the sonnes of God, and new creatures, quhen we wer on this eirth, and we sall get the accomplischment of our felicitie in hevin, quhen we ar reigning in glorie with him. Now as to the rest of the creatures he sayis, "Auld things ar past by, behauld al thingis ar becum new." He sayis, "Behold;" mark the word: heirby steiring up their hartis to see the alteratioun and renewing of thir creatures, seing it is ane thing difficill to be beleved be men. Thair is na

[1] Sap.

creature, neither angell, nor man, no the dumb and sensles creatures as the hevin, eirth, the fyre, water, air, bot they wer al benefited be that change maid in Christ, and be his glorious Resurrection and Ascension they receaved some alteration fra the worse to the better. The angels quha wer befoir in glorie, wer bettered, and thair glorie was augmented be the rysing of Christ. The Apostle, Eph. i. 10, and iii. 10, and Coloss. i. 20, schawes this; bot to speik of the inferiour creatures and thair estait, of this Hevin, Sunne, Mone, Starres, Eirth, Water, &c., that was created for the use of man, thir creaturis fra the beginning ever altered with man. Quhen man was created in the beginning in perfectioun, thir creaturis was in thair perfectioun, the hevin in his perfectioun, the sunne in his perfectioun, &c. Quhen man fell, they fell also, the hevin fell from his perfectioun, &c., the eirth was accursed for man, Rom. viii. 20. As man grew auld, that is, as he grew in sinne, unto the time that sinne came to the hicht (quhilk fell in that same period of time quhen Christ come in the warld; then the Apostle sayis sinne superabunded and all was under sinne. And surelie I think gif the Lord had not cummed at that periode of time quhen the warld superabunded in sin, and sinne was cum to the heicht, the warld had presentlie perisched;) sa, I say, as men grew auld be sinne, the Hevins, the Sonne, the Mone, and al the rest of the creaturs grew auld. Allace man be sin defylis the air, the hevins, &c. Quhen thou, oh man, for quhom all the rest of the creatures was maid, runnis fordward in offending thy Creator, thou drawis on al the rest of the creaturs efter thee. And again at the cumming of Christ the auld creaturis began to be maid new creaturis, and the creaturs that was maid to the use of man, wer benefited with that benefit of man, and gat ane renewing as man thair Lord was renewed. Again efter Christis cumming, quhen man began of new to degener and grow auld, then the creatures also began to grow auld. Sa man growing in sinne drawis efter him the creaturis, and as he decayis, the eirth and all creaturis decaies, and thairfoir Paull (Rom. viii. 19, 22,) sayis, that the sensles and dumb creaturis granis and makis ane mane

for sin, murning as ane woman travelling of birth, and fain wald be deliverit. Sa the eirth wald fain be quite of thee, O sinful man, quha is maid of the eirth, and trampis on the belly of the eirth. Scho granis[1] under the wecht of thee for sin, fy on thee that can not grane for sin: thou sal either grane heir in this lyfe and get releif, or thou sal grane efter this life for ever without releif. This is the graning that the puir creature makis for the beiring of thee, and the eirth wald fain serve God in hir awin kind, bot sho is maid subject to thy vanity, (Rom. viii. 20,) and, thairfoir, scho granis: sa the sensles creaturs tyris[2] and cryis, Lord put an end to this vanity, and ar crying this day this same hour; bot man, for quhom the eirth and all is maid subject to this miserie and vanitie, is going playing him on the eirth without groning. Weill, at last quhen the sonnes of God sall be reveiled, and sall be glorified, (Coloss. iii. 4,) then the eirth quhilk groned with them quhen they groned sall be glorified with them, and then the sunne and the mone sall receave newnes, and, as Peter sayis, (2. Epist. iii. 13,) The sons of God sal receive this same hevin in substance, bot it sal be new, and the eirth sal be new, and then the eirth sal be na langer capabil of a sinfull man. Thou sinner sal not get leif to luik to this hevin, onlie the sons of God that sall be glorified sal get this priviledge, they sall be kingis of this new eirth. Ze see then the estait of the creatures evanisches according to mannis estait, and alteris as man dois, and in the end the creatures sall have the participatioun with man of that glorie quhilk they longed for. This for the opinning up of the text. Leirne heir. Ze se the creaturis gets renewing alsweil as man; bot (mark the difference) in the second rowme. Man is first renewed, then the creaturis is renewed; man hes his preferment first, nixt the creatures is renewed, bot not efter that maner that man is renewed; for man is first imped[3] in Christ, and he is maid ane with him. Jesus the heid, the kirk, the bodie, and everie faithful man and woman ane member of that bodie. (Eph. i. 22, 23.) Bot the creatures quhen they ar renewed they are not imped in Christ; the hevin

[1] Groans. [2] Are weary. [3] Grafted.

quhen it is renewed is not called to that honour to be impit in Christ, it is na part of the bodie of Christ: the eirth quhen it is renewed is na part of the bodie of Christ. Na: na sic conjunctioun is betwixt Christ and those creatures, as is betwixt him and his Kirk. Sa seing thir creatures that ar renewed with man, ar not honoured with that conjunctioun quhilk is with Christ the Lord, it mon follow that the glory of the creatures is not equall with the glorie of man. Quhen the hevinnis sall be made new and verie glorious, zit all sall be nathing to thàt glorie of man. Thou O man sall schyne in bodie above the glorie of the sun be ane thousand stages, (Matt. xiii. 43.) The conjunctioun of Christ not being sa made with the creaturis as it is with man, the glorie of them can not be compared with the glorie of man, bot all the glorie of the creatures sall be as ane participatioun of the glorie of man: Thou man sall be glorified with the glorie of Jesus Christ him self: the creaturs sall be glorified, bot with thy glorie. Al this tellis us quhat glorie we suld luik for, seing this Lord that makis this renovatioun, is sa glorious. It is certain that at the cumming of Christ in the warld, and his passing up to the hevinnis, ane renewing of all the creatures in the warld was maid, all thingis were renewed. This is ane ground that we mon hald, gif we believe that Christ come in the warld and hes ascended to glorie. Allace, this is not perceaved, and in myself I can not see it as I wald, and the maist godlie compleinis that they can not see this effectualnesse of Christis glorie. The cause is, the deidnes that abydis in us, sinne can not be gottin out of this warld, quhill the Lord cum againe. It dwellis in us, and reignis in the warld, and the Devill the Prince of this warld reignis be it, (for quhair sinne reignis, he reignis) zea, it oppressis the godlie hart, that scarcelie they can feill in them selfis this renovatioun: sa weichtie is sinne! quha seis it? Thair is ane glimmering of this new creatioun, bot quha hes this glimmering? Nane, bot that new saul. Ane unregenerat man never saw this regeneratioun neither in himself, nor in uthers, and he can not suffer to heir of ane regenerate and sanctified man: he will laugh as thocht thair culd not be sic ane thing as regenera-

tioun, because the mocker himself is unrenewed, thairfoir he can not wey Goddis graces in ane uther. Sa lang as thou art unregenerat, thou can not bot scorne regeneration: zea, and persecute the regenerate man, and sa rasche thy heid against ane wall. For the Lord hes maid him inviolable, and the temple of his Spreit, and thairfoir he sall wrak[1] thee that art the unregenerate man: zea and wrakit sall everie man be that daschis himself against the Kirk of Jesus, that is the renewed bodie, that bodie as ane iron wall sall bruise them. Experience tells this. Quha ever was he that rusched aganis the Kirk, bot the Kirk dang and beat him[2] in powder: Mell[3] not with the Saincts of God: suppois it wer bot ane Sanct renewed be the grace of God he is sufficient to destroy and bruis ane haill kingdome that ruschis on him. The Lord opin men's eies to see this. For all the warld, wald I not be ane to mak opposition to ane of the saincts of God. The Lord thairfoir save men, and leirn them to account of this renovatioun, as they wald have ane portion thairof, and be glorified at the cumming of Christ.

Now, to end schortlie: The Apostle, quhen he hes spoken of the renewing of all creatures made be Jesus the Mediatour (for all flowis out of him), in the nixt verse he rysis and mountis up, (O how he that is carried with the Spreit of Christ will ryse, quhen he is speiking of Jesus) he rysis up to ane licht inaccessibill, he seis God the Father sitting in his throne and majesty, and the wark of this renewing flowing fra him, throuch Christ the Mediatour, and rysing up to the Father of Christ he sayis, "And all things are of God," &c. Our lessoun is. All graces cummis fra Christ the Mediatour, our regeneratioun flowis out of his life, bot the fountaine of all is the Father of hevin, the father of Jesus: and thairfoir quhen thou findis the grace flowing from Jesus, rais up thy saull and luik throw to the glorious fountaine, sitting in his majestie, and say: "All glorie be to the Father, I acknawledge all gudenes to cum fra thee," "O Father thou hes given all graces to mee through thy Sone Christ." Now quhen he

[1] Destroy. [2] But the Church hath beaten him into. [3] Meddle.

hes risen up to the Father, he cummis doun agane to twa degreis, quhilk at the twa wayis quhairby the regeneratioun is wrocht. The first is the reconcilliatioun to the Father through Christ the Mediatour be his deith. The secund is this ministerie, base and contemptible in the eies of men, this dispensatioun of the mysteries of God that he hes put in the handis of his Ministers to be distribute to the people. Weil, brethren, ane man mon cum to this regeneratioun be degreis, as ane man stepping up ane stair. Sa thou that wald be renewed in Christ mon clim and gang up be degreis. The first is the ministerie of reconciliatioun: the secund is, the reconciliatioun itself in Christ: the third and last is, the fountane of regeneratioun, God the Father. Will thou loup[1] up and misse ane of thir steppis? Na, it is not possible, for thou sall never get regeneratioun befoir God be friended with thee: thou is his enemie, thou mon be friended with him, or ever thou be renewed. Weill then thou wil say, I mon be friended with him, bot I neid not thy ministerie: can I not cum to hevin, bot be heiring thee preiche? I say thou can not, I lay this necessitie befoir thee, and I strait[2] thee, and I bind thee to this ministerie. Imagine thou ane other mein to attein to this glorie, contemne thou this ministerie in the silliest person to quhome God hes given it, I sal gar ane stray bar the zettis[3] of hevin on thy teith. Suppois[4] thou were ane monarche thou sall never get reconciliatioun without this ministrie. The Lord walkin our consciences that we may imbrace the ordinance of God: we sall never be wise in God except first we becum fullis that we may be wise. Then seing this necessitie is of the ministerie to mak ane reconciliatioun with our God, and this reconciliatioun mon passe be ane proclamatioun of peace to the miserabil warld, and pass be the mouth of this contemned ministerie, the Lord walkin thir our sensles hartis that we may reverence and esteim of this ministery mair than we have done. The Lord grant us this for Christis saik. To quhome with the Father and the halie Spreit be all glorie and honour for ever. Amen.

[1] Run. [2] Charge. [3] Make a straw bar the gates. [4] Yea, albeit.

THE SEXT SERMON.

BEING THE FIRST SERMON ON THE FIRST TO THE CORINTH. BEGINNING AT THE 6. VERSE, CHAP. II.

6. And we speik wisdome among them that ar perfite: not the wisdome of this warld, nor of the Princes of this warld, quhilk cummis to nocht.

7. But we speik the wisdom of God in a mysterie, even the hid wisdom quhilk God ordained befoir the warld unto our glorie.

8. Quhilk nane of the Princes of this warld knew, for had they knawin it, they wald not have crucified the Lord of glorie.

9. Bot as it is written, the eie hath not sene, the eir hath not heard, neither have entred into the hart of man, the thingis quhilk God hath prepared for them that love him.

In the Text immediatlie preceiding, (weilbeloved in the Lord Jesus) the Apostle hes bene renouncing the wisdom of man in uttering of the Gospell of Jesus Christ, thinking it not worthie that onie man's faith suld be builded on it. For that faith that is builded on it can not stand, because the wisdome of man is ane fals foundatioun, and the thing that is builded on ane fals foundatioun can not stand. Now to cum to this Text quhilk we have red presentlie: it micht have bene said to the Apostle, quha countis of thy wisdome? thou esteimis not of mannis wisdome nor eloquence, bot quha countis of thee, or of thy wisdome either? He answeris in the 6. verse, "We speik wisdome among them that ar perfyte," &c. That is, quha ever ar perfite in the Kirk of God, or quha ever ar cummit to ane degree of perfectioun, or preisis to

perfectioun, aspyring above nature, above humane thingis, to see thingis hevinlie and spiritual, thir men countis of my wisdome, in the sicht of thir I am wise, and in thair audience I speik wisdome, howbeit eirthlie men thinkis all that I speik bot follie. Thair is the meining and the effect of the Apostle's answer schortlie. As to this word of perfectioun, I will not insist in it. Ane full perfectioun is not heir meanit, bot ane stryving to perfectioun. Na man nor woman in this life is perfyte, bot the perfytest of us that livis in this warld onlie are stryving to perfectioun throw infinite infirmities. Thairfoir this word of perfectioun is not to be understand of that consummate perfectioun quhilk we sall have in that other life, bot as it is opponed to them that hes na perfectioun na spirituall nor hevinlie sicht or knawledge of thingis hevinlie and spirituall. Then thair is the lessoun in ane word. Ze knaw the sentence spoken commonlie, "Wisdome is justified of hir awin children." (Matth. xi. 19.) Let the warld count of it as it will, wisdome sall ever be wisdome to them that hes onie wisdome: fullis will never count that hevinlie wisdom to be wisdome, nor the wise of this warld will never esteim of it. Mekill consistis in the disposition of the hartis of the heirers: that quhilk is wisdome to ane is meir folie to ane uther, and all because the disposition is divers and contrair. Set me togidder ane man that is hevinlie minded and ane man that is onlie eirthlie minded, speik the wisdome of God to them baith, ane wisdome to the hevinlie minded man it sall be wisdome, to the eirthlie minded man it sall be fulischnes. The speich of the Croce (sayis the Apostle in the first chapter of this Epistle, verse 18.) to them that perisches is fulischnesse, bot to them that ar saved it is the wisdome and power of God. Art thou ane that is ordained to be saved? the Gospel of Jesus Christ sall be wisdome and onlie wisdome to thee. And thairfoir seing thair standis sa meikle in the dispositioun of the heirer, or ever thou cum to heir, luik thy dispositioun, leif thy eirthlie minde behind thee, lest thou receive thine awin damnatioun, and bring ane hevinlie minde with thee, that the wisdom of God may be the power of salvatioun to thee. Thair hes bene lang heiring and teiching

amang us in this Toun, bot the ischue of thingis testifies that thair hes bene ane evill dispositioun in the hartis of the multitude, the present trouble of this Toun tellis quhat hes bene the dispositioun of manie: for quhat ever be the wark of men heirin, zit na questioun the Lord hes his wark in it, to spuilzie[1] thee for thy ingratitude and evill dispositioun of thy hart of the libertie of his glorious Gospell: and gif this Gospell gang away, then schame and confusion sal licht not onlie upon this Toun, bot also on the haill land and everie estait thairof. Then to gang fordward. The Apostle fallis out in ane heich descriptioun and commendatioun of this wisdome quhilk he preiched, quhilk is the wisdome of God. Mark it. He sayis, "Not the wisdom of this warld, nor of the Princes of this warld quhilk cum to nocht." In this description thair is nathing that may commend anie science or wisdome of this warld, quhilk is nocht brocht in heir to the commendatioun of this hevinlie wisdome. Sciences and wisdome usis to be commended from the Authours, from them that invented them: they use to be commended fra their secrecie and hidnes, in that they ar hid up in ane mysterie fra the eis of men: they use to be commended from the end and fyne[2] for the quhilk they were ordained: They use to be commended fra their sublimitie and subtilitie, quhen they pas the capacitie of men, men hes them in admiratioun and wonders at them. They use to be commended fra their subject quhilk they intreat of, gif it be ane worthy subject it is ane worthie science. Thir thingis recommends to us Sciences invented be the brain of man. Al thir thingis ar in ane heicher degree in the wisdome of God, nor ever they were in onie science warldlie. Now mark everie word. The Apostle beginnis his commendatioun at the Authour: and first he lets zow se quha is not the Authour: then he lets zow se in verie deid quha is the Authour of this wisdom. (All this is spoken of the Gospell quhilk we preiche to you, and thairfoir note everie circumstance, mark the excellencie of this Gospell, quhilk the Apostle to the Philip. iii. 8, callis, The eminencie of the knawledge of Jesus Christ quhilk mountis

[1] Spoil. [2] Use.

above al knawlédge in this warld.) Then quhome sayis he not to be the Authour of it? This warld never fand it out, never invented it, it come never of the heidis of warldlie men. Indeid it is true, this warld is wise in the awin kind, Luk. xvi. 8, and this warld and the men thairof fra the beginning of it to this hour, hes bene occupied in counsels, in laying of plattis, in setting doun purposis and taking consultatioun: they have bene fellon[1] busie: Bot amang all the thingis that ever man advysed on thair was never fund sa meikle as ane thocht in the heid of ane man of the remedie against sinne and deith, bot sitting fra the beginning in thair counsels, they sate like als monie damned creaturis, without onie thocht how they suld be releved of their damnatioun: and this is that hevinlie wisdome spokin of heir, that tellis us of the remedie against sinne, deith, and damnatioun quhairin we lay. Zea Brethren, let be they had not onie thocht of this mater, they did nathing in all thair wise consultatiouns for the maist pairt, bot involved them selfis mair and mair in thair guiltiness, and augmented thair damnatioun quhairin all men wes fallen be Adam. Then it was not the warld that fand it out. O, bot thair is sum Princis in the warld that passis others in wisdome, thair is wise and heich spreitit men that will put ordour to others, and with thair wit will compas hevin and eirth, that will seirche out the deipnes of nature, and be occupied in heich thingis, it may be that thir men hes fund out this wisdome? The Apostle meitis this: Na (sayis he) none of the princes of this warld, quhidder Jewes or Gentiles, fand out this wisdome. All the great Monarches, al the Philosophers with thair wisdome and Philosophie, never thocht anis on sic ane thing. It is true indeid, thair is sum in this warld that hes ever bene occupied in hich thingis above the reiche of the commoun sort of pepill, sitting on hich places, serching in to the deipness of nature, bot amang all thair occupations, heich conceitis and devysis, thair was never sa meikle as ane thocht or suspitioun, or ane dreame of that onlie remedie against sinne and deith, of that only way and mein of salvatioun and deliverie of ane lost sinner. Ane wonder-

[1] Very.

ful thing, condemned men sitting in sic occupations, without onie thocht of thair damnatioun. Empreours condemned men, and zit never sic ane thing as ane thocht how they suld be releved of thair condemnatioun. It is true the philosophers amang the natiounis aspyred to ane wisdom and knawledge of God to knaw him, and sum of them laboured to set down ane science of him. Plato travelled mekle on this purpose, and thairfoir he was called divine: bot all thair knawledge was of God the Creator, as he created this warld, and be his providence governis it. Bot will ze speik of God the Redemer in his Sonne Jesus Christ, they had never sic ane thing as ane thocht of him: and zit for al the busines that they had about the creation, and God the Creator, quhat were they? fuilis, and evanisched in their cogitations, and as ze may reid, Rom. i. 22, 23, in steid of the true God they set up ane idoll to be worschipped. Then seeing they fand it not out, and seing it is sa necessar for all men, even for princes (for they sall never see life, except they get ane part of this wisdome) they ar bund to keip that wisdom in sinceritie, and not to prejudge hir libertie in a quhit[1]: bot to maintain hir and keip hir from all hir enemies, that wald pervert hir. Thow fand hir not out, keip hir thairfoir in hir awin libertie. The Lord graunt that men may be occupied this way in thair counsels, not in impairing, bot in preserving the liberty of that wisdome, that only mon save them. Thy kingdome, thy life, thy honour, and al thir eirthlie riches wil away, onlie this wisdome will abyde. Then this wisdome is not found out be this warld, or be the princes thairof. Zit befoir we cum to the Authour quhairfra it is cum, ze have ane reasoun quhairfoir scho can not be of the princes of the warld; "Quha cum to nocht," they ar abolisched, they evanische, scho is eternall, and will never have ane end. Ane perisching heid wil never invent ane science that will last for ever, and his heid were never sa quick and sa curious, bot as the heid perischis and gois to the grave, sa sall the wisdome thairof die in the awin time: and thairfoir thair was never ane arte nor science invented be the heid[2] of

[1] One whit. [2] Brain.

man quhilk sall not die and perische, because they ar all cum of perisching heidis: howbeit the heid die, and the wisdome remain for ane space, zit that science and wisdome sall also die in hir awin time. Aristotle is deid, his wisdome abydis zit, bot it sall die. Plato is deid, his wisdome abydis zit, bot it sall also die. Bot the immortall God quhen he findis out ane wisdome, it sall be immortal also. In the first Epistle of Peter i. 23, thair is twa thingis joyned togidder, the immortall seid of the word, and ane living and immortall God that abydis for ever. The seid of the word is immortall: and quhairfoir is it immortall? Becaus it cummis fra ane God that abydis for ever. Gif it be anis sawin in thy hart it sall never die out of thy hart, na, this word sall gang to hevin with thee, and thair it sall spring out in ane wonderfull glorie, and sall abyde in him quha fand it out, and in thee in quhom it is sawin for ever. Then gif the warld be not the authour of it, quha hes fund it out? "We speik, (sayis the Apostle,) not our awin wisdome, but the wisdome of God." Paull invented it not, never ane man that preached this Gospell was the authour of it, the Lord quha is onlie wise fand it out. Then mark, Brethren, gif God of his infinit mercie (efter thou made that foull fall in Adam, and fell fra grace and innocencie) had not fund out to thee the onlie mean of thy deliverie fra deith and sinne, thou had never risen againe, for thou had never sa mekle as anis ane thocht of the way of thy redemptioun. Adam quhen he had fallin, and hid him self in ane hole, had not sa mekle as ane cogitatioun of his deliverie: that God that created thee without thee, redemed thee also without thee. Quhen he maid thee of na thing in the beginning, he callit not thee to the counsel, becaus thou was not; na mair was thou on the counsel of thy redemption quhen he tuke purpois to redem thee. Na: thair was never ane angel on the counsel of thy redemption. And this is that that is spoken, (Rom. xi. 34.) "Quha hes knawin the mind of the Lord, or quha hes given him counsell?" Na, all is of him, and all is from him onlie. He is the onlie finder out alsweil of thy redemptioun, as of thy creatioun, that the onlie glorie may be given to him. I

micht speik sumthing heir aganis the enemies of the truth, bot I will not insist. Gif thou tak onie part of thy wark to thy self, thou spuilzies him[1] of ane part of his glorie. Thairfoir seing thou hes neither airt nor part in it, let him have the onlie glorie for ever and ever. Now followis the secund part of the commendatioun of the Gospel "in ane mysterie." It is in ane mysterie, it was hid up. Sciences usis to be commended because of thair secrecie. For men wil say, O it is ane mystick and secreit thing, thairfoir it is ane commendable and pretious thing. Bot gif ever onie science or wisdome in the warld, merited commendatioun throw the secrecie of it, especially this wisdome of God, for thair was never sa hid[2] ane wisdom, sa mony ages, fra Adam quhil Christ come,[3] all closed up in ane mysterie, and hid fra the warld; and gif thair was onie blenk of it, it was verie obscure. Brethren, thair ar sundrie wisdomes of God. Thair is ane wisdome of the creatioun and governement of the warld, and thair is ane wisdome of God of the redemptioun of the warld anis created, and making defectioun from that blissed estait of creatioun. As for the wisdome of creatioune, als sone as ever the warld was created, this wisdome brak out,[4] and was reveiled and made knawin to men, and it schynis zit in the creaturs: luik to them, thou sall se the image of that wisdome schyning in them: and mair nor this, man receaved this wisdome of creatioun written in his hart. Sa this wisdome was not keped close, bot maid patent to the eies of men and angellis to luik on it. Bot as for the wisdome of God of the redemptioun of the warld, in the creation he neither uttered it in word nor wryte, he wrait not ane letter of it in the hart of man in the creatioun. Bot efter Adam fell he made ane inkling of it, bot verie obscure. Now quhairfoir was this that the Lord hid up this wisdome? Thairby na doubt he wald testifie to the warld, that this wisdom contened ane pretious thing, ane jewell: thair was inclosed in it the haill treasure of hevin. The treasure of hevin is Christ Jesus quha is inclosed in this mysterie, and thairfoir the Lord wald not reveill it quhil Jesus Christ came in the

[1] Bereavest God. [2] Secret. [3] Till Christ came. [4] Forth.

warld. Is it reveiled now? It hes been reveiled ever since Christ came into the world, and this day in Scotland that treasure is laid oppin gif we had eies to see it. Abraham, nor David, nor all the godlie Kingis and Fathers was never in sa blissed ane estaite as thou art. Bot gif thou repent not and receave this wisdome, the greater is thy damnatioun. For ever the greater the benefite be, the greater is the condemnatioun and it be not receaved. And manie ane at that day sal say, Wald to God we had never heard of this Gospel: Weill, keip it as ye wil, thair is na glorie bot it, and tak me it away, fairweil the glorie and weilfair of the land: yea, I say mair, thair is na glorie in this warld bot it. Zit the Apostle stands not heir bot passis fordward in the praise of this wisdom. He hes praised it fra the Authour, quha is God onlie: fra the secrecie, that it is ane mysterie hid up sa lang: he cummis now to the time quhen it was fund out. "Quhilk God had determined befoir the warld." Sciences usis to be commended fra thair ancietie.[1] Men sayis, O, it is ane auld science, it was found out be the Ægiptians, thairfoir ane commendable science. Bot thair was never wisdome that might be compared in ancietie to this wisdome. Will thou speir[2] how auld is this wisdome? I speir ane uther question how auld is God himself? This gospell is even als auld as God himself is: the Gospel is fra all eternitie, as the Glorious God is without beginning fra all eternitie. Then this Gospell that is preiched this day, is na noveltie. This is that wisdome and doctrin that God predestinat fra al eternitie, houbeit the enemies in contempt call it ane new doctrine. Thou leis, suppois thou wer[3] the Paip; I speik it to the glorie of God, this Gospell that is preiched in Scotland, was fra all eternitie. The wordis importis mair. It is not onlie fra all eternitie, bot it is grounded upon ane eternall counsall. The glorious Trinitie set doun in ane glorious counsall, this doctrine of salvatioun. And thairfoir seing this doctrine is set on sa solide ane foundatioun, quha will schaik it? Schaik it let see off hir foundatioun, and put[4] at it, I[5] will schaik thee and ding[6] thee to hell. I tell thee it hes saved monie men fra the

[1] Antiquity. [2] Ask. [3] Thou art a liar, although thou be. [4] Thrust. [5] It. [6] Drive.

beginning, bot it als[1] true, it hes slane monie ane; bewar that it slay thee not: for it is the strangest thing that ever was. Thou may weill banische this Gospell and put it out of Scotland, bot thou sall never put it out of the warld, sa lang as thair is ane saull to be builded by it: Bot quhen scho is out of Scotland and Ingland baith, scho can gang, and it wer to al thir New-fund-landis, and abyde thair. Zit mark how he rysis in his termes (I never heard ane Philosopher in all his Declamatiounis ryse sa heichlie in his prayses of ony science, as the Apostle dois in praysing of this wisdome, and it is not the eloquence of man, bot the eloquence of the Spreit of God that raisis him. Zit he hes not tauld all hir glorie. Na, we sall never see it all, quhill we see the Lord Jesus quha is the subject of this Gospell.) Sciences hes thair commendatioun fra thair end. It is ane gude science that hes ane gude end invented for the weill[2] of man, for his profite, and plesure and glorie: Bot this science in this mounts above all the sciences in the warld. For all the sciences in the warld will not gar thee mount up, nor raise thee ane fute braid[3] fra the eirth, suppois thou were ane Monarch: they may weil get thee a peice of honor heir, bot it sal al be bot eirthly honor. O bot the science quhairof our God is the authour, this wisdom of our redemption garris thee mount, drawis thee up, in ane word, glorifies thee. All that ever learnis in hir schuil sall be glorified, will thou learne this wisdome scho sall glorifie thee in the hevinnis. For quhy, "scho is the power of God to salvatioun," (Rom. i. 16,) and as he speikis, (2. Cor. iii. 18,) will thou luik in hir bot as in ane mirrour, to the glorie of God in hir, "scho sall transforme thee fra glorie to glorie in that same image." Quhat mair? All the wisdom in the warld without this wisdome, is as als mekle poisoun to swell up thy hart in pride against God and man. Sal I cum to the particulars? Art thou ane Lawier and hes the knawledge of the commoun Lawes? Gif thy science of the Law be not seasouned with this wisdome, it is meir poison to thee. Art thou ane Medicinar, perfite in that science, and hes read all Hippocrates and Galene and all the rest of them, and hes not this

[1] But it is also. [2] Weal. [3] Foot breadth.

wisdome, thou is poisoned for all thy Medecine. Is thy heid full of Policie, and hes thou manie plattis and conceitis in it, and hes thou not this wisdome? thou hes ane tume [1] and ane poisoned heid. Art thou ane Philosopher, and can tel all the starris, and can seirch out all the minerallis, and can gang doun to the center of the eirth, zea, and it were doun to hell, and hes not this wisdome, thou art poysoned. Quhat neidis me to speik farther? Gif thou have na apprehensioun of this wisdom that onlie sanctifies thee and all thy sciences, and makis them profitabill unto thee, thou art ane miserabill bodie, and wa to thee for ever. Wald to God the warld saw this, bot allace, this humane wisdome and the glory of this warld cleikis Christ out of thair eies and obscuris this hevinlie glorie. Bot wa is thee that ever thou saw this licht and thou get not ane part of that hevinlie glorie. Zit he stayis not heir, bot luik how he climmis up and exaltis this hevinlie wisdome. Sciencis usis to be commended for thair subtilitie and sublimitie. O sayis the Philosopher, It is ane heich and subtile science, thairfor it is praisworthie. Mathematikes ar subtile, and ar full of subtile demonstratiounis, thairfoir they ar worthie sciences. Bot, Brethren, thair was never science comparable in sublimitie to this wisdome of God quha is onlie wise. Als far as the heid of God passis thy brain, als far dois this wisdome that is cum of Goddis heid pas all the wisdome that thou can invent and it wer ane thousand zeir. And thairfoir the Apostle sayis, "This wisdome nane of the princes of this warld hes knawen." Na, nocht efter scho was revealed and came in the warld, quhen they saw hir, they wist [2] not quhat scho meinit. The philosophers quha skansed [3] in curiosities, quhen this wisdom came to them, they kend na mair in it nor bairnis [4] or infants. Luik how littill ane bairne can conceive of onie humane sciences, als littill culd they conceive of this wisdome. Reid Act. cap. xvii. ver. 18, when Paul come to Athens and preached it to them, they said, Quhat ane sawer of wordis is this? They thocht he had na thing bot wordis. This is ane mervellous hidnes: [5] they culd not find hir out quhen scho was fund out to thair hand, they

[1] Empty. [2] Knew. [3] Scanned. [4] They knew no more in it than children. [5] Secrecy.

wait[1] not quhat scho meinis. Thair is not ane science fund out be man, bot I sall get ane naturall man that will comprehend it, and oft times he will gang bezond the Authour himself: bot to this day thair was never ane naturall man that culd comprehend the wisdome of this Gospell. For quhy, scho is spiritual, supernaturall, and above nature, and thairfoir the natural wit culd never be able to comprehend hir. I say mair to zow, the mair ane man hes of naturall wit and judgement, the mair he pride him in his wit, and clap[2] his awin heid, and thinke he hes ane wise pow,[3] the mair he count of his awin wisdome, the mair sall this wisdome of the Gospell be fulischnes to him: and ever the wysest of the warld countis the Gospel the greatest fulischnes. I had rather tak in hand to teiche ane idiote the gospell, and cause him to conceive it, gif God wald give me grace, nor to tak ane heich-heided chylde[4] that is puffed up with the pride of nature, to ding in him ane word of it. Sillie anes quha hes not ane conceit of thair naturall wisdome, will swallow it up, bot ane proud-heided bodie can not be capable of it. Thairfoir the Apostle in this same first Epistle to the Cor. iii. 18, sayis verie weil, Wil thou be wise? be ane fuill that thou may be wise. Renounce that reason of thine and captive it,[5] and mak it ane slave, utherwayis thou sall never see God to thy consolation: for thy naturall reason is ane enemie to God, and his wisdome; (Rom. viii. 7.) He gives ane reasoun in the end of the verse that testifies that the princes of this warld knew not this wisdome: zea, not quhen it was laid oppin to them. He sayis, "For had they knawin it," (namelie that great Prince Herode, and Pilate that Romane President) "they wald not have crucified the Lord of glorie." They had not done sic indignitie to him to naill him on ane ignominious croce. How aggreis thir twa togidder? the Lord of glorie, and ane ignominious croce? How stands thir twa, the King of glorie, and sic ane schamful deith? Becaus they knew not his glorie they exponed him to sic ane ignominious deith. Thou that can not see the glorie of God in the Gospell, thou will commit the maist ignominious, the maist villanous thing in the

[1] Knew. [2] Stroketh. [3] Brain. [4] Worldling. [5] Take it captive.

warld. Na, and Christ wer heir, thou wald crucifie him agane. And thairfoir find not fault with Pilate nor Herode, or onie of them that crucified him, and think not that thou had bene free of it gif thou had bene thair. Na, I tell thee, Thou that seis not the glorie of the Gospell of Jesus Christ, gif sic ane turne wer in handis thou wald have ane scair in it.[1] It wil not be speiking that will do[2] the turne. Let men speik of this Gospell, and all this wisdome quhat they will, thair deidis will ay[3] bewray them. I will not give ane pennie for thy mouth, for thy toung, for thy speiking; zea for thy preiching, gif thou have not deidis in thy calling.

Art thow ane King? Art thow ane Counsellor? Art thow ane Minister? Gif I see not gude deidis in thy awin calling, al thy wordis is bot winde. Quhen thow hes stand[4] up and tauld that thou kennis[5] Christ, thou[6] understandis his word and Gospell, and then in thy lyfe will be ane enemie to Christ, and will dishonour him, and his Gospell in thy calling, thy doingis bewrayis and utteris quhat stuffe is within thee. The God of this warld, and thy awin malitious hart hes put out thy eies, thow hes ane blind mynde quhairfra thy deidis proceidis. Will thou crucifie Jesus Christ and expone him to ignominie onieway, and persecute and trouble him in his members, and then will stand up and say thou kennis Christ, thy doingis testifies to the warld that thou art ane lear. The Lord oppin mennis eies to ken quhat it is to deal with Christ or his members. As ever thou wald testifie to the warld that thou kennis Christ honour him and his Ministers baith, and honour his members: for what ever is done to ane of them in the eirth gude or evil, he countis it all done to him self. "Saul, Saul, quhy persecutis thou mee," sayis he to Paul, (Act. ix. 4.) He standis not heir bot gois fordward in hir commendation. Mark the wordis, and I beseik zow to wey them, that seing the eminencie of this gospell, ze may leirne to stoup and give obedience to it. Sciences ar commended fra their subjectis quhairof they intreat. Gif they have ane glorious subject, they ar accounted heich, and

[1] If such a deed were to be done, thou wouldest have a share in it. [2] Will serve. [3] Ever. [4] Stood. [5] Knowest. [6] And.

accurate sciences: bot thair was never science quhilk had sic ane fair glorious subject, as this Gospell quhilk we preiche, Quhat is the subject of it? I can not tell it in better wordis nor it is laid doun heir: "The thingis quhilk the eies hath not sene, neither the ear hath heard, neither come into mannis hart." All sciences of this warld, and wisdome fund out be man, ar of thingis either visible that is sene be the eie, or of things audible, heard be the eare, or of things intelligible understoode be the minde. Gif I can nocht see thy inventioun, gif I can not heir it, at the leist I will get some apprehensioun of it in my mynde, I have that advantage. Bot as for the subject of this wisdome, thy naturall eie never saw it, thy naturall ear never heard it, and it never entered in thy naturall hart. And thairfoir quha ever will see thir things, he mon seik ane eie that is mair nor naturall, that is supernaturall, that is spirituall: seik ane eare that is supernaturall and spirituall. Go to the hart, content not thy self with ane natural hart: Seik ane hart that is spirituall and supernaturall. For gaze with thy eie as thou will, lay to thy lug[1] as thou will, gif thou suld heir ane hundreth preichingis, gif thou have bot ane naturall ear, and ane naturall eie, thou sall not see nor heir, "bot in heiring thou sall not heir, and in understanding thou sall not understand," as the Prophet Esaias in the sext chapter and ninth verse sayis. Thairfoir seik at God ane heavenlie eare, and ane heavenlie eie, and say: Lord give mee ane heavenlie ear and ane heavenlie eie, that I may conceave thir thingis and apprehend them.

Now in the end of the verse he bringis them doun for als heich as they wer, and tellis quhat they ar, "Quhilk God (sayis he) hes prepared for them that love him." They ar predestinat fra all eternitie, and they ar prepared in time, for sa monie onlie as loves the Lord. Thairfoir love Jesus, and thow sall get ane part of them. The lessoun is this. Wonderfull ar the thingis that God hes prepared for them that loves the Lord Jesus. Bot how sall I ken that sic heich and sublime thingis ar prepared for mee? Art thow stamped with this mark,[2] and careis thow it about with thee? Loves thow the

[1] Ear. [2] Art thou marked with this token.

Lord, howbeit not sa weill as thow wald? (Accursed be he that loves not the Lord: let him be ane Anathema Maranatha, as the Apostle sayis in the xvi. chapter the 22. verse of the first Epistle to the Corinth.) Loves thou him, assure thy self howbeit thou can not get sic ane love to him, or sic ane sicht of thir thingis as thou wald have, they are prepared for thee. Onlie thou hes to tak tent to see gif that love of God be in thy hart. Go not to seirche quhat is in hevin, and think not to get ane full sicht of that glorie in this lyfe, that is laid up for thee: bot rest on him, and it wer half blindlings. Weill is the saull that can love the Lord Jesus. I will end heir, and will recommend to everie saull that love of Jesus, as ever they wald see the thingis that "the eie never saw, nor the eir never heard, nor hes never entered in the hart of man," to thair everlasting comfort and consolatioun at the cumming of the Lord Jesus. To quhome with the Father and the Halie Gaist, be all honour and praise, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE SEVENTH SERMON.

BEING ANE UTHER SERMON ON THE FIRST TO THE CORINTH. THE 2. CHAPTER.

10. But God hath reveiled them unto us by his Spreit: for the Spreit searcheth all thingis: zea the deip thingis of God.

11. For quhat man knawis the thingis of man, save the spreit of a man, quhilk is in him? even sa the thingis of God knawis na man, but the Spreit of God.

12. Now we have received not the spreit of the warld, bot the Spreit quhilk is of God, that we may knaw the thingis that ar given to us of God.

THE last day, Brethren, we heard ane cleir descriptioun and commendatioun of that wisdom quhilk Paul spak and preiched, quhilk is na uther thing in effect bot this same blissed Evangell that is preiched to zow. We schew zou that thair was na thing that micht commend ane science or wisdom in this warld, bot it concurred with him to the commendatioun, praise, and glorie of this wisdome that is heir described. The Author of it is not the warld, nor of the Princes of the warld, bot God the maker of the warld. The secrecie of it, was hid up in ane mysterie sa monie ages, fra the creatioun to the cumming of Christ and manifestation of him in the nature of man: the ancietie of it, was predestinat fra all eternitie: the end of it, our glorie: the sublimity and heichnes of it, quhen it was reveiled at the cumming of Christ, nane of the princes of this warld culd understand it, for gif they had knawn it they had not crucified the Lord of glorie; the subject of it, the

thingis quhilk the eie never saw, the eare never heard, quhilk never entered in the hart of man, and zit for all this prepared for them that love the Lord. Now to cum to the Text quhilk we have in hand. It micht have bene speirit at the Apostle,—Gif sic thingis as was never sene, never heard of, never entered in the hart of man was contened in that wisdome that he taught, quhat profite have we be that wisdom? Quhat profeit have we of the thingis quhairof we are not capable? The Apostle meitis this in the first verse quhilk we have red. "Bot (sayis he) God hath reveiled them unto us by his Spreit." It is true indeid they passe the sicht of our eie, they surmount above our heiring, they pas the capacitie of our minde, zit that Lord hes demitted him selfe to us, and be his Spreit he hes reveilit those thingis to us the sillie anis of the warld, not to the princes of the warld, bot to the sillie simple anis: He hes reveiled them not be our spreit, bot be his awin Spreit. Thair is the soum of the answere schortlie: he gives the reasoun in the nixt part of the verse, and lets us see, that the Spreit of Jesus is abill to reveal al thir hich and hid things to us: setting out the nature of the halie Spreit. "For, (sayis he) the Spreit searcheth all things, zea the deip things of God." The Spreit is ane searcher, and he is ane searcher of all thingis created in hevin and eirth. Na thing can eschaip him, bot he will seirche in to the secreitest thingis in the warld, and to the hiddest hirnes[1] of thy hart. Quhat mair? He is ane searcher of the God of glorie him self, and wil pearce into the infinite deipness that is in God. He being sic ane Spreit as this, is he not abill to reveill the thingis quhairof we ar nocht capable? Thair is the meaning of the haill verse schortlie. Then we see thir thingis conteined in the hevinlie wisdome, as the riches of God in Jesus Christ, our remission of sin, our justification, our regeneration, our salvation and life everlasting, even commoun thingis quhilk ze heir of dailie, togidder with Jesus Christ the Mediatour, in quhom and throw quhom all thingis ar wrocht, ar the thingis quhilk the eir hes not heard, nor the eie sene, nor hes not entered in the hart of

[1] Secretest parts.

man. Zit we see that thir thingis passis not sa the capacitie of man, nor they ar not sa altogidder hid fra man bot they ar revealed. And they ar revealed, to quhom? to them for quhom they are prepared. They ar reveiled, quhen? even in this life: thair is none for quhom they ar prepared fra all eternity, bot in this life or the saul gang out of the bodie they sal receive sum revelation and understanding of thir same things; and thou that gettis na revelatioun of them in this life, yat[1] gets not ane sicht of them or the saull gang out of the bodie, I will say to thee, they wer never prepared for thee. Remission of sins wes never prepared for thee. Justification befoir the Tribunall of God, regeneration, lyfe everlasting was never prepared for thee. Thair is not ane better takin of life efter this life, nor ane blenk of lyfe in this life, and it wer bot ane glimmering (for the best of us hes bot ane glimmering), ane blenk of Jesus Christ and of the graces that ar in him in this life is the suirest taking that thou can have of the lyfe to cum. And be the contrair thair is not ane worse takin of darknes efter this life, nor to haif thy eies sa closed, that thou hes na blenk heir of that life to cum. And quhen thou deis having na sicht of the life to cum, thou sall die ane miserabill cative, and ane faggot for the fyre of hell.

Let us go fordward to the rest, "God hes reveiled them be his Spreit." Then ze see heir ane revelation be the Spreit. Mark it, I sall stick[2] sum thing on the wordis. Ze heard befoir of ane revelatioun be the word, quhilk is this wisdome. Now ze heir of ane revelatioun be the Spreit. It is not aneuch to receive ane revelatioun be the word, and it were never sa fair, and sa soundlie preached, it will never do thee gude, it is na thing bot as gif thou wald hald ane licht befoir ane blinde man, and say to him, Man seis thou not this licht. Will thou bid ane blind man judge of colours, thou scornes him. Sa all the speiking of the Scripture to men is bot scorning of thee, except they get this revelation of the Haly Spreit. Quhat is this revelation of the Spreit? I sall tell zow quhat it is. With that preiching of the

[1] And [2] Tarry.

word quhilk is the first revelatioun, the Spreit of Jesus cummis doun and seazis[1] him self in thy eie, and oppinis thy eie to see the thingis quhilk ar spoken, seazis on thy eir and opinnis thy eir to heir the thingis that are spoken, enters in thy hart and makis thee to conceave the thingis thou seis and heiris, and maks thee capable of them, of the quhilk thou art na mair capable be nature nor the verie stane in the pillar: speik to thee and to the stane all is alyke, quhill this alteratioun be maid in thy saull. Then, Brethren, thair is twa revelationis, the first be word, quhen it is preached: the secund be the Spreit, quhen that halie Spreit concurris with the word. I wil tel you the difference of them, the first wil be commoun to all, the word is preached alyke to al. O bot the uther revelatioun is not sa commoun, bot is onlie maid to sum secreit anis of the Lord. That blissed Spreit will nocht licht upon everie man and woman, bot onlie upon sum secreit persons upon quhome the Lord hes pitie. We reid in the xvi. chapter of the Acts of Apostles, that thair is ane meiting of manie. Manie ar convened[2] togidder, Paull the Apostle, the Preacher he revealis the grace of the word to all alyke: Amang all the rest we reid of ane speciall bodie[3] Lydia (thair was never ane word spoken of the rest) it is said of hir namelie, that the Lord opened the hart of Lydia to receave that that Paull preached: the Spreit of Jesus opened hir hart, not Paull, the Spreit of Jesus only is the reveiler, be never content of[4] heiring onlie. Fy on thee gif thou think thou hes done aneuch, quhen thou hes sittin ane hour or twa heiring, gif thou find not the sweit operation of the Spreit to oppin thy hart with sic ane sweitnes as is unspeikable. And thairfoir fixe not your eies sa mekle on men, as upon the Lord that sendis the Spreit: and cry ever, Lord give me the Spreit, or ellis all is bot wind. Blissed is that bodie that gettis the Spreit, for the word will never do gude without the Spreit.

Zit I go fordward, and I mark the reasoun. "The Spreit searcheth all thingis: zea the deipnes of God." Thair is the wordis. Thair is ane greit deipnes in thir wordis, gif we culd

[1] Seateth. [2] Gathered. [3] Person. [4] With.

attein to it. The first thing that I tak up heir is this. Greit is that deipnes and that profunditie that is in our God. Paul in the iii. chapter to the Ephesians, the auchtenth verse, considering that deipness fallis out in thir wordis: "That ze being ruted in love may attein togidder with all the saincts, to see quhat is that lenth," (meining of God) "quhat is the breid," (he is baith lang and breid) "quhat is that heicht," (he is heich also) "quhat is that deip," (he is deip withall): infinite in length, infinite in breid, infinite in heicht, infinite in deipnes, quhat wald ze have? He himself is (as it wer) ane bottomlesse deip. Thair is never ane propertie in him, as we call them, bot all is ane infinite deipnes, the wisdome of God, ane infinite and endles deipnes: his power, ane endles deipnes. And thairfoir the Apostle, (Rom. xi. 33.) fallis out in ane admiration of the deipnes baith of the wisdom, and of the knawledge of God. Weill then, Brethren, it is na wonder albeit it was said in the verse going befoir, that "the thingis that ar prepared for them that love him, the eie never saw, the eir never heard, nor never entered in the hart of man." Quhy? Becaus al thir things is hid up in ane bottomles deipnes, that is, in God. Quhat wonder then that thou can not see them, that the eie of ane worm creping on the eirth can not see them, that the eare of ane worme can not heir them, that the hart of ane worme can not be capable of them. It is true indeid the gospell speikis of them all to us, zit the word is not sufficient to schaw them, they ar not sa in the word bot they abyde still in that deipnes. The mercie is not sa reveiled in the word and brocht doun fra hevin, bot zit it abydis[1] still in that deipnes. Remissioun of sinnes is not sa reveiled in the word, bot zit it abyds stil in that deipnes. And thairfoir the word quhen it speikis of thir things, quhair[2] sends it thee to? Quhen it speikis of the mercie of God in Jesus Christ, of the justice of God, of lyfe everlasting, quhair sends it thee to, and quhairto directis it thee? Ay[3] to this deipnes. Go thy wayis, (sayis the word) to the deipnes of God, and see al thir thingis plainlie. Thairfoir the same Apostle sayis, Coloss. the iii. chap. ver. 1, 3, "Seik the thingis that ar above

[1] Remaineth. [2] Whither. [3] Evermore.

quhair thy life is hid with Christ, in God." Quhair is thy lyfe then? I am speiking of it now: bot quhair is it? It is hid up in that deipnes in God. The word suld not hald doun thy eie, bot lift it up to seik all those mercies that ar above with God. Ze may see then thir thingis that concernis our salvatioun in Jesus Christ, our remissioun of sinnes, our justification, our salvatioun, (thir ar even the thingis to speik them plainlie quhairof the Apostle meinis) they ar incomprehensible to the wit of man, to the eie of man, to the judgement of man, to the nature of man. He will stand up and talk of his nature, of his ingyne, ane heich-spreited man, his wit will compas all the warld. O, bot thy wit reiched never up heir to seirch this deipnes. Thairfoir be nature, thair is na assurance of remissioun of sinnes, of salvatioun, of life, gif thou have na mair bot nature, (scorne as thow will) and thou were ane Monarche thou sall never get assurance of lyfe, bot die like ane desperat dog. Is thou abil to peirs in to the deipnes of the sea that hes ane bottome, or to the deipnes of the eirth that is finite? Na, thou wil never see ane fute in it, suppois thou were never sa gleg[1] of sicht, and then, O fuill, wil thou mint[2] to reich up to ane bottomles deipnes that is in GOD, with thy wit and thy conceptioun, quhen can thou[3] attein to ane finit thing.

Now, Brethren, I have spoken of God, and of his deipnes. Nixt we have to speik of the Spreit, of the searching of the Spreit. I sall onlie touche it schortlie sa far as the text will furnische, and not digres in amplifying of thir commoun heidis. I mark then of this text. As thair is ane infinite deipnes in God, sa thair is ane searcher of it, it wantis not ane searcher. The onlie searcher of this deipnes is the Spreit of God: everie Spreit is ane searcher. It is the nature of ane spreit ever to peirs in, and to seirche. For it is ane subtile thing and will peirs in verie subtilly to the secreitis of thingis. The spreit of an Angell is ane searcher, and ane subtile thing, the spreit of the Divell is subtile, and will peirs in subtillie, he will peirs into thy hart and insinuate himself thairin: sa the spreit of ane man is ane subtile spreit, and ane searcher also: he

[1] Clear. [2] Strive. [3] When thou canst not.

will searche out the thingis that ar in hevin, and in the sae, and in the eirth; for he is wonderfully inclyned to searching. Bot all the spreits except the Spreit of that halie ane, searches onlie the creatures. The Spreit of ane Angell, of the Divell, of ane man, searchis bot the creatures. As for the Creator, na spreit is abill to searche in him, bot his awin Spreit, zea they knaw nathing in him, bot sa mekle as he will reveill to them. As for man he is verie busie, bot for all his busines he could never zit seirche out his awin hart. Thair is ane mysterie of sinne lying in the faldis of his hart, that he sall never see, except this Spreit enter in, and give him licht. Bot the blissed Spreit of God and of Jesus Christ (he is the Spreit both of the Father and of the Sone, for ane Spreit cummis [1] fra baith) he searchis the Sone, he searchis the Father, he rypis [2] up all. And never ane man sall be ane gude searcher, or ane sanctified searcher, except he have this Spreit. Gif thy spreit be not sanctified be this Sprit that is the onlie searcher and sanctifier of al thingis, all thy searching is bot vanitie.

Now to go fordward. Befoir he was called ane searcher, now he is called ane reveiler: first he searchis out, then he reveilis to us. Thair is the order: he reveilis the hid things in God becaus he himself of his awin nature is ane searcher of them, and befoir that ever he reveil them he searchis them out first. Then he that wil be ane reveiler, and will set himself to reveill those thingis to men: (I speik it in plaine talk) he that wil be ane Preichir of thir hid thingis to uthers, luik that first he be ane searcher and let him be occupied in searching, and crave [3] at God that the Halie Spreit wald leid him in to those thingis that hes na accesse. For he dow nathing [4] to be ane Preicher of the gospel that searchis not with al his main, [5] first to se these things in God, that he speikis to uthers. Wa to him that cummis in aff hand [6] to speik the thingis to uthers, that he never saw or felt first in his awin hart. David sayis, (Psal. cxvi. 10,) "I beleved and thairfoir I spak." Paul efterhind [7] sayis, "We beleve, and thairfoir we speik," (2 Cor. iv. 13.) Quhat is this belief? Na

1 Proceedeth. 2 Discovereth. 3 Heartily beseech. 4 Is not fit. 5 Might. 6 Of purpose. 7 Afterwards.

other thing bot or ever he speik to uthers, to get ane assurance of them in his awin hart. Now luik the maner of the reveiling of thir thingis. The Spreit he reveilis becaus he oppins our hartis, and takis away the vaill aff our hartis, to let us see them, utherwayis in vain were it to lay them befoir us. I see ane uther maner of this revelation, and thairfoir luik quhat mair the Spreit dois. He is not content to tak the vail from thy hart, bot he takis thy saull be the hand as it wer, and leidis it in throw the deipnes of God; he will ravische it out of the bodie, as it wer, and lead it in to that licht that hes na accesse: and will say: Loe, thair is the mercie, loe thair is the richteousness, loe thair is the everlasting life that is spokin of, Seis thow nocht them all in him? Sa he will point out everie thing in God. Thairfoir na doctrine availes without this halie Spreit, seing he onlie takis the vaill from our heartis, and leadis us in to see the thingis that is spokin of. Thair is na perfite doctour but the Spreit of Jesus onlie. Thair is na creature, suppois[1] he were ane angell, that can tak aff the slouch[2] of thy hart to let thee see, that can bore thy eir to let thee heir perfitlie: and thairfoir in preiching depend not on the mouth of men, bot on the Spreit of Jesus Christ onlie. Zit I sall mak the mater mair plaine, and schaw how the Spreit will tak thee and let thee see the thingis quhilk are in God. I will use ane suppositioun quhilk can not be, zit it will make the mater mair cleir. I suppois that my Spreit or saull entered into thee, gif my Spreit or my saull be in thee, thair wald be na thing within mee bot thou wald see it, all my thochtis wald be patent to thee. Now to apply this. This is na suppositioun. God will put his Spreit in ane man or woman: for gif his Spreit be not in us, wa be to us for ever and ever. Gif God puts his Spreit in ony of us, mon it not follow of necessitie that we mon see in God at leist the thingis that concernis our weill and salvation? That Spreit in mee, in thee, mon reveill to mee, to thee, the thingis that lies in the verie deipnes of God, quhilk concernis our weill and salvation: and that man that hes the Spreit of God will see the verie hart of God, and his

[1] Although. [2] Vail.

mynd, he will see the remissioun of his sinnis in the mind of God, and al be the benefite of the Spreit of Jesus that dwellis in him. Mark this ze that accounts sa lichtlie of the Spreit of Jesus, in quhom consists the onlie felicitie of man. For gif thou want his Spreit, wa to thee, thow sall gang to hell. Sa we have ane greit vantage heir, that be the benefite of the Spreit, we see the thingis that ar in God. Bot, brethren, God hes als great ane advantage of us: for gif Goddis Spreit be in us, be his Spreit he seis all that is in our hartis: for gif my spreit were in thee (as I spake befoir) as thou wald see all that is in my hart, sa I wald see all that is in thy saull, and the least thocht of thy hart wald be patent unto me: sa mekle mair that Spreit seis the leist motioun and thocht of the hart of man in quhom he is, and will present them all to the Father, and lay them oppin befoir him. Sa all tends[1] to this end, that we suld tak tent[2] to the leist thocht of our hartis, and be war to think ane thocht to displeis him. For the Spreit, as he is called the searcher of the deipnes of God, sa he is called the searcher of the hartis of men. Thair is nocht ane thocht nor ane grone in thy hart, nor ane motioun of joy in thy saull, bot he reportis all to the Father. We have neid to tak tent to all the motiounis of our harts, and never to think ane thocht, bot that quhilk we think is acceptabil to the Father, and never to anger the Spreit, as the Apostle sayis, Eph. iv. 30, neither in word or thocht. And thairfoir as thou wald keip him, and not anger him, studie to sanctification, and sanctification sall bring on salvation, for it is the verie mein that sal mak thee to se God. Luik quhat the Apostle sayis, Heb. xii. 14. "Without sanctification na man sall see God."

Now upon all this discourse I mark schortlie. Thair was never twa thingis in the warld sa straitlie joynit togidder as God and man is. Thair was never sic sibnes[3] betwixt twa thingis in the warld, as is betwixt the God of glorie and ane eirthlie man. Thou will count thy sibnes with this man, and that man, gif thou be joined with him in blude or alliance. Bot I speir this questioun,

[1] Serveth. [2] Heed. [3] Kindred.

Is his Spreit within thee? Is his saul within thee? Or is thy saul in him? Indeid it is true the affection may go out of thee to him, bot givis thou him thy spreit with thy affection? or givis he thee his spreit with his affection? Kennis thou the thocht of his hart or kens he the thocht of thy hart? quha will say it? O bot God with his affection givis thee his Spreit within thee, that thou may ken every thocht of his hart, and he of thine. This is the conjunction that is betwixt God and thee. Thair is a narrow conjunction indeid betwixt the members of that mystical body, for they ar conjoined togidder be the Spreit of Christ, and be love, bot never member puts his Sprit in ane other member: thair is the other conjunction betuix your heid and the members of the natural body. For the saul wil as it wer cum doun, and the spreit of the heid to the members, and they wil understand the thocht of the heid, and the heid wil understand the thocht of the members, bot thair was never sic ane conjunction betwixt the members and the heid, as is betwixt God and man; and all conjunctions amang men, ar bot ane pendicle of that quhilk is betwixt God and man. In this conjunctioun with thy God, and with thy heid Jesus, (for thou ar joyned with God in him) standis thy felicitie and blissednes.

To cum to the next verse. It micht have bene said to the Apostle, Thou ascryvis[1] all to the Spreit of God, may not the spreit of man do sum thing in this purpose, may not my spreit searche in to God and rype[2] up the deipnes that is in him? He answeris, "Na man can see the thingis that ar in God bot his awin Spreit." Then he declaris his answere be ane comparisoun, "Evin as na man can see the thingis that is in man, bot the spreit of a man, sa na thing can searche the thingis that ar in God bot the Spreit of God." Thou will not see the thingis that are in me, onlie I myself will see the thingis that ar in mee: even sa na man can see the thingis that ar in God, bot onlie his awin Spreit. Now the Apostle heir he meitis the verie pride of the hart of man, that he will conceit of himself, that he be his Spreit will seirche the thingis that is in God. Paull had this experience in the Corinthians, that were bot

[1] Dedicatest. [2] Discover.

carnall, they tuke upon them to judge upon his doctrine that was spiritual. Hes thou bot that spreit quhilk is carnall? Suppois[1] thou were ane Monarch, thou art over pert[2] to tak on thee to judge of thingis that is spirituall, and spokin spirituallie. This same is the pryde of the Papistis this day. Out wil he cum, ane Thomist, ane Scotist, that hes the spreit of ane man onlie, and ane very subtile, or rather ane Sophistical Spreit, ane humane Philosopher, and he will judge of the gospell of Jesus Christ, and turne it over in humane Philosophie. They have turned the gospell of Jesus to Aristotle, all thair writingis ar bot spreitles. Thair is not sa mekle as ane smel of the Spreit of Jesus in them all. Bot O that terrible judgement that abydis sic doctors that are prophane polluters of the gospell of Jesus Christ. Thair is nane of us all bot gif ane man wald stand up and say to mee or to thee, I ken thy hart, and quhat is in thy hart, we wald be angrie at him. Then wil not that glorious God be angrie at ane prophane villain, that will say he will searche in to that profunditie, having only his awin spreit. Brethren, quhen I was zunger nor I am, gif I had sene ane of great ingyne, and great capacitie, and great graces, I thocht fra hand[3] he wald comprehend all the Bible, bot I protest befoir God that ay the langer I live, I think the less of the wit of man, I had rather have the leist spunk of the Spreit of Christ, nor all the ingyne and knawledge of the warld: Na, ane silly body that hes the Spreit of Jesus will conceave mair of spirituall thingis, nor all the heich heided bodies in the warld. Thairfoir ever[4] renounce thy awin wit, and be ane fuil that thou may be wise.

Ane other thing I mark heir. Quhen he hes magnified the Spreit, and maid him the searcher of all the deipnes of God, see how he haldis aff him the proud conceitis of men: he wil not let thee touche him, or his priviledgis, that is, to seirche the deipnes of God. Thairfoir gif ze wil speik of God to his honour (he is inviolable) save him fra the proud conceitis of men. Hald proud men aff God, and let them not touche him, or violate that inviolable majestie, or ellis thou sall be guiltie gif he be violated in[5] thy default. Allace,

[1] Albeit. [2] Too bold. [3] I thought immediately. [4] Always. [5] By.

quhairfoir was thou set in this warld bot to preiche his glorie, and to keip it inviolat fra the injuries of all flesche in the warld. Luik quhat he dois nixt in the last verse, quhen he hes as it wer worne[1] aff God the proud conceitis of men that wald tak on them to searche in to the deipnes of God, quhat dois he? He drawis that Spreit to himself, and sayis, "Now we have received, not the spreit of the warld, bot the Spreit quhilk is of GOD." Quhairby he learnis thee this lessoun. It availlis thee not to magnifie, to glorifie God and his Spreit, except in the end thou tak that Spreit to thyself, and may challenge Christ and his Spreit as thy awin property. Men hes spokin verie hichlie of Christ and hes had littil ado with him. Speik thou not of him sa, bot as thou speikis of him to his prais, tak him to thy self, utherwise in al thy speiking of him, thou art bot ane very babler gif thou have not that Spreit within thee. For the Apostle sayis, "Na man can cal Jesus Lord, except he have the Spreit of Jesus;" 1 Cor. xii. 3. Thairfoir as thou wald save thy self fra prophaning of God and of his Spreit, and of his graces, quhen thou art praising and magnifying him, luik that thou have the Spreit that thou may say to thy self, this Spreit quhome I prais is mine. This God whom I have bene magnifying, and all His graces is mine.

In the end of the verse he sets doun the end quhairfoir God hes given us this Spreit. The end is this, to make us "to knaw the thingis that ar given unto us be God." I see heir the Spreit of Jesus quhen he makis our eie to luik into that deipnes of God, to that store of mercie, he will let us see na thing in God but meir grace, meir mercie. As this Evangell preachis na thing bot meir grace and mercie, sa the Spreit of Jesus quhen he lets thee see all the hid thingis in God, he lets thee see na thing bot meir mercie and grace. And thairfoir he that will tell the people of the merites of men, of the meritis of saincts, that they ar not justifeit be meir grace, bot mon eik[2] to thair awin deservings, I will tel zou my judgement of sic ane man: Suppois he wer never sa glorious ane doctour, never sa facund or sa learned, he never spak be the Spreit of Jesus. Papist doctours

[1] Holden. [2] Add.

that leadis men to leane to thair awin merites, and to the meritis of saincts, never spak nor wrait be the Spreit of Jesus. For the Spreit of Jesus lets thee see nathing in God bot meir mercie, for ane merite of man will destroy al grace: sa contrair is the Spreit of God and the spreit of man, the grace of Christ and the merite of man! And this is the spreit that man stryvis to put amang us agane: for gif they bring in Papistrie amang us againe, fairweill the Spreit of Jesus. Na, I speik it fra my hart, cum in that idolatrie agane, I sall stand up in my last preiching and say fairweill the Spreit of Jesus. For na mair nor hell can accumpanie hevin, na mair can that blissed Spreit of Jesus accumpany that dirt and dung of man's doctrine. Thairfoir as thou wald keip the Spreit of Jesus, hald aback thir men, for thou sall not bruik[1] them baith in despyte of thy hart. The Lord Jesus can not abyde[2] amang idolateris, and gif thou have not his Spreit thou art nocht his, Rom. viii. 9; and gif thou be not his thou art the Divel's, and sall gang to everlasting damnatioun. Thairfoir I say over againe, hald them away, as thou wald keip that blissit Spreit of Jesus Christ. To quhome be all honour and praise, for ever and ever. Amen.

[1] Enjoy. [2] Remain.

THE AUCHT SERMON.

ANE SERMON ON THE 2. TO THE CORINTH. THE 4. CHAPTER.

3. Gif our Gospell be then hid, it is hid to them that ar lost.

4. In quhome the God of this warld hes blinded the myndis, (that is, of the infidels,) that the licht of the glorious Gospell of Christ, quhilk is the Image of God, suld nocht schyne unto them.

5. For we preiche not our selfis, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and our selfis zour servandis for Jesus saik.

In the verse immediatlie passing[1] befoir this text quhilk we have red in zour audience, the Apostle hes bene speiking of that sinceritie, of that plainnes quhilk he used in the preiching of the Gospel of Christ quhilk he uttered with sic ane evidence that quha sa ever heard him micht understand him, micht have sene the licht of the Gospel and have apprehended it. Now becaus this people of Corinth was stif-neckit, hard to conceive, conceittie,[2] and lyked nathing bot humane wisdome and eloquence, scorning and mocking the evidence of the Spreit: thairfoir sum of them micht have objected immediatlie: Paul, thou speikis of thy plainnes in uttering the gospell, zit for all thy plainnes thair is mony amangis us that waitis[3] not quhat thou speikis: thy gospel is hid to monie, monie takis[4] thee not up. The Apostle meitis this in the first words quhilk we have red, "Gif our gospell be hid, it is hid to them that perishe." Ane sair sentence. As gif he wald say, Corinthians, wyte[5] mee not, nor my gospell; the fault is in that

[1] Going. [2] Full of conceits. [3] Know. [4] Understand. [5] Blame.

miserabill corruptioun quhilk is in zou. Ze can not see the licht of my gospell because ze ar adjudged to perdition and damnation: Sa the wyte is in zour blindnes that ar appointed to damnation fra all eternitie. Sa this verse being plain, let us observe sum lessons. The first is this: Thair hes bene and is monie in the warld in al ages, that never saw, seis, nor sall see the licht of the Gospel. Ze have ane exemple of thir Corinthians, howbeit the Gospell suld schyne mair cleir nor the sun in the nonetyde[1] of the day, it sall never be sene be them, it wil be hid to them, howbeit it suld be as ane buik laid oppin befoir them, zit it wil be ane glaspit[2] buik to them. Let everie man bewar of himself, for this is ane necessitie laid on the multitude of this warld. Ane multitude hes bene in al ages, ane multitude is in this age, ane multitude sall be in the ages[3] to cum, quha sal never see the licht of the Gospell. The nixt lessoun is: Thir folk hes this propertie and dispositioun, (being pleisers of themselfis,) they ar ever quarrelling[4] the gospell, amang al the heirers of the warld the[5] maist quarrellous, they that gettis leist gude of it ever maist quarrellous, and ever turning over the wyte either on the gospell, or on the teichers thairof, because they get na licht nor consolatioun thairof.[6] Bewar of this quarrellous complexion. I mark thridlie, quhair is the wyte, or in quhom? They wyte the gospell and the teichers thairof, bot quhair lyis the wyte?[7] Paull tellis thee heir, "Gif my gospell be hid, it is hid to them that perisches." That perditioun and destructioun quhairunto thou is appointed fra all eternitie, is the cause quhairfoir thou receivis na consolatioun, na licht in thy saul throch the gospell of Jesus Christ. Thou layis the wyte quhair it is not, thou is like ane blind man that will stand up against the Sunne schyning on the nonetyde of the day, and quarrell[8] it becaus it schynis not, quhen it is in the mein tyme schyning on the face of him. Thou art ane veschell of perditioun, gif thair be not ane remedie, and because the sentence is past, thairfoir as quhen ane thief or ane murtherer is anis condemned to deith, the gratious

[1] Noon time. [2] Clasped. [3] In every age. [4] Quarrelling with.
[5] They are. [6] Thereby. [7] Where is the fault indeed? [8] Accuse.

presence of the Prince is withdrawn fra him, that he may luik on him na mair: Sa fra[1] anis ane creature be adjudged to deith, the gratious countenance of Jesus Christ is withdrawin from him, least he suld behald it in the gospell. Ane uther thing followis. Thair ar monie takins of damnation, that men and wemen ar adjudged to death, amang the rest this is ane sure takin, gif the gospel be hid to thee evin as it is now preiched in Scotland, (we have not Paull and Peter to teiche now) zit gif it be hid to thee, gif thou receive no licht nor consolatioun be it, as it is now preiched, gif thou continue sa quhill thy lyfe be in thy lip, as we speik, quhill the last gasp, thou hes ane seall in thy awin bosome of everlasting damnatioun: thy hart is stamped[2] with ane stamp of perditioun: zea suppois thou were ane king, thou art ane vesschell ordained for schame and ignominie. Then, Brethren, learn heir: Seing thair mon be ane number that mon perische, and ane number of all estaites in the warld mon die, that mon go to hell, ordained fra all eternitie to perdition, begyle not zour selfis, and seing to this number the Gospell mon be hid, and mon be ane closed buik, they can never have consolation of it. Then thou that delytis to walk in the licht of the gospell of Jesus Christ, think thou not ill[3] of this gospell, think thou not evill of this ministerie. Joine mee thir twa togidder that can not be severed, the Ministry and the Gospel. Thou that thinks evil of the ministrie thinkis evil of the gospell: be thou not ashamed of the ministers, nor of thair bandis, nor of thair captivitie, nor of thair death, nor of na crosse that can be laid on them, the 2d epistle to Timothie, the 8th chapter. For the multitude of the warlde thinkes shame of the gospell and the ministers thereof, fra time affliction be laid on them.[4] Thou that loves the gospell, keip thy comfort in thy awne bosome, and assure thy self thair is na other way to heaven: and knawing well that this mon be the weird[5] of the gospell and of the ministers, tak all thir troubles for sure nōtes[6] of the treuth of God. I love not the gospell that hes the countenance of the princes of this warld, and

[1] Even so, if. [2] Marked. [3] Evil. [4] When affliction once cometh upon them. [5] Hazard. [6] Tokens.

hes the confluence of the multitude. The princes and multitude of this warld hes ever born the pure gospell of Jesus Christ at hatred.

This far for the first cause quhairfoir the Gospell of Jesus Christ is hid from monie, to wit, that perditioun quhairunto they ar adjudged from all eternitie. Now tak up in the nixt verse ane uther cause quhairfoir the gospell is hid to monie, "In quhome (sayis he) the God of this warld hes blinded their minds." The secund cause is excecatioun, blindfalding, putting out of the eies, and all to this end, that they suld not get ane sicht of the glorious licht of the gospell, and sa be saved? Bot how cummis this to pas, how ar they blinded? I sal tel zow. Anis being adjudged to die, and ordained in the counsell of God to perdition, in cummis the god of this warld, that is, the Divell, quhome this warld makis ane God of, the God of hevin sendis him. Quhome to sendis he him? Unto that cative, that miserabill creature that is ordayned for perditioun, as ane tortourer, and burreaw,[1] ane hangman, to put that eternal decree in executioun. And quhat dois he quhen he cummis in? The first turne that ever he dois he bindis him. Quhat bindis he, his handis or his feit? Na, he lets them louse, and lets him work on with them his awin ruine, and run on to his awin perditioun. Bot he bindis his eies, or rather pullis them out, that the miserabill bodie may not see the gracious face of Christ. Quhairfoir is he send to him? The cause is nocht onlie in the ordinance of God, bot in the cative him self that malitiouslie repynis to the licht, and will not receive the gospell, thairfoir the God of hevin sends the Divel, to put out his eies that he suld not see. Mark then the lessoun. They that ar adjudged to die and to perditioun in the warld to cum, in this warld or ever they gang out of this life, they ar bund like theifis and murtherers, to be presented bund to that damnatioun that is to ensew: they ar reserved in chaines to that great day. Quhat chaines ar thir? Chaines of darknes, thair eies are plucked out, that blindlingis in that great day they may be cast in hell, in that laik that burnis

[1] Persecutor.

with fire and brimstane for ever. Thair is never ane saul that gangis to damnatioun in the warld to cum, bot in this life it is blinded. Ze ken the Ethnicks saying, *Quos perdere vult Jupiter, iis mentem solet adimere.* It is ane true saying: and thairfoir tak up agane ane sure note of perdition to cum, excecatioun, blindnes: sa that gif thou can not see that gracious face of Christ in the gospell at na time, for all thy heiring, for al this ministrie that is in the warld, tak tent to thy self, and feare that damnation everlasting. Be never at quiet nicht nor day quhil thou see ane licht in thy minde be the gospell: utherwayis thy conscience sall condemne thee as ane veschell of perditioun. The gospell is not send for nathing. Either sall it be unto thee ane savour of life unto life, or ane savour of deith unto deith, and this sall be justified ane day. And except thou get licht, thou sall warie[1] the time that ever thou heard it, quhen it cummis to that damnatioun.

Ane uther thing mark heir. Quhen cummis the God of this warld to blind men? (luik to the order of the text.) The first cause is countit perditioun and Goddis ordinance, then cummis in the Divell. Quhen cummis in the Divell? Quhen God hes first said the word, I will have this bodie perisching, and wil be glorified in his perditioun, then cummis in the torturer and pluckis out his eies. Sa the Divell is na thing to God, but ane burreau, ane minister of his wraith quhen he is angrie, then is the loun at hand, as ane slave, to put in executioun that wraith. Bot it is ane sair pitie to considder the miserabil bodie on quhom this wraith is execute. Quhen the hangman cummis to bind the handis of ane bodie, that bodie is sorrowfull and sad: bot quhen the Divell is binding thee, thou art blyth at it,[2] and quhen he is ane divell to thee, thou trowis[3] he is ane god to thee. Thou art never blyith[4] bot in blindnes, luik to experience, the multitude of this land is never blyith bot quhen he is binding them, and harling[5] them to harlatrie,[6] to murther and villanie, to scolling[7] and drinking. Count not of sic ane man: bot say, or think gif thou dar not say

[1] Curse. [2] Thou art merry in the meantime. [3] Thinkest. [4] Thou never rejoicest. [5] Drawing. [6] Filthiness. [7] Gluttony.

it, O miserabill cative the divel is blinding thee and leading thee to perditioun.

Now mark in the third rowm, the causes that haistis this damnatioun, and that mon pas befoir the God of this warld cum as ane torturer to put in executioun the sentence of GOD. Thair mon gang befoir this excecatioun, and the damnatioun that followis this excecatioun, ane caus in thy self, thou mon ever be the wyte[1] of thy awin deith: notwithstanding the ordinance of God, zit thou never perischis quhil thou be worthie thy awin deith, and merite thy awin damnatioun. Quhat bringis on this blindnes? Ane malitious, false, infidell hart repugning to the gospell, for thou first despysis it, and rejectis it sa malitiouslie and despytefullie, that in ane manner thou wald spit on the face of Christ Jesus that schynis in the gospel. This haistis the wraith. For quhen the Lord seis the dispytefulnes of thy hart, that thou will not see nor luik in the licht quhen it is offered to thee, and haldin up befoir thine eies: then he sendis his tortorer and sayis, Go thy wayis Sathan, and pluck out the eies of this bodie: then he pluckis out the eies of thy minde immediatlie, and God givis the over to ane reprobate sense: and this is it quhilk the Apostle sayis of the Gentiles, Rom. i. 28. "It pleased them not to retein God in knawledge, thairfoir God gave them over to ane reprobate sense." And Ephes. iv. 18, "having (sayis he) thair cogitations darkned, and being strangers fra the life of God, throw the ignorance that is in them, becaus of the hardnes of thair harts." Thair plainlie he lets us see that the hardnes and malice of thair harts bringis on this ignorance and blindnes. Thairfoir bewar of this malice, and put it out of thy hart, or ellis thou sall be caried blindlings to everlasting damnatioun, suppois thou were ane Erle or ane King: quhat regaird hes God of persons?

Now, Brethren, thair is sum wordis that I mon wey to zou, as the Lord sall give mee the grace, and I sall repeat them, and mark ze with mee, gif they be not wechtie. "That the licht of the glorious gospell of Christ, quhilk is the image of God, suld not schyne unto

[1] Causer.

them," or spred his beamis upon them. Ze ken, and onie man that hes knawledge kennis, that this micht have bene spokin in fewer and baser wordis, bot the Apostle contentis not himself with base wordis, in sic ane mater: bot sayis, "That the licht of the glorious gospell of Christ," &c. Weil, is thair ane word heir in vaine, and is thair ane change of wordis maid for nathing? Is sarie[1] base wordis changed in glorious wordis for nathing? Na, (allace we can not see this), and it is ane of the thingis in the warld that I wald fainnest have zou to understand, quhat moves the apostles and propheitis to use sic ane heich language, and set up ane thing in sic glorious tearmis, quhilk they micht utter in baser tearmis? Think not that the men of God, prophetes, and apostles hes spoken (as we say), *hyperbolicè* great and voustie[2] wordis, greater nor the matter. Thir wordis ar borrowed wordis, and they ar borrowed fra the maist glorious thing in the earth, and zit they attein not to the thousand part of the thing quhilk be them he wald expresse. Al the heich wordis that a man can use to expres the glory of Christ ar not able to expresse the thousand part of that glorie. Bot to cum to the purpose. Ze have set doun, first in glorious termis, the effect of the Gospel: it is set doun in schining and beamis, theirefter ze have set doun the gospel it self. To cum to the first. The maist glorious thing that ane man can see in this earth, is the schyning of the sunne, quhilk the Lord hes set[3] in the hevennis. The pleasandest thing that ane man can luik to, quhen he hes luikit to all thir eirthly things, is the glancing of the sunne in ane fair day. And thairfoir ze see the glorie of the sunne is descryved verie hichlie be David in the xix. Psalme. To apply this. Even sa the effect of the Gospel being the maist glorious effect that ever was wrocht: the Spreit of God sets it out be the maist glorious thing in the warld, the spredding of the sunne beamis. And surelie suppois thair wer na mair bot this word [schyning] it lettis us see ane wonderfull effect of the gospell in the hartis of men and wemen. Ze see be experience, the beamis of the sunne, suppois they were never sa bricht, will never alter the bodie

[1] Simple. [2] Lofty. [3] Fixed.

quhilk they schyne on, nor mak it bricht lyke them selfis, the sunne hes schyned this lang time in the warld, bot zit be schining it culd never sa trans-change ane creature, that it culd becum as bricht as the sunne it self. It may weill let thee see the bodie that is OPACUM, (as we say) dark and obscure, sa lang as it schynis, bot als sone as it is removed, the bodie is dark as it was befoir. Bot as to the Gospell: The gospell with the beamis of it not onlie makis the object quhairon it schynis to be seene and to appeir: bot it dois mair, it transformes the saul of the man or woman in that same licht and brichtness that is in it. That is to say, the face of Jesus, the sun of richteousnes that schynis in the gospel, quhen the beamis of it strykis on thy saull, they mak it lichtsum and bricht like the face of Jesus, they turne the saull in the schaip of the face of Jesus, that schynis in the gospell. Would ze have scripture for this, luik the last verse of the chapter going befoir. "We behold (sayis he), as in ane mirrour the glorie of God with ane open face, and are changit into the same image fra glory to glory, as be the Sprit of the Lord." And this is done in sic ane sort (O, wald to God we knew the power of the gospel) that thou quha had na thing bot darknes within thee, is maid ane schyning licht, casting out thy beamis, and over schaddowing sillie dark bodies. "He that brocht licht out of darknes (sayis Paull) be his word, he hes schyned in my hart, that I may minister the knawledge of Jesus Christ to uthers." Sa it is maist certain, thou in quhom the gospell is sa powerful, art maid ane licht in the warld to illuminat dark saullis.

Now to cum to the nixt, the Gospell itself. How expressis he the gospell? He callis it not simplie and bairlie with ane wairsche[1] word, the gospell, (all thir wairsche wordis, and silly unsel[2] speicheis of sic ane glorie, tellis quhat feilling men hes in thair hartis of the effectualnes of the gospell) bot he callis it the licht of the gospell, the gospell is ane licht, and it is the licht of lichtis. The sun albeit it be bricht was never comparabil to it in schining, and thairfoir it castis out sic glorious beamis in the saulis

[1] Mean. [2] Simple.

of men and wemen. Quhat is the caus that it is ane licht? The cause is in the subject of it. The subject of it is glorie: quhat will mak ane licht, gif glorie wil not mak it? The gospell, is the gospell of glorie, and all that is within it is glorie. Quhat glorie is this? The glorie of Christ the King of kingis, his glorie mon be ane great glorie. Quhat kind of person is this Christ? He is the image of God: he never restis mounting up quhill he cum to that divinity. See how he rysis. He climmis fra the gospell to the Mediatour, and from the Mediatour to that glorious majestie. Sa all the glorie that schynis in the gospell is the glorie of God, and all the licht of the gospell is that licht of God quhilk the Apostle, (1. Timoth. vi. 16,) callis that licht that hes na acces: and never man had acces to it, quhill this Jesus brocht it doun: and without this licht thou art bot darknes, and sall end in exteriour and utter darknes. All the beamis of the sunne ar bot darknes in respect of it. The sunne is bot ane creature, this is the licht uncreated of the glorious God, the verie essence of God, count of it as thou will. Now mark ane thing of this: This man be his speich leidis us to his hart. Quhat reck of words and[1] they want the hart and they have no life—quhat reckis[2] suppois thou spak ane thousand zeiris of licht and glorie, gif thou have neither licht nor glorie in thy saull? Certainlie thair is nane that will luik thir wordis bot they may see the mans hart was replenisched with this licht and glorie quhairof he spak. The face of Jesus schyned on his saul, and sa wonderfullie he utteris that conceptioun, and fulnes of the hart, in sic wordis as is mervellous. The hart of Paul was full of licht and glorie. But I see littill licht in the hartis of men and wemen, in respect of that licht that was in his hart. And thairfoir, Brethren, to speik the truth, because this Gospell howbeit it hes bene sounding in the eir thir monie zeiris in this land, zit it hes not entered in the hartis of men and wemen, it hes bene ane sound in the lug,[3] bot not ane licht in the saull, becaus thou hes not suffered it to enter in thy hart, and keip it thair: thairfoir the Lord is threatning to tak it from thy ear also: and sa will be sene on

1 What are words, if. 2 What are words to be respected, suppose, &c. 3 Ear.

Edinburgh ane day. The eie is ay[1] upon men, bot thou luikis not to that poysonabill hart of thine, that is procuiring the away taking of this gospell out of thy eare; and except ze discend in zour awin hartis, and seirche the emptines of that licht in them, it is not possibil that it can remain. Can it be possibil that this contempt of the gospell, that of the[2] awin nature is sa effectuall in the hartis of men can be born with for evef? Na, the Lord will not suffer this contempt to be unpunished. And thairfoir the Lord appeirandlie hes said, "I will put away my gospell fra this ungrate[3] people, quhom it hes not illuminated efter sa lang time." Sa ye that hes bene lang luiking to instruments, luik als lang on zour awin fals hartis that hes the wyte[4] of al. Zit, Brethren, notwithstanding of all this contempt of the gospell, the Lord save mee, and all them that I wische weill to, from this, to be ane instrument of the withdrawing of it: for zit it was never sene that the Lord used gude men to be instrumentis in sic ane turne.[5] Quha is it that is heir send to blind this warld? quha bot the God of this warld the Divell: and thairfoir I give this watchword, Let never man preis to be the occasioun of the away taking of the Gospell.

Now I sall tak up the nixt verse schortly, and sa I sall end. In the nixt verse the Apostle gives the reason quhairfoir they to quhom the gospell was hid, behoved to be they quha was ordained for perditioun, and quhome the God of this warld hes blindit. His reasoun is takin even fra his sinceritie in preaching the gospell: "For (sayis he) we preache not our selfis." Quhom preiche I then? "Bot Jesus Christ the Lord," and I preached him to be the Lord in my gospell, and quhat preached I of my self? "Our selfis your servandis for Christ Jesus saik." For the brydegrome's cause I was ane servand to the bryde: for his cause quha is the onlie heid and Lord of the Kirk, I was ane servand to the Kirk. Then of this reasoun mark this lessoun. Ane man quhom the Lord raises to preache the gospell, not to seik him self, nor his awin advancement, nor warldlie riches, nor honor, bot onlie to preiche the gospell in sinceritie, quhat effect will he have in his preaching?

[1] Always. [2] Her. [3] Ungrateful. [4] That are the cause. [5] Deed.

Strange effects wil follow him: gif he save thee not, gif he win thee nocht to God, gif he minister nocht comfort to thee be his gospell, quhat will he doe? I sal tel thee, he wil put ane stamp on thee, and thrist it on thy awin hart and conscience, testifeing to thee in the awin time (for the conscienee walkinnis not in all men at all times) that thou was nocht faithfull, bot an reprobate ordained to perdition fra all eternitie, gif thou get not repentance in time, and gif the gospel preiched be ane sinceir man hes not fructified in thee, all his preiching is bot ane seall to thee of thy damnatioun, and in the great day sall stand up and aggrege thy judgment. Mark ane uther thing heir. Quhat is this that makis this man sa bauld? He will denunce perdition, excecatioun and blindfalding be the god of this warld, (I assure you this is ane bauld speich to denunce damnatioun) bot what makis him sa bald? Ze see it in ane word, the conscience of his awin sinceritie, that in his preiching he socht not him self, bot the Lord his maister. Thair is the lessoun. Ane man quhom the Lord will send (and the Lord als certainlie will send men to speik in sinceritie his message, as ever he sent ane[1] Propheit in the warld, howbeit thair be not ane extraordinar calling now). Ane man (I say) quhom the Lord will send, he wil denunce damnation to ane obstinate and rebellious people: and he will be bauld to tak thee, as it wer, be the leg,[2] suppois thou were[3] ane King, and feid thee to that tribunall to heir the sentence of damnation pronounced against thee. The Lord give mee this sinceritie, and than I will not cair[4] all the kings and all the men in the warld: for the Lord will give baldnes to the man quhome he raisis in sinceritie to cite kingis befoir that tribunall of Jesus Christ. Ane uther thing I see in this text: Thair is na Lord, bot the Lord Jesus, quha will tramp[5] down all the Lordis in the eirth, and tred upon thair craigis[6] at his pleisure. And mair, I see thair is na Ladie, nor Queene, bot the Kirk, the spous of Jesus Christ. As for Kingis, Queenes, Politickes in the eirth, all ar bot servandis onlie, Kingis servandis, Queenes servandis, Pastouris and Ministers servandis and nourischers of the Kirk of Jesus: The

[1] Any. [2] Ear. [3] Be. [4] Care for. [5] Tread. [6] Necks.

Apostles servandis, ministring fude to this glorious body of Jesus, and feiding it with the sinceir milk of the word. And that is it quhilk the Apostle sayis, 1 Cor. iii. 22, speiking of himself, and of Apollos:[1] "All is zouris, (sayis he) quhidder it be Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas," &c., all is zouris, all is bot servandis to zou, ze ar Christis, he is zour lord, ze have not ane lord, bot Christ. Then the Kirk mon have ane great prerogative, jurisdictioun, and libertie. Scho is ane queene, and gif ever thair was in ane cuntry ane jurisdiction and libertie, scho hes it given hir of hir spous, the Lord Jesus. Then ze knaw quhat suld follow: Gif scho hes ane libertie and jurisdiction, I will speik that quhilk the Apostle speikis, (2 to the Cor. the xiii. chap. 10 verse.) "God hes not given mee, (sayis Paul) power to zour destruction, bot all the power quhilk God hes given mee is to zour edificatioun." The God of hevin gave never to na[2] creature in hevin nor eirth power to doe against hir, bot all to maintaine hir in hir libertie. Then mel[3] not with hir jurisdictioun. Let na eirthlie power meddle with it, and bewar that na irruption be made within it. Thair was never Empreour nor Monarch of this warld, that maid irruption within it, that ever wan be it. Thairfor let everie saul bewar to mell[3] with this libertie: for certainlie that sword that sall be strikken at hir scho sall ding aback[4] agane like the hammer aff the studie.[5] Reid the Ecclesiasticall Histories, ze sall see that never man gat the upper hand that ever melled with it. And thairfoir the Lord oppin men's eies, and let them see this, that they may reverence this glorious spouse of Jesus Christ, as ever they wald see that glorious face of Christ Jesus hir heid. To quhom, with the Father and the Halie Spreit, be all honour, praise, and glorie, warld without end. Amen.

[1] Others. [2] Any. [3] Meddle. [4] Ding it back. [5] Stithy.

THE NYNTH SERMON.

ANE SERMON PREACHED ON THE 2. EPISTLE TO THE CORINTH. THE 10. CHAPTER.

1. Now I Paull myself beseik[1] you by the meiknes and gentleness of Christ, quha quhen I am present amang zou am base, bot am bauld towardis zou being absent.

2. And this I requyre zou, that I neid not to be bauld quhen I am present with that same confidence quhairwith I think to be bauld against some, quhilk esteme us as thouch we walked according to the flesche.

3. Nevertheles thouch we walk in the flesche, zit we do not weir efter the flesche:

4. (For the weapons of our weirfair ar not carnall, bot michtie throuch God to cast doun haldis;)

5. Casting doun the imaginations, and everie heich thing that is exalted against the knawledge of God, and bringing into captivitie everie thocht to the obedience of Christ.

THIR[2] Corinthians unto quhom the Apostle wrytis, being befoir founded and grounded in the faith of Jesus Christ be this ministry, zit efterward seduced and led aside with fals apostles, oratours rather nor[3] teichers, quha preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ with humane affected eloquence, beginnis to lichtlie[4] the Apostle quha founded and grounded them in that faith of Jesus Christ, and to count[5] of him evin as gif he had not bene sent, or had not bene an Apostle in verie deid, bot had onlie given himself out for ane

[1] Beseech. [2] These. [3] Than. [4] Disdain. [5] Account.

Apostle. Thairfoir in this present text, the Apostle beseiks them to count[1] of him, (as he was indeid), as the apostle of Jesus Christ, and desiris them sa to esteme of him: and sa taking the occasion, he fallis out in ane verie heich description of his apostleship. And first he makis ane requeist unto them: "Now I Paull myself beseik zow by the meiknesse and gentlenesse of Christ." Surelie gif ye will considder thair deserving at the handis of the Apostle, they suld have been met mair hardlie, and scharper language suld have been directed to them: Zit the Apostle meitis them gentlie, and directis to them ane meik and gentle requeist. "I, Paul, in my awin person, beseikis you, and that for the meiknes and gentlenes of Jesus Christ, gif ever ze had ane taist of that mercie and meikness in Jesus Christ towardis you, evin for that meiknes saik, and for that mercies saik, obey mee, doe the thing quhilk I bid you." Sa the Pastour hes his lesson first heir. It is the pairt and dutie of ane pastour quha hes to do with people, first at the entrie to begin with meikness and lenitie? yea, amangis all the properties that is requyred in ane faithfull pastour, this is not the leist, to be endewed with lenitie and pitie: Lenitie, (I say), arysing not onlie of the consideration of the misery of men with quhom he hes to doe, (for all people ar miserabil be nature, and all our preichings ar to ane cumpanie of miserable creatures, quha being miserabill hes mister[2] of mercie, and cravis pitie) bot arysing also of ane sense and feiling of his awin wretchednes and miserie. Quhat? Is he not him self ane miserabill man be nature, als weill as onie uther persone of the flock, man or woman? Then againe, the mercie and lenitie of Jesus Christ quhilk he hes found towardis himself suld move and raise up his lenitie and pitie towardis his flock.

Thairfoir Paull being of mind to speik to thir Corinthians, howbeit he had mater of schairpnes and threatning offered to him be them, zit the mercie of Christ towardis him, quha was sa miserabill himself untill he gat that mercie, changes all schairpnes in[3] lenitie, and turnis his threatnings quhilk he might have used, in ane pitifull requeist. Nixt the People likewise hes thair lessoun

[1] Account. [2] Hath need. [3] To.

heir. For as the lenitie, pitie, and meiknes of Jesus Christ suld move the pastour to lenitie towardis the people, evin sa this same lenitie and meiknes of our Lord Jesus suld move the people to obey the gentle and humble requeist of the pastour. And he or scho that ever hes felt in hart, and taisted the sweitnes of the mercie of God in Jesus Christ, will not sa sone heir of this lenity and mercie, for Christis mercies sake, or for his lenities saik, bot als sone they will be moved to obey the requeist. And they again that abydis[1] stubburn and disobedient, notwithstanding of ane dewtiful and lawfal requiest, I say (for mee)[2] that stubburn harted bodie never wist[3] quhat Christ meinit, never felt remissioun of sinnis throuch the blude of Jesus Christ. They that will not doe the thing quhilk they suld do for the mercies saik of Christ, sall never taist of that mercy nor of Jesus Christ. Assuredlie, they serve for na thing bot to be faggots for hellis fire:[4] for quhair mercie is not, thair mon be judgement. Now in the latter part of the verse, he settis down ane descriptioun of himself, "I Paul quha quhen I am present amang zou am base, but am bald toward zou being absent." This is ane thing in effect with that quhilk followis afterwardis in the 10th verse of this chapter (for this disestimation of him,[5] is fra that licht account and regaird that they made of him, and of the gospell quhilk he teached). For the Letters (sayis he) ar sair and strong, bot his bodilie presence is waik, and his speich is of na value. He heir descryves him self conforme to thair disestimatioun of him, for the mislyking is recent in his memorie, zit his speich is meik to them. This matter wald have angered ane gude man, bot Paul is sa far-fra anger, that he brekis out in ane gentle and humble request. Quhairupon I note, that the unthankfulnes of the warld suld not breck our patience, nor caus us forget that lenity quhairwith the Embassadour of Jesus Christ suld be endewed: for lenitie is bund to us, and we ar bund to it, zea, althocht this warld be never sa ungrate, zit we ar bund to stryve be lang suffering to overcum in the end. Secundlie, think ze not bot Paull suld have thocht schame to registrate, as it

[1] Who continue. [2] For my part. [3] Knew. [4] For the fire of hell. [5] Himself.

were, his awin schame to the posteritie to cum, sa that I may say, Paul thou was of na estimatioun, and everie ane may see in how small account he was amang thir people. Thair is nane of us all, gif thair be anie infirmitie in us, bot we wald have it hid: bot ane man having ane gude conscience and discharging ane faithfull pairt of dutie, is na thing blotted be the speiking of the warld, nor the registrating of thair speiches, is na thing to his schame. Bot the schame perteinis to the people: thair wordis and deidis toward the Pastour abydis[1] in his memorie, and in the memorie of God, and sall abyde[2] untill the day of judgement except they repent: zea, evin thir same wordis spoken against Paull sall meit them in the teith at the day of judgement.

Zit I see in thir wordis ane schairpnesse and rebuiking mixed with lenitie, to let us see, that quhen we have to do with wicked men, lenitie and meiknes suld not be dolfe,[3] bot tempered with schairpnes, that ungrat[4] men may be brocht to ane sense and feiling of sinne and miserie. Lenitie alane will not do[5] the turn, bot with sweitnes sowrnes mon be mingled, that the word spokin may be the mair effectuall and forcible. "Quha quhen I am present amang zou am base," &c. The warld and the men of this warld countis[6] of na thing bot of that quhilk hes ane fair schaw, and that they esteim hichlie of, althocht it were never sa littill worthie. The ground quhairof is this. All men and wemen be nature ar hypocrits, painted bodies, na soliditie in them, all ar visorned folk: he cummis out, scho cummis out, all masked and disaguysed: For quhat is a hypocrit, bot ane fals schaw? Nathing surelie: and thairfoir becaus thair is na solidity in themselfis, they can count[7] na thing of soliditie: as he is him self, sic is his estimation and reputatioun of uthers: as scho is hir self, sic is hir estimatioun of utheris. O, wald to God everie man and woman culd descend in[8] them selfis, and ken[9] thair awin nature. Amangis all thingis in the warld, this ministerie is the vyldest,[10] it is the bassest thing un-

[1] Remaineth. [2] Continue. [3] *Corrupted* in the English translation, but this is a mistake. The Scottish word *dolf*, or *dowf*, means here, *feeble* and *spiritless* in expression. [4] Ungrateful. [5] Serve. [6] Account. [7] Account. [8] Into. [9] Know. [10] Vilest.

der the sunne to the eie of man. Uther callings wil have sum outward glory, ane king wil have ane outward glorie, bot this ministerie hes na outward glorie: and zit thair is na calling under the sunne that hes sa pretious ane subject, as the calling of the ministerie: Zea, the maist solide thing in the warld is under it, even that quhilk makis men and wemen solide, and without it na soliditie, bot all is as caffe[1] befor the wind. The Apostle, 2 Cor. iv. 7, comparis Jesus Christ and his graces quhilk ar revealed in the gospell to ane treasure, and the Apostles themselves to lame[2] vesschels, "Bot we have (sayis he) this treasure in eirthlie vesschels, that the excellencie of that power micht be of God, and not of us." Thair the maist glorious thing in the warld is in the bassest vesschels, and waikest instrumentis. Quhat makis the warld to contemne and disdaine this treasure of the gospell, bot the waiknes of thir vesschellis, the basnes of thir sillie men quhome GOD hes put in this service. Indeid I mervell not howbeit I see the contempt of this Ministerie, (and surelie thair is na thing mair vyld in the eiris of men of Scotland, then to heir the name of ane minister) bot I wonder rather that ever man or woman suld be altered be this ministerie: the ane is of nature, the uther is of grace. Wonder never at nature, bot wonder to see ane man or woman altered be grace. Allace, this is to be pitied, men lossis thair part of thir unseirchable riches in Jesus Christ, becaus they stumble at the basnes of this ministerie. For he that esteimis not of this ministerie, never taisted of the sweitnes of Jesus Christ. He that esteimis not of the lame vesschell, hes na pairt of the riches quhilk ar in the lame vesschell. In the wordis following, "Bot I am bauld towardis zou quhil I am absent:" I see they were compelled to see and feill sum bauldnes in Paull, gif not in his presence, zit in his absence, gif[3] not be his wordis in speiking, zit be his wryte.[4] Thair is nane sa sensles in the warld, nane sa deid, nane sa hard harted against the power of this ministerie, bot either be word or wryte, either be absence, or ellis be presence, they sall be compelled

[1] Chaff. [2] Loam. [3] Though. [4] Writing.

to feill the force of it. Zea, this ministerie sall either be the savour of lyfe to lyfe, or ellis the savour of deith unto deith to them.

"And this I requyre zou, that I neid not to be bauld," &c. In this nixt verse we have his requeist expressed in few wordis, quhilk is als mekill[1] in effect as gif he wald say, Seing I am the Apostle of Jesus, I beseik zou to account[2] of mee as of ane Apostle. The argument is, Gif ze count not of mee quhill I am absent, quhen I cum, gif[3] thair be onie power in mee, I sall gar zou ken it,[4] and utter it against zou: ze sall finde mee bauld, and not base: ze sall finde sowrnes, and not meiknes: schairpnes and not lenitie. Heir he tellis be ane comparisoun quhat kind of bauldnes he will use. Quhen I cum to zow, I sall use the same bauldnes towardis zou, that I use towardis the fals Apostles: and as concerning the false Apostles, I sal thunder out against them schame, and confusioun and ignominie, sa that they that countis[5] not of mee that I am the Apostle of Jesus Christ sall finde my power. We may se heir Paul wald be counted be thir Corinthians to be the Apostle of Jesus Christ. Is he thairfoir seeking his awin honour and glorie? Na, he is seiking the weill[6] of the people. It is the weill of the people to count of the servand of GOD, for quhen they count nocht of him, they can not count[7] nor accept of his doctrine: and quhen the doctrine is nocht weill[8] accepted, then gangis[9] the building slawlie fordward. Allace, this evill counting[10] of men in the ministerie makis sa few to be[11] edified, and sa monie to abyde[12] faithles. For quhair the man is lichtlied, the doctrine is contemned: and quhair the doctrine is contemned, thair can be na faith, na edifeing: sa that it is ane greater matter to contemne the ministerie, nor men trowis.[13]

Mark these wordis, "That I neid not to be bauld." Heir we see plainlie that lenitie and meiknes is requyred in ane Pastour. The Pastour is ever bund first to begin with lenitie and meiknes, severitie suld onlie cum upon necessitie, quhen lenitie and meiknes is contemned and can not serve. Reid the first to the Corinthians

[1] Much. [2] Acknowledge. [3] If. [4] I shall make you know it. [5] Account. [6] Weal. [7] Account. [8] Well. [9] Goeth. [10] Esteeming. [11] Is the cause that so few are. [12] Do remain. [13] Than men think it to be.

iv. 21. "Tak zour chose quhidder I sall cum to zou with ane rod, or in love and in the spreit of meiknes:" meining, that he wald cum in severitie, gif lenitie wald not serve. And 2 Cor. xiii. 2, quhen he seis that they cannot be win[1] with lenitie, he turnis his tune,[2] "Gif I cum again I sal not spair zou." Quhen I cum agane, I sall terrifie zou with the power of God, becaus ze thraw[3] it out of mee. I see agane, he is verie schairp against thir fals oratouris, he usis na lenitie towardis them. Zit thair is ane discretioun to be had betwixt the dealing with fals teichers, and with the people. Thair suld be lenitie used towards the people: bot quhat suld be[4] with ane deceiving lown, that begins to bring the truth in sclaunder?[5] He mon be handled with severitie and rigour: na lenitie suld be used towardis thir[6] that creipis in dailie to bring the truth in sclaunder. Ze knaw thair voices, Quha made Calvine ane minister? Quha made Luther ane minister? Bot they sall find ane day that Calvine and Luther was ministers, and that thair was ane power in the word quhilk Calvin and Luther teiched. For this is true that Paull spak, "The Lord consumes them dailie with the word, that cummis out of the mouthes of his ministers, and sall consume them dailie, untill the day of the Lordis appearance."

In the third verse he fallis out in ane descriptioun of the maner of his walking. "Nevertheles thocht we walk in the flesche," &c., thocht we live in the flesche, that is, in the infirmitie of this commoun nature: (for to live in the flesche heir, is to live in the waiknes of nature, "zit we walk not or warre not according to the flesche," that is, our actions and doings in our apostleschip ar not fleschlie and waik. Ze see the outward bodie is waik, bot measure not the inward man efter the body and the strenth thairof: for suppois my bodie be waik, zet my actions ar strong. Sa he takis to him ane thing, and refusis ane uther. Now, Brethren, let everie man that livis tak gladlie to him frailtie and waiknes, and gif men call thee waik, tak it to thee, for he that wil be strong in him self, can not be strong in God. In this same Epistle xii. 9,

[1] Won. [2] He changes his voice. [3] *Throw* in the English translation. The word means, *twist, wrench.* [4] But what should be done. [5] Slander. [6] These.

"The power of God (sayis he) is maid perfite in my infirmity." Of all men in the warld ane man quhais calling is to be ane minister, suld tak cheiflie upon him this frailtie and waiknes: zea, let him accept it mair redilie nor it can be castin to him: and as he is frail and waik, sa he mon feill his frailtie and waiknes, for ane cheif part of his preiching suld be of frailtie: and that minister that never felt his awin miserie, can nocht perswade the peple that they are miserabill, and bring them to ane acknowledging of it. And herein appeiris the wisdom of God, quha chuses nocht to this ministerie those quha hes the greatest graces of nature, and natural giftis, bot he chuses out the waik anis, and contemptibill bodies, that ar amangst men, and he settis them up to be preachouris to mankinde, as he speikis in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the first chapter, the 26. verse. "Ze see, brethren, zour calling, how that not monie wise men among you according to the flesche, not monie michtie, not monie noble ar called, bot God hes chosin the fulisch thingis of the warld to confound the wyse, and God hes chosen the waik thingis of this warld to confound the michtie." Sa the Lord chuses the ignobill and sillie creatures, and settis them up above kingis, zea, and the greatest monarches of the world to ding[1] them doun.

Mark again, as everie man suld willinglie tak to him this frailtie and waiknes of nature, sa let him refuis the uther, that is to say, let him refuis walking[2] according to the flesche. To walk according to the flesche, and to warre according to the flesche is all ane, (for the walking of ane Christian is ane warfair.) Hald aff thir[3] fleschlie actiounis, and namelie thir actiounis of sinne: tak to thee the waiknes of nature, bot cast aff sin. For gif thy actiounis be altogidder fleschlie, be thou sure thow hes na pairt of the power of GOD, nor of the lyfe of Jesus Christ: thou hes bot the life of ane man, or of ane woman, and sall die like ane man or ane woman without the lyfe of God. Bot above all men in the warld let ane Minister eschew thir actiounis of the flesche, luik that his actiounis be powerful, and that the power of God appeir in his walking: Sa

[1] Beat. [2] To walk. [3] Hold back these.

that quhen in outward appeirance he is bot ane waik bodie, zit it may be said of him, he[1] is strong in Christ. For als waik as he is to luik to, zit he is ane strang warriour, the Spreit is sensible in him, he speikis not like ane man onlie, thair is ane uther grace convoying his wordis, nor[2] can accumpanie the word of man. Gif thou be ane minister, althocht thou were never sa strang in bodie, gif thou findis not God's power in thy life and doctrine, I wil not give ane pennie for thee, luik that thou feill the power that Paull felt, as ze reid, 2 Cor. iv. 16, quhen he was deing in the body then was the inner man quickest in him: and the mair the bodilie lyfe wes away, the mair the lyfe of God was manifest in him. Ane minister that hes not the power of God within him, how can he preache of Christ's power or of his lyfe? How can he be ane minister of life that hes na taist of life?[3] How can he preache of lyfe that never felt lyfe? Of necessity he must be a schameles man, that will speake of Christ, of his mercy, life and power, quhen in the meane time he kennis[4] not quhat the mercy, life and power of Christ meanes; that man was never called of God to be ane minister, all that he speikis is like the babling of ane parockquet: the power of God dois the turne:[5] and thairfoir God chusis the waik instruments, that the warld may see that it is onlie his grace, and not the giftis of the men that dois the turne. He callis it not his walking, bot warring and fechting. The life of ane minister is bot ane warfair, and he quha wald be ane minister suld mak him for warfair, mak him for paine and labour, utherwayis let him never mint[6] for that calling. Zea, thair is na thing sa laborious or painfull, bot the life of ane minister is comparit to it. We never reid in the Scripture quhair it is compared to ony thing that importis easines or idlenes. 1 Cor. ix. 26, the minister is compared to ane warriour, then to ane runner running with all his main speid, stryving till he cum[7] to the mark, never luiking over his schulder to this or that thing, as monie will doe: saying, I have done this turne or that turne. Na, quhen thou hes done all thou can doe, say, thou

[1] That he. [2] Than. [3] Life himself. [4] Knoweth. [5] Doeth the deed. [6] Strive. [7] Striving to come.

hes done nathing. Then he is comparit to ane wrastler, and to ane husbandman that haldis the pleuch fra morning till evening. In all thir comparisounis of the scripture, the figure is not sa great as the thing figurat, quhen ane thing hevinlie[1] is compared with ane thing warldlie, the thing warldly is nathing in respect of the thing hevinlie. And thairfoir thair is na man comparable to the minister in labour, the warriour, the runner, the plewman is na thing to him. The Apostle, wryting to Timothie, sayis in his Secund Epistle, ii. 5, "Gif thou fecht nocht, thou sall never attein to the croun," and quhy suld thou tyne[2] sa fair ane crown for ane moments fechting? "Na man (sayis he) is crowned except he fecht faithfullie." And, 2 Timoth. iv. 8, "Thair is ane croun of richteousnes laid up, not onlie for mee, bot for all those that loves the bricht cumming of the Lord Jesus." Quhen Paull was ane auld man and leifing this warld, "I have ended (sayis he) my warfair, and I have fouchten ane gude faucht, and thairfoir I luik for that croun." Gif he had never bene ane runner, he wald never have tane this promise to himself, "ane croun is laid up for mee." And thairfoir the Lord give us grace to labour for ane quhyle, that we may rest from our labour in the lyfe to cum.

In the nixt verse he proves that his warring and fechting in this warld was not according to the flesche, taking the argument fra the weapons and armour quhairwith he faucht, sic[3] as the armour is, sic sall the warring be, gif the armour be waik, the fecht sall be waik, gif the armour be strang, the fecht sall be strang. "Our armour (sayis the Apostle) is not fleschlie," our weapons ar not of flesche nor frail mater, "bot our weapons are strang through God," the power of God is in them; God is in the word quhilk we speak; he settis doun the end, "to ding[4] doun strang haldis:" this power will ding them doun, na thing will gainstand it. Brethren, ze see be experience, put ane rasour in ane bairnes[5] hand, it will cut; this cutting cummis nocht of the strenth of the bairnes hand, bot of the schairpnes of the rasour. Tak ane gun and put it in ane bairnes hand, he

[1] Heavenly thing. [2] Lose. [3] Such. [4] Beat. [5] Into a child's.

will slay ane man or schute throw ane buirden dure:[1] this is not be the strenth of the bairne, bot be the strenth of the armour. Evin sa GOD be his word in the mouth of the silliest and waikest bodie in the warld, will slaie and kill the starckest man that gangis on eirth;[2] gif he put his word and it wer bot in ane blabbering mouth, as he did in Moses, that word sall cum and pearce in throw flesche and bane till it cum to the marrow, and sall devyde asunder the saul and the Spreit, (Heb. iv. 12.) It is not the man that dois this, bot the weapon, the word that is in his mouth. The multitude of this warld is begyled gif they see ane pure[3] man set up; they will measure the grace of God be the man, and they trow[4] the inner[5] man be als waik as the outward; and sa Kingis and Princes ar dung[6] doun this way and slane, Erlis fallis doun slane, men and wemen of all rankis fallis down slane, als sure as ever ze saw ane man slane in the bodie. Ze remember the historie of Samuel, 1 Sam. xv. 32. He callis for King Agag, and als sone as Agag cummis fordward and had eschewed the furie of the zoung King, thocht that he suld eschew the sword of the aged man also; bot Samuel callis for the sword, takis it in his hand and hewis[7] him in peices. Sa this word in the mouth of waik bodies slayis kingis and queenes in the warld, quhen they ar lauching and playing they ar slane by[8] their expectatioun. Zit in this same verse mark the force of this armour, ze heir not of the bigging,[9] bot of the dinging[10] doun. It is true he biggis up also, bot thou mon first be brocht down and humbled, and then bigged up upon ane new ground. Quhat is he that will big[11] ane new building[12] upon ane auld rottin wall; thou wald keip nature and sinne, and zit be ane new creature: na, thou mon first renounce nature; for the slauchter of the auld man mon go befoir the quickning of the new man.

In the verse following, having spoken of the weapons he cummis to the warfare, and heir is ane stranger battel nor[13] ever was fouch-

[1] Shoot through a wooden door. [2] The strongest man that goeth upon earth. [3] Poor. [4] Think. [5] Inward. [6] Beaten. [7] Cutteth. [8] Without. [9] Building. [10] Throwing. [11] Build. [12] Work. [13] Than.

tin. "We ding down, (sayis he,) the imaginatiounis and everie heich thing, &c. Thair is ane battell, and ane strang battell. Paul is the fechter of this battel, the warriour of the Lord Jesus, ane warriour to him to win prisoners to him, to tak Kingis and Princes be the lug,[1] and leid them to Christ. That thing that is assaulted in this battell, and againis quhilk Paul hes taken armour, is first the cogitatiounis. Be thir cogitatiounis is meaned the haill faculties of the saull, for the principall function is the reasoun of man. Now quhat is scho doing, bot sitting in hir castell bigging hir rampier, and casting hir fowseis about hir, and snairing hir self in hir awin net. And let thee be, thou misters not ane uther[2] to trap thee, thou wil trap thy self, pryde thee in thy ingyne als mekle as thou will,[3] gif thou have na mair, wa is thee: It sall fetter thee and tak thee in the girne als sickerlie[4] as ever thou saw ane bird fangit[5] in the net of ane fowler. The nixt thing that Paull assaultis in this battell, is everie heich thing that is exalted aganis God: this I tak to be the pride of the hart, quhilk as ane heich mountaine rysing up as it were to the hevin, exaltis the self against God, and haldis out God and the licht of God. Thir then ar the thingis quhilk Paul assaultis. Now to cum to the battell, the first thing that Paul dois, he weildis his weapons sa skilfullie, that first of all he dingis[6] doun all the imaginations and resonings of the minde, quhilk ar as rampiers and fowsies quhairwith scho circuit hir self to hald out God and his licht. Nixt he assaultis the pryde of the heart, quhilk as ane mountane exalted the self[7] against God, he dingis[8] it doun, and makis it equall with the ground. Thridlie, having dung doun all, he cummis and takis the thief be the neck, and leidis him be the haire, captive to Jesus Christ, not to him self, that he suld be king over hir. Na, Jesus Christ is the King over the saull, as the Apostle, 2. to the Corinth. xi. 2, wowis the Kirk of God not to him self, bot to his spouse, to the end that scho may be saif, and God glorified. The man that seikis his awin gaine is bot ane hyreling. Thair ar thre actions

[1] Ears. [2] Thou needest none other. [3] Take thou as much pride in thine own ingine as thou wilt. [4] Surely. [5] Caught. [6] Beateth. [7] Itself. [8] Beateth.

heir, quhairof the first twa ar na uther thing bot the destroying of the sinne that is in the mind and in the hart. The third is the saving of man be leiding him captive to Jesus Christ, for the leiding of ane man captive to Jesus Christ, is his saiftie, and the libertie of the saull is this captivitie, and the slaverie of the saull is libertie to sinne. "Quhen ze were slaves to sin (sayis the Apostle Paull in the vi. chapter of the Epistle to the Romanes, the twentie verse,) then ze wer free from richteousnesse." Mark heir ane wonderfull power of God in this base and sillie ministerie, (O, wald to God men culd ken[1] this power,) destroying the deceit of reasoun, and dinging[2] doun the pride of the heart of man mounting up against God. Allace, sa greit is the power of sinne, that it hes na matche under hevin bot this ministery. I will tell it over againe, thair is na thing to thraw this power doun bot this ministery. Quhen this ministerie was not in the warld amangst the Gentiles, (of the quhilk Scotland was ane pairt, for our progenitouris was Gentiles without God in the warld) sinne rang[3] to deith, Rom. v. 21. Multitudes of Gentiles perisched; bot fra time Jesus Christ the authour of grace came in[4] the warld, and brocht with him this ministerie, first he himself, thairefter his apostles (amang quhom Paul was als painful as onie man,) maid it manifest how powerfull this ministerie was be[5] demolisching the kingdome of sinne, for then grace begouth[6] to reigne, and the power of God was manifested. Brethren, I dar affirme the onlie thing that haldis doun the power of sinne is this sillie, base ministerie, tak it away, (for men wald faine have it away,) and schute it to the dore, (and for ocht I can see I trow it sall gang away,)[7] sinne sall cum to ane heicht. Tak away the thing that haldis doun the heid of it and sinne sall reigne. Then, O miserabill Scotland, heir I denounce schame and ignominie sal cum to thee, schame and confusioun to King and Court, Land and Burgh, gif this candlestick be removed. This sall be fund in experience as[8] ever thing was true. And thou that wald rin to damnation, haist the removing of it, that thou may

[1] Know. [2] Beating. [3] Reigned. [4] Into. [5] By. [6] Began. [7] And for ought that I can see I think it shall go away. [8] If.

haist thy awin damnatioun. Now the last thing I see is the proper effect of this ministerie of the blessed God, (and wald to God the warld culd see the glorie of it,) the proper effect is not to slay men, bot to save them. This warld trowis we be cum[1] to slay them. Na, we ar cum to slay sinne in zou, that will slay you gif it be not slane. Paull in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the iii. chap. the 12. and 13. verses, compares the ministerie to ane burning fire that burnis up haie, stubble, and treis; even sa it burnis up thy sinne, and the drosse of thy nature, and all the vanities of thy hart, bot saves thy self. How is this that the warld can not abyde the mein of thair salvatioun, they cannot get rest, nicht nor day, quhill they get away the thing that saves them. Now it saves the man, be taking him and leiding him captive under the King of glorie. Ze see they that ar superiouris in the battell, quhen they cry[2] to onie man, be takin, gif he will not be takin, they will slay him thair; evin sa als trulie gif thou will be stubburne and will not be takin in this feild, this word sall slay thee. Thairfoir, blessed ar they that can suffer the ordinance of God and stand still until sinne be slane, and they themselfis be led captives under Christ, for that captivitie under him is true fredome. To that immortall and everlasting King, be all honour and glorie for now and evermair. Amen.

[1] This world thinketh that we are come. [2] Say.

THE TENTH SERMON.

ANE SERMON PREACHED ON THE FIRST CHAP. TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

18. Quhat then? zit Christ is preached all maner of wayis, quhidder it be under a pretence, or sincerely: and I therein joy, and will joy.

19. For I knaw that this sall turn to my salvatioun throuch zour prayer, and by the help of the Spreit of Jesus Christ.

20. As I hartilie luik for, and hope, that in nathing I sall be aschamed, bot that with all confidence, as alwayis, sa now Christ sall be magnified in my bodie, quhidder it be by life or by deith.

21. For Christ is to me baith in life and in deith advantage.

22. And quhidder to live in the flesche wer profitabill for mee, and quhat to chuse I knaw not.

23. For I am greatly in doubt on baith sides, desiring to be loused and to be with Christ, quhilk is best of all.

24. Nevertheles to abyde in the flesche is mair neidfull for zou.

25. And this I am sure of, that I sall abyde, and with zou all continue, for zour furtherance and joy of zour faith.

26. That ze may mair abundantlie rejoice in Jesus Christ for me, be my cumming to zou againe.

PAUL lying in bandis at Rome, thair rysis up twa sortis of Preichers. The first sort of them that preichit sincerlie that God and his glorie micht be advancit. The secund sort of them that preichit not sincerely, not for the advancement of Christ nor his gospell, bot to eik to afflictioun[1] to Paul's bandis, movit with ambi-

[1] But to add afflictions.

tioun and invy to him. In the first verse quhilk we have red in your audience, Paull utters his mind concerning thir twa sorts of preachers, and this is his minde in effect: Let them (sayes he) preache as they will preache, let them preache of sinceritie for the glorie of Christ, let them preache for the fashioun; how ever they preiche, (preiching the truth of God) Christ is preached, evin be them quha preichis not sincerlie. And thairfoir becaus Christ is preached, I rejoice notwithstanding of all that injurie quhilk I receive be thair preiching, I rejoice and will rejoice, and na man will be abill to tak my joy fra mee. Schortlie then, thair is Paulis mynd concerning thir twa sortis. My doctrine sall be generall. And the first thing that I mark heir, is this, (and onie of zou may se it,) the Lord is glorified, Christ is magnified, even be ane counterfait doing of men, quhen they doe the thing that is gude, zit not in sinceritie, nor of purpose to glorifie God in thair doing. Bot thair purpose not being to glorifie him[1] in thair doing, (they not doing sinceirlie), howbeit he gettis his awin glorie be thair doing, zit they sall get littill thankis. It is not sa mekill the turne it self, the action it self, preiching, or quhatsaever it be, that procures to ane man thankis and grace at the hands of God, as it is the purpose and intentioun in doing. I had rather do the soberest thing in the warld, and it wer[2] to eit my meit, and drink my drink, of purpose to glorifie GOD in my doing, nor to doe the greatest and fairest wark that can be sene to the eie of man, without purpose to glorifie God in that doing. Mark it: "Quhidder ze eit, quhidder ze drink, quhatsaever ze doe, littill or mekill,[3] doe all to the glorie of God," sayis Paul, 1 Corinth. x. 31. And thairfoir, brethren, thair is nathing that ane man suld sa mekill luik to in his doingis and actiounis, as to his purpose, and to the intentioun of his hart. Luik thou as thou will, the Lord luikis cheiflie to everie mans intentioun and purpose. He that preichis, quhat reck[4] with quhat measure of grace he preiche, gif in preiching his intention be to glorifie God and Christ: quhatever anie man or woman dois, let them luik above al thingis that in doing thair intentioun

[1] God. [2] And if it were but. [3] Much. [4] What is to be respected.

be to glorifie God, as ever they wald luik for thankis at his handis. This is ane lessoun. I see heir ane uther thing. The gospell is advanced, Jesus Christ is glorified in Paullis hurt, and quha is ane deirar man to Christ nor Paull? The lessoun then is this. We see the Lord is glorified quhen those quhom he loves best is damnified in this warld, in thair hurt and domage he gettis his glorie; that thing quhilk is done agains them in malice, the Lord thairin is glorified. Weill then, I leirn be the exemple of Paull; gif sa be that my God is glorified in my hurt, gif he gets advantage be my damnage and skaith, then, understanding that glory redoundis to him be my suffering, and it were be my deith, I am bund to rejoice. "I rejoice (sayis the Apostle) and sal rejoice:" I am bund to rejoice, and thou is bund to rejoice still in glorifeing God to the end. Sa above all thingis the glorie of Christ suld be socht. Quhat reck of mee[1] and my schame, my hurt, and deith: quhat reck of thee,[2] thy schame, hurt, and deith, gif it redound to the glorie of him quha maid me, and thee for his glorie.

Now quhen he hes schawin his joy and mynd concerning thir twa sortis of men: In the nixt verse he cummis to the cause of his joy, in that the Lord was glorified in his hurt and domage. "For (sayis he) I knaw that this sall turn to my salvatioun," &c. That thing that is done to my hurt, it sall be sa changed and turned about, that against the expectatioun of men quha wald hurt mee, the Lord sall work out my salvatioun. Thair is the lessoun. Gif I can rejoice, and thou can rejoice, that the Lord gettis glory be thyne or mine skaith or hurt, we may be assured that our trouble sall be wonderfullie altered and changed: that quhilk was done to our hurt, sall turne to our salvatioun. The Apostle Paull sayis in the viii. chap. of the Epist. to the Rom. verse 28, "To them quha loves God al thingis cumis for the best." For gif the glorie of God be deir to thee, gif thou prefer his glorie above thy salvatioun, be assured thy life and salvatioun sall be deir to him: zea, thy salvation sal be deirer to him, nor his glorie can be to thee: for thou can not love him sa weill as he loves thee.

[1] What am I to be respected. [2] What art thou to be respected.

Moses in the buik of Exodus xxxii. 32, utteris ane wonderfull zeal to Goddis glorie, and sayis: "Or thou destroy this people, raze mee out of the buik of lyfe," that is, alluterlie[1] destroy mee. Bot quhat answere gets he? "Na, Moses, I had rather raze them out of my buik, quha hes sinned against mee." Paull cravis[2] that he may be ane anathema, Rom. ix. 3, and that for the zeall he bure[3] to the glorie of God. Bot Moses sall never be scraped out of the buik of God, becaus he loves Goddis glorie: Paull sal never be accursed becaus he loves Goddis glory. And gif thou will luik to his glorie, all that evill quhilk thou can wische to thee for his glorie, sall be turned to thy weil[4] and salvation: Then zee see thair is na thing that we can tyne[5] be seiking of Goddis glorie. Our damnage sall be ever turned to our advantage.

In the nixt part of the verse, and the verse following, is set doun the maner, and the ordinarie meanes quhairby the hurt and domage that the godlie sufferis for the glorie of God is turnit over to thair weil.[6] The Lord onlie is abill to turne it to thair weill. Quha is abil to turne darknes in licht, deith in life, ignominie in honour, bot he? It passis the cunning of all the creatures to make this wonderfull change. The Lord onlie is able to mak this change. And certainlie the schame, trouble, and affliction that the godlie suffers in this life, wald all be the beginning of hell, except that maist skilfull craftisman the Lord, come in, and maid this wonderfull alteratioun, and turned all thir thingis to thair advantage, except he turned deith to lyfe, ignominie to honour, and trouble to joy, the estait of the godlie in thair sufferings wer maist miserabill. Think not that thir things ar gude in themselfis: Na, deith is not gude in the self;[7] it is ane punischment for sinne, Rom. vi. 23. The Lord onlie makis the change, and makis deith to be the entrie to lyfe: bot the Lord dois all this be ordinar meinis and middis, and zit all the meinis quhilk he usis derogats nathing to his glorie, because they all cum of him, and he hes the glorie of all. Seing then in making of this

[1] Altogether. [2] Desireth. [3] Had. [4] Health. [5] Lose.
[6] Good. [7] Good of itself.

wonderfull change of darknes in licht, of deith in lyfe, of wo in joy, &c. thair mon[1] be ordinarie meinis, woe be to thee that contemnes the meinis: for gif thou doe it, the trouble sall lye still on thee quhill thou be troubled in hel. Seiknes sall be seiknes indeid to thee, deith sall be deith indeid, and the beginning of hell to thee.

Then let us tak up the meinis, as they ly heir in order. Ze have heard of ane alreadie, to wit, Rejoicing that God is glorified in trouble. Gif (as I have said) thou can have that hart and cair of his glorie, that thou can rejoice in thy trouble, that thy trouble glorifies him, be assured ane wonderfull alteratioun sal be maid of thy trouble. Trouble sall be na trouble, afflictioun sall be na afflictioun, deith sall be na deith. Onlie get mee[2] this desire of his glorie. Now followis the nixt mein. The Apostle sayis, "I am assured that this thing sall turne to my salvatioun throuch zour prayeris."

As the cair to the glorie of God is ane mein to mak this alteratioun, and to turne our troubles to our salvatioun: sa the cair and solitnes[3] of the bodie of the Kirk, the intercessioun and prayer that the godlie makis for us, that lyis in trouble, is ane other mein; for the praiers of the godlie for onie member of the bodie[4] hes ane wonderful effect. They will turn darkness unto licht, deith to lyfe, miserie to joy. Zit howbeit utheris have cair of thee lying in distresse, gif thou thyself contemne and dispyse thair cair, gif thou regaird nocht, howbeit nane pray for thee, and nane[5] mak intercessioun at Goddis handis for thee, thair sall be nae thing bot trouble to thee. Trouble sall ever abyde[6] trouble. Afflictioun sall ever abyde[7] afflictioun. And as thou contemnis and despysis the prayers of the Sainctis and the godlie for thee, sa thou sall ly still in miserie, and drowne in miserie at last. It is ane follie to ane man to think that his awin cair only for himself will doe[8] the turne, contemning and despysing the cair of al utheris for him: I cannot think that he[9] hes an spunk of godlines in him, that[10] wil contemne your cair of others. For it is certain the sufficiencie of grace is

[1] Must. [2] Thou. [3] Solicitude. [4] Of the body of the Church. [5] If thou regardest not whether they pray for thee or not, and nobody. [6] Shall always continue. [7] Shall always remain. [8] Serve. [9] That such a one. [10] Who.

not given to ane man or to ane woman onlie, bot to the haill members of the bodie. And thairfoir thair mon[1] be ane concurrence of the haill, all mon concur for thy weill[2] and salvatioun: for gif the hand will stand up and say to eie, to the mouth, to the fute, or to the rest of the members, cair for yourselfis; fute cair for thyself; womb cair for thyself, &c., I will cair for myself. Wer not this ane daft[3] hand? wald not this hand perische and wither? zea, it wald perische gif the mouth fed it not, gif the fute gaid not,[4] gif the womb received not sustenance to nourische it. Sa gif thou say to the rest of the members,[5] cair for zourselfis, I will cair for myself, thou sall die like ane drie member and be cut off, na salvatioun bot in the unioun of that blissed bodie of Christ quhilk is the Kirk. And nane ever zit come to hevin, bot be ane certaine concurrance of the rest of the members of the bodie, be praying, be preiching, be admonisching, exhorting and rebuking. Gif thou refuse this concurrance in teiching, admonisching and comforting thee, thou sall never get hevin. Paull, (Rom. viii. 28,) sayis, "We knaw all thingis workis togidder for the best to them that love God." Mark the force of the wordis, Gif thair be not ane working togidder for thy salvatioun, thou sall nocht cum to heaven.

Thir ar twa of the meinis quhairby trouble and damnage is turned to salvatioun: Zit thair is mae[6] of them, for he sayis, "And by the help of the Spreit of Jesus Christ." Thair is ane uther mein. As it is ane fault to ane member to refuse the help of the rest of the members of the bodie,[7] thair praier, thair intercessioun: sa it is als great ane fault, to leane sa on the cair of onie of the members of the body, of the kirk or of the ministerie, in preiching, praying, exhorting and comforting, that in the mein time thou have na cair of thy self, to get the Spreit and lyfe within thee, for Christis Spreit is thy life; thou will not pray for thy self, bot wil bid the Kirk and Ministery pray for thee, as gif that wer aneuch:[8] na, except that Spreit be within thee, (quhilk is the Spreit of Adoptioun)

[1] Must. [2] Good. [3] Foolish. [4] If the foot carried it not. [5] Even so if thou sayest to the rest of the members of the Church. [6] There are more. [7] Body of the Church. [8] Enough.

to mak intercessioun with sighis unspeikable at the hands of God, doun sall thou gang,[1] albeit that the Kirk and haill members thairof wald pleis[2] to hald thee up. Quhat gif the hand had na motioun, life, nor strenth in itself, wald the fute and the eie be able to hald it up? Na, gif the fute and eie wald preis[3] to hald it up, they suld rott with the hand, and behoved to be cut of. For quhairto servis ane rotten member? It will infect the haill bodie gif it be not cut aff. Sa gif thou be without Spreit and life within thy self, howbeit all the rest of the members of the bodie of the Kirk wald hald thair handis about thee to hald thee up, thou sall fal doun and die. Sa as ze wald have uthers cairing for zou, cair for zour self, and see that ze have the Spreit of God cairing for zou. Gif Moses, Abraham, and all uther faithfull men wald pray for zou it is nathing. Quhat gude did Samuel's praiers for Saull? The Lord stopped his mouth and forbad him to pray for him.

Thus ze have hard of three meinis quhairby this wonderfull change is maid. The first is the cair of God and his glory: the secund is the intercessioun of the rest of the members of the body: the thrid is the Sprit of Christ interceiding for us, and the cair quhilk we have of our selfis. We have neid of thir meinis. And certainly the day is approching that experience wil tel the truth of thir things. Paul, ane man ever afflicted, in truble and under danger, tellis of his awin experience quhat he fand. Bot ar thair zit onie mae meinis? Luik the verse that followis, "As (sayis he) I hartilie luik for and hope," &c. The word importis sic ane hope, as quhen ane man hes his heid raisit up, his eies oppin and bent awayting for ony thing attentivelie. We see quhen ane man luikis eirnestly for aneuther, his heid will be lifted up, his eies will be bent, luiking to that place quhairfra he suld cum; and gif he love him weill, he will look attentivelie, having baith hart and eies bended up with hope of his cumming. The like word in the 8th to the Rom. v. 19, is ascryved to the creatures. "They await with fervent desire quhen the sonnes of God sal be revealed." I sall mak the wordis mair plaine. "I hope," according to my attentive expectation,

[1] Go. [2] Prease, *i. e.*, press. [3] Strive.

"that in nathing I sall be aschamed," that is, that I sall never think schame of my master Jesus Christ; because that gif I think schame for onie thing quhilk I suffer for his cause, I think schame of himself. He sayis, "that in nathing I sall be aschamed." Thair is the negative, I will be aschamed in nathing. Bot quhat mair? "With all bauldnes of spreit I sal magnifie him in my body," not in my saull onlie, bot in my bodie[1] and that "quhidder it be in my life or in my deith." He castis in the argument of this assurance, "as in all tymes bygane ever to this hour I have magnified him in my bodie." Sa this bygane experience (wald he say) makes mee to be assured by hope, never to be eschamed of him, bot to glorifie him in life and deith. Then tak up the lessoun. Amang the rest of the meinis quhairby this change is maid of miserie to felicitie, of deith to life, and all thingis ar maid to serve to our salvatioun, hope is ane, and it is the fourt in number. Quhairin standis this hope? That in na afflictioun quhilk I suffer for Christ I will be aschamed, and sa schame the Lord. (For in suffering gif thou blusche, and think schame, thou schames him). Bot be the contrair in all thingis that I sall do, or suffer in this bodie, I sal do with courage, with confidence, and libertie; I sall suffer with courage, confidence, and liberty. And sa, in doing, in suffering in the bodie, I sall magnifie my Lord. Sa this is the point. Gif I glorifie him befoir men with courage and bauldness in my afflictioun, I may be assured he sall glorifie mee befoir his Father in hevin, (Mat. x. 32.) They that suffers with him sall ring[2] with him, (2 Tim. ii. 12.) Bot be the contrair, gif thou with blusscheing think schame of him and of his gospell, and of the afflictiounis of the gospel, gif thou schame him befoir the warld, he sall schame thee befoir his Father, (Mark viii. 38.) Sa this hope is na small mater, for gif thou have ane assured hope during thy haill life, thou sall magnifie Christ, quhatsaever fall out in life or deith, assure thy self all sall be turned to the glorie of God and thy salvation. All the troubles that sall be laid on thee in this warld sall be sa turned over, that they sall serve to thy weill[3] and consola-

[1] Body also. [2] Reign. [3] Good.

tioun. Bot gif this hope be away, gif thou ly sluggischlie, not having thy heid raised up, with closed eies, not luiking and hoping that thou sall glorifie thy Lord, not caring for his glorie, either in thy life, or in thy deith, all thy miserie that lichtis on thee sall abyde[1] miserie, and sall presse thee doun to everlasting damnatioun. Luik then how pretious this hope is? Leirne ane uther thing heir. Thair standis mekil[2] in thir twa, in scham and blusching, in confidence, libertie, and courage. I say to thee, that mair standis[3] in the consequentes of suffering and doing, nor standis[4] in the suffering and doing itself. I suppone[5] thow suffer the deith for Christis saik; gif thou be aschamed in suffering, and have not libertie and courage, thou sufferis not sa mekill[6] for Christ as for thy self, and thy deith is nathing els bot ane deith to thee, and thy suffering is nathing bot an suffering to the.[7] Evin sa doe quhat thou will doe to glorifie him, gif it be not done with liberty, freedom and courage, thou tynis[8] thy travell. Seing then that sa mekle standis in the disposition of the hart, let everie man luik that he prepair him self with courage and confidence, against the day of tryall, that with confidence in suffering he may magnifie God. Paull sayis to Timothie, (2 Tim. i. 8,) "Be not aschamed of Christ, nor of mee that is his captive." Think schame of nane that suffers for Christ, bot rather be thou pertaker of that afflictioun, to suffer with courage and confidence those thingis with them.

Zit mark ane uther thing heir. He sayis, "That he micht magnifie Christ in his bodie." He speikis not of the saul. And sa I observe, that of the very bodie, (let be of the saull) even of the verie bodily masse quhilk thou beiris about with the, ane great dewty is craved[9] for the glorifying of God and his Christ. Quhen thow art living in thy actiounis, quhen thou is deing in thy deith, it mon be ane instrument glorifieing God, quhen thou art ganging on[10] thy feit, it mon be ane instrument of his glory, quhen thou art lying in thy bed: zea, the Lord mon be glorified in it, quhen it is dissolved in[11]

[1] Remain. [2] Much. [3] There standeth more. [4] Than standeth. [5] Suppose. [6] Much. [7] Thyself. [8] Losest. [9] Required. [10] Going upon. [11] Into.

asches in the grave. I mark this against that vaine conceit of men, quha will say, quhat reck gif I keip[1] ane gude mind to GOD, let mee prostitute my bodie to harlatrie, gluttonie, and all vices: zit I will keip my saull to GOD. Na, either GOD will have all, or the Divell will have all. Away thow idolatour, quha will keip thy saull to GOD, and will bow thy knee to Baal, the Divell will get baith saull and bodie.

Paull sayis not that the Lord hes onlie coft[2] thy saul with ane price, bot that he hes coft[3] baith saull and bodie that they suld glorify God, 1. Cor. vi. 20. "Ze ar bocht with ane price, ze ar nocht zour awin." Fy filthie bodie, that will say, may I not do with my bodie as I pleis? Hes thou power to reif[4] it out of the handis of the Lord? The Lord hes the power of thy bodie, and in that last day thou shall be challenged with thift and sacriledge. And quhen he hes said, "ze are coft[5] with ane price," he subjoynes, "Glorifie God not in zour spreit onlie, bot also in zour bodies." Either he will have baith, or ellis nane. Trowis[6] thou to send thy saull to God, and thy bodie to the Devill? Na, either the Lord sall get baith, or baith sall gang to hel. Tak tent[7] how ze keip thir bodies, ze sall rander account of them. Thy bodie suld be the temple of the Halie Sprit, gif thou fyle[8] the sait of that halie ane, schame sall licht on thee. I mark heir. To assure himself of continuance that he sall continew in glorifying God in life, and deith, he takis ane argument fra his former experience, ever hitherto I have glorified God in my bodie, and I have ane steadfast hope that I sall continue, and that all the actiounis of my bodie sall glorify him: and quhen I am deid he sall be glorified in my bodie. It is gude then to begin weill and to have experience that thou hes served God weill in thy calling: "for experience bringis hope, and hope makis thee na wayis aschamed," (Rom. v. 4, 5.) And gif thou have experience that thou hes served God, and he hes bene with thee, and keepit thy bodie in puritie, thou may be assured to continue to the end. Nocht that our continuance stands in our

[1] What care I so I keep. [2] Bought. [3] Bought. [4] Reave. [5] Bought. [6] Thinkest. [7] Take heed. [8] Defile.

self, (na our continuance stands not in our selfis, for the best man that livis is not abil of himself to stand ane moment) bot our standing is in God, for gif he wald take his grace fra us, in ane moment we wald fal. It is the love that he beiris to us that haldis us up: be anis assured of that love of God towards thee, and then thou may be assured that thou sal glorifie God baith in life and deith.

Now in the next verse he sayis: "For Christ is to mee baith in life and deith advantage." He givis ane reasoun quhairfoir he said he wald magnifie God in his bodie, baith in life and deith. The reasoun is, becaus of the advantage he hes of him, Christ Jesus is advantage to him. And quhen? Not quhen I live onlie, (sayis he) bot in my deith also. Is it not gude reasoun that I sould glorify him baith in life and deith, in quhom I have advantage baith in life and deith. All men dois for advantage. Quhen ane man hes done and sufferit he wald have advantage. Quhen we honor the Prince or onie man, al is for advantage. Gif gaine moves to honour men, to serve them, quhair was thair ever sic ane gain and advantage as may be luikit for at the hands of Christ? gif gain will move thee, quhair will thou get it gif not in Christ? Wald thou have gaine and advantage for thy doing in thy life-time? he will give thee it.. Thou sall not doe ane turne[1] bot thou sall have thy hyre in thy hand. Wald thou have gain in thy deith? gif thou die for him, thou sall get als fair ane advantage as ever man gat. Indeid ane man will give thee gaine for honoring him in thy lifetime, bot quhen thou is lying in thy deid-bed,[2] can thou get advantage out of the hand of ane man? Suppose ane monarch wald give thee ane kingdom, quhat advantage is it to thee, gif thou live not to bruik it? Bot I tell zou plainlie, the Lord is greater advantage to us in deith nor[3] in life: and al this advantage quhilk we have of him in this life, is na thing in respect of that advantage quhilk we sall get in the life to cum. Paull in the thrid chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians, quhen he hes counted al his advantages, and numbered out all the prero-

[1] Deed. [2] Deathbed. [3] Than.

gatives quhilk he had in this warld, that he was ane Jew, ane Pharisie, his father ane Pharisie, of the trybe of Benjamin, nane sa zealous of the law as he, &c. monie advantages and greit prerogatives: bot fra time he cummis[1] to Christ, and gettis him, he sayis, "All is bot dung in respect of that excellent knawledge of that advantage of Jesus Christ." As I counted mekle (wald he say) of thir eirthlie advantages befoir I knew Christ, sa fra anis I gat[2] ane sicht of him, I counted them na thing bot dirt and dung. And thairefter he tellis out the advantages and gaine that he fand in Christ. "That (sayis he) I may be fund in him, that is, not having my awin richteousnes quhilk is of the law, bot that quhilk is throuch the faith of Christ, evin the richteousnesse quhilk is of God throw faith." Thair is the first advantage. Thou art justified befoir the tribunall of God. Quhat king can give thee that advantage, to set thee up as ane free man befoir the tribunall of God? And albeit thou had gottin all the advantages that kingis can give thee, gif thou get not this advantage to stand befoir that tribunal cled with Christ, thou sall gang to damnatioun. Then he eikis[3] to ane uther advantage. "That I may knaw him, and the vertue of his resurrectioun, and the fellowschip of his afflictiounis, and be maid conformabill unto his deith, gif be ony meinis I micht attein to the resurrectioun of the deid." Thair[4] the second advantage: thou art maid lyke him in haliness, and baith in suffering and in glorie thou art conformed to him. Weill is the man that can get this advantage to be glorified. Quhat reck of all advantages[5] that can cum to thee in this life, in respect of this advantage: that quhen thou is lying ane vyld[6] bodie in the grave, Christ sall tak thee up, and set thee in that glorie quhilk is prepared for the sonnes of God. Allace, gif men culd see the advantages quhilk ar in Christ. For all faillis for fault of sicht. Gif men gat bot ane blenk of Christ, they wald not give that sicht for all the kingdomes in the eirth: we want spirituall eies and senses. Thir spi-

[1] But after that he once cometh. [2] Even so, after that I once had gotten.
[3] Addeth. [4] There is. [5] What are all advantages to be counted of.
[6] Vile.

rituall advantages in Christ, ar sene onlie with ane spirituall eie: and for fault of that spiritual sicht, we see not the advantages quhilk ar in him. Thair is nathing we suld desire mair nor thir spirituall senses, quhairwith we may get ane sicht and foirtaist of thir thingis quhilk ar in Jesus Christ.

Now in the nixt verse taking occasioun of the wordis, that Christ was advantage to him baith in life and deith, he beginnis to doubt quhidder it were better for him to live or die, "And quhidder (sayis he) to live in the flesche wer profitabill for mee, or quhat to chuse I knaw not." I think I wald be deid to see my advantage quhilk I will get in deith, for my gaine quhilk I get living is nathing to that advantage quhilk I will get in deith. Bot I am straited quhidder to live in the flesche, or to gang[1] out of the bodie. Then he bringis in the reason, "It is better to mee to be lowsit and to be with Christ." I will be at him, zit he sayis, I am in doubt and not resolved, "Nevertheles to abyde[2] in the flesche is mair neidfull for zou." For albeit it be better to mee to be dead, zit quhen I luik to zou, it is worse for zou. Efter this doubting and reasoning he concludis, "I will live, then, and the Lord will keip me for zour weill."

Then, brethrein, I will mark heir ane or twa thingis, and sa I sall end. Ze see ane doubting in Paull, quhidder he sould live or die, quhilk distractis his minde. This doubting is commoun to monie. For quhylis we wald live, and uther quhylis we wald be deid. Bot luik to the cause that distracted Paullis minde, and maid him to doubt quhidder he suld desire to live or die. Sum men wald die becaus thair is na thing in this warld bot miserie: sum men wald die for another cause, because of seiknes, sum because of schame following sum offence, for the life is tedious to ane miserabill bodie, the lyfe quhilk suld be comfortabil, is tedious in distres. Bot how mony cummis to this point, To desire to be dissolved for the glory that is with Jesus, and sayis, Gif I wer away I wald get this advantage of glorie. Quha wald be away for the glorie of hevin, and advantage that is laid up thair? It is a rare grace to get this desire. Na questioun (think as ze will) infinite

[1] Go. [2] Remain.

joy, glorie, and passing advantage is in hevin. Again, sum men wald live, quhairfoir? becaus they are fresche, grene, and able men, they wald pas thair time zit: sum men wald live becaus they have wife and bairnis,[1] and wald cair for them, (I condemne not lawful cair) bot al this desire is vain. Quhair will thou get that man that wald live to help the pure Kirk[2] of Christ with his labor? How monie will cum on with this, to live onlie for the weill of the Kirk of Christ? I desire sic a pastour quha is minded to live, for the cair that he hes to leid monie be the hand to hevin, or he gang[3] away, that he may win monie sauls to Christ, that he may be the welcummer quhen he cummis thair him self: He is happie. It is the sicht of that hevinly glory that makis men to have this foirsaid desire. How mony seis that hevinly glory? Fy on us seing sic ane glorie laid up in hevin for us, that zit will not mak ane mein to get it: we perische for fault of sense: Thair is na laik of advantage in CHRIST, bot the laik is in mee and in thee, I have na desire of that glorie, thou hes na desire of that glorie, and sa we perische. Thairfoir get this sense of glorie in time, or ellis thy saull sall be rugged[4] out of thy bodie. Doe accordinglie. Wald thou have it sweitlie lowsed? Then get in time ane sense of this glorie. Wald thou have it rugged[5] out perforce? Then neglect the sense and sicht of this glorie.

Observe ane other thing of the cair of Paull. He counted nathing of all thir afflictions in respect of the cair quhilk he had of the Kirk of God. I wonder at this cair of his, considdering now our cairlesnesse. For gif ever cair was deid out of the hartis of men, it is now deid. Fairweill the cair of the Kirk of God in Scotland, for falt of the zeall of Goddis glorie, and the cair of the Kirk of God. I see this Land and the Kirk of God thairin decaying.

Learne ane uther thing of Paullis resolution. Zit he resolves to live, and that for the weill of the Kirk of Christ. Mark it. Thair is nane of us bot we suld desire to have the fruitioun of the glorie and joy that is in the face of Jesus: zit we quha may pro-

[1] Children. [2] Poor Church. [3] Ere he go. [4] Drawn. [5] Pulled.

feit in the Kirk of God in this lyfe, ar bund to desire to live for ane quhyle, that the Kirk may be helped.[1] The Lord accountis mair heichlie of this desire, then of ane desire that ane man hes to die, and to be with Jesus. The Lord counted[2] mair of Paullis living to help the Kirk, nor of his glorifying him in his deith. Trow[3] ze that Paull wald have lived sa lang except the Lord had sene him profitabill to his Kirk? And na questioun the Lord Jesus (knawing the miserie of this earth) wald have taken up his Apostles at his ascension with him, gif he had not loved the weill of his Kirk. Thair is na gude bodie bot the Lord wald have them with him: zit he lets them byde[4] heir in pain, that they may help the Kirk: utherwayis thair wald not be ane gude bodie left living in Scotland, he wald tak them all out[5] and glorifie them. Bot sa lang as he hes ane Kirk in Scotland, he will let gude men abyde,[6] and quhen he takis them away, woe be to them that abydis[7] behind: It is wonderful to see how the Lord will keip ane man be quhais[8] travels he will help his Kirk. All the warld will not get leif to hurt ane hair of his heid. Acts xii. Herode takis Peter and puttis him in preson, layis him betwixt twa souldiers, thinking to slay him the morne.[9] Bot the Lord be his angellis waikinnis him, and bringis him saif out, and zit he wist not quhat he wes doing. Paull and Peter wer wonderfully delyvered, sa lang as the Lord had to do with them; but quhen he had done his turne, and they fell in Nerois handis, thair is na mair din of them, they wer slane. Sa lang as the Lord hes ado with onie man, he will schaik hevin and eirth or[10] he perische. Weil, the cair of the Kirk of God is decaying in Scotland. Let us cry, Lord put the cair of this Kirk, and the cair of the members of the bodie of Christ in the hartis of men, that everie man may cair for the salvatioun of ane uther, and God may be glorified in them throuch his son Christ. To quhome, with the Father, and the Halie Gaist, be all prais, honour and glorie for ever. Amen.

1 Holpen. 2 Accounted. 3 Think. 4 Remain. 5 Away.
6 Continue. 7 Tarry. 8 By whose. 9 Execute him the next morning. 10 Ere.

THE ELLEVENTH SERMON.

ANE SERMON PREACHED ON THE THIRD CHAP. OF THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

3. For we our selfis wer in times past unwise, disobedient, deceived, serving the lustis and diverse pleisures, living in malitiousnes and envy, haitfull, and haiting one another.

4. Bot quhen the bountifulnes and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared,

5. Not be the warkis of richteousnes quhilk we had done, bot according to his mercie he saved us, by the wasching of the new birth, and the renewing of the Halie Gaist;

6. Quhilk he sched on us abundantlie, through Jesus Christ our Saviour;

7. That we, being justified be his grace, suld be maid heires according to the hope of eternall lyfe.

Gif we sall considder this Text (weilbeloved in Jesus Christ) we sall find in it three thingis. The first, the miserabill estait and conditioun of man quhairin he stude befoir he was callit to grace be Jesus Christ. The nixt is his mercifull deliverie fra that miserabill estait and conditioun. The last is the end of his mercifull deliverie: to wit, that he sould serve God all the dayis of his lyfe in all manner of thankfulness for sa mercifull ane deliverie. And seeing our communicating with the bodie and blude of the Lord approches, our preparatioun cannot stand in thre better thingis nor thir: First, in ane knawledge of our miserie befoir that we knew

God in Christ: Nixt, in ane knawledge of our merciful deliverie fra that miserabill estait: and Thirdlie, in ane dewtie toward God for our deliverie. We sall speik at this time of the first twa. Bot[1] to returne and to go throw the wordis, as the Lord will give the[2] grace. The occasioun of the setting doun this[3] first pairt, to wit, of our miserie befoir we knew Christ, is this. Immediatlie befoir, he hes exhorted Titus to use all kind of lenitie towardes them that wer not converted, not to deall with them in rigor, bot to deall with them in meiknes; he givis the reasoun: Luik quhat they ar now, even sic[4] were we befoir we were called, living in concupiscence, our myndis wes rebellious against God; thairfoir let us deal with them as we wald have been dealt with our selfis at that time. I mark heir first: That our miserabill estait that we stood in (befoir we wer called to this grace throw Jesus Christ) suld never be forzet.[5] The miserie of nature, quhairin we ar conceived and borne, and quhairin we live for ane time quhill we knaw Christ, suld never go out of our remembrance: quhen thow hes played the fuill ane time,[6] in sin, quhen thow hes played the harlot,[7] committed murther, oppressed thy neighbour, and quhen God hes called thee out of that miserabill conditioun, and made thee to knaw him in Christ, forzet never thy former miserie, forzet never that thou wes ane harlot, ane murtherer, ane oppressour,[8] &c. Sayis the Apostle to the Ephesians, that were Gentiles efter thair conversioun in Christ, "Forzet zour auld done deidis," sayis he sa? Na, bot he sayis "Remember that ze wer Gentiles." Brethren, it is true the estait of grace in Christ hes ane sweitnes with it, gif ane man or woman have an sense of it, but luik that the sweitness of it blunt[9] na sa thy taist, that in the mein tyme thou lose al sense of thy former misery. Keip thairfoir baith the miserie and the delyverie in thy minde, that thairby the true sense of Goddis mercie may be steired up in thy hart: for nane hes the true sense of the mercie of God in Christ, except he onlie that sichis for the misery quhilk we lay[10] in befoir.

[1] Now. [2] Us. [3] Of this. [4] Such. [5] Forgotten. [6] Awhile. [7] Followed harlotry. [8] Forget never that thou hast followed filthiness, murdered, oppressed. [9] Misrelish. [10] Did lie.

This is the first: Another thing I mark heir. This same remembrance of our miserie, it suld mak everie ane of us that standis in grace to have ane compassioun upon sinners: quhairever thou sees them, labour to winne them, bot with pitie; and let be thy bitternes—Ane man that hes na pitie, bot is full of bitternes against ane sinner, that man hes forzet that he was ane sinner of befoir: Thair is na man sa cleane, but thair is ane remanent[1] corruptioun in him, albeit he sees it not. They that hes the true zeale of God they will indeid be severir against sinners. Quhy not? bot they begin ay[2] at them selfis, and then reprovis otheris. Hypocritis begins not at themselfis, bot they hyde and cloik thair awin sinnis, and ar ay[2] severir against utheris. Bot the man that begins at himself, his severity is ay mingled[3] with pitie. Bot to cum neir[4] the wordis. "We was sic as they ar now:" we wer wod[5] and out of our richt wit: we wer beside ourself. Thair is the first part of our miserie in nature, for we wer all miserabill be nature: thair is never saull[6] bot it is born miserabil be nature.

Ye see then, Brethren, our miserie begins not at our bodie: (thair ar monie quha, gif they have thair bodie weil disposit, ar at eis then, bot gif it be not weil disposit, they are hevilie displeisit, then they grain and sigh) na, our misery begins not at our bodie, it begins within us at our saullis, and not at the inferiour parts of the saul, bot at the mind quhilk is the maist excellent part and licht of our saullis, and that suld gyde all the rest of the powers of the saull. Now the seiknes of it is madnes, it is blind, ignorant, without judgement, and we are mad fuillis be nature. Thair is na man born in the eirth, bot he is born ane fuill, thou art born ane wod[5] bodie, and by[7] thyself. Thou will think thyself verie wise, and thy wit will compas hevin and eirth, zea and others that luikis to thee wil think thee wise, bot gif thou have na mair nor nature thow art ane fuill. As he is ane fuill in verie deid, quha thinkis he speikis ay[2] ane oracle, euin sa art thou, that is not in Christ, and counts thyself wise; the wiser thou thinkis thyself, thou art the mair and the

[1] Remaining. [2] Always. [3] Aye mixed. [4] Near to. [5] Mad. [6] There is not one soul. [7] Beside.

mair ane fuil. Al this is to let men see, that nane is wise without God. For quhen the licht of God is not in thee, all that thou dois is fulischness, and he that is wise without God, sall curse his wisdome ane day, and say, that all was bot madnes: zea and all the monarches in the warld sall curse that wisdome quhilk they had without God. This naturall seiknes gois farther doun, it descendis to the hart, it abydis[1] not in the minde: bot nixt we becum main rebellis against God, he that is wod,[2] he is set to rebell, and he is backward,[3] ever inclyning to disobedience against God. Brethren, ze knaw thair is twa sortis of fuilis amangst men: sum fuilis ar sillie daft fuilis,[4] other fuilis ar malitious fuilis: be nature we ar all borne fuillis, bot malitious fuilis, ay[5] rebelling, and displeasing God. Gif we compair thir twa sorts of fuilis togidder the second is worst. Lord save us fra ane rebellious heart: for I tell thee, the mind is not sa blinded, bot it hes sum sicht of God: bot the hart of man efter the fall is altogether inclyned to rebellioun, sa that gif thair be a spunk of licht left in nature, it will travell by all means to put in the finger in the eie of the mind and put it out. And thairfoir travell to reforme thy hart, for gif it be not reformed, it sall ay[5] carie thee the wrang gait.[6]

Sa thair is twa pairts of the miserie of man. Now cummis on the thrid pairt. Thy miserie ends not heir, mark, and travell to find this in experience, (fy on us gif we ken[7] not ourselfis, for gif we knaw not ourselfis we sall never knaw God aricht.) The thrid part standis in actiounis, for the wod[2] and rebellious hart mon breek out in sum actiounis. Can ane wod[2] and rebellious bodie be idle? He callis our warkis tavering,[8] going out of the way. Can ane wod[2] man keip the hie gait?[9] Na, bot ay he mon go[10] to ane side or other. Na mair can we be nature ga fordward in the richt way: for be nature we ar wod,[2] froward, and disobedient. It is true, naturall men will doe thingis that are richt in themselfis, bot never[11] man sal do that quhilk is gude in the[12] self richtlie, that hes

[1] Tarrieth. [2] Mad. [3] Forward. [4] Silly simple fools. [5] Evermore. [6] Way. [7] Know. [8] Wavering. [9] High way. [10] But evermore he goeth. [11] No. [12] It.

that rebellioun in his hart: for we do nathing richtlie bot quhen our eie is upon God. Albeit the action wer never sa gude, gif thou seik not God in it, it is not done richtlie. Thou may weill doe it to pleis the eies of men, and thou may get thankis at the hand of men for it, bot thou sall get nane at Goddis handis: sa gif thou wald be accepted of God, and wald have the actioun of thy handis to pleis God, first luik that thy actioun be gude, and then luik to God in thy action. Then thair ar three pairts of misery of the naturall man: first wodnes[1] in the minde, secundlie malitiousnes in the hart, thridlie his actiounis ar taverings,[2] all wandring out of the way. To go fordward: He descryvis this wavering, and he callis it serving; it standis in slaverie, his haill lifetime is bot ane service and slavery. The natural man, gif he have na mair bot nature, he is ane slave and servand coft[3] and sauld, for Paul sayis, "he is sauld to be subject to sinne," Rom. vii. 15. Suppose he wer the monarche of the haill eirth, gif he be without the new man, he is ane slave. It is true, he will have monie servandis under him, bot he is the first and chief slave himself, zea, he is a greiter servand nor the very cuik lad,[4] and the maist abject servand in his house. Bot to quhom is this service done? To quhom ar we slaves? In plain talk he sayis, to concupiscences. He callis them pleisures, bot fy on them, howbeit they ar sweit thingis they have anc sour end. Harlatrie is sweit for ane time, bot O that bitternes in the end. It is sweit to murther, bot O that bitternesse that it sal bring with it in[5] end, it sal be bitterer nor the verie gall. Paull makis mentioun heir of ane varietie and diversitie of lustes. Thou that servis thy awin lustis, art nocht subject to ane maister onlie, bot to ane hundreth; thou art subject to monie unclein maisters of divers qualities. Brethren ar thir our maisters? Fy upon them, the service done to them, it is ane vyle service. Thou that is ane Lord, quhen thou luiks to thy cuik lad,[4] thow will think his service vile; bot fy upon thee, thou art ane greiter slave, he is a honest servand, bot thou art ane slave: for thy service is done to thy filthie pleasures, thair is ane varietie of them, and sa thow hes

1 Madness. 2 Waverings. 3 Bought. 4 Kitchen boy. 5 In the.

monie maisters quhom thou servis. And thairfoir ze will see thir men that servis thair lustis, the trakedest bodies that livis,[1] even as gif they wer drawin throw an myre, for the onlie true and clean service, is the service of that onlie ane God; the only repose of thy saul is on that ane God. Thair is na rest bot on him. Away with that creature that drinkis in the foull lusts of this eirth, that is na rest to him heir, and woe to that rest that sall cum in the end. Sa thair ar the maisters quhilk we serve, foull concupiscencis, fleschlie lustis. It may be speired,[2] Will ane persoun be subject to sic ane greit varietie of concupiscencis? I answere, the seid of every sinne in the warld is in everie man: sa al concupiscencis is in thee, becaus the seid of them is within thee: Na, the best men in the eirth hes the seid of thir lustis, that buddis out into actiounis. It will lurke for ane time in the winter, bot in the spring it will brek out, and then thow will knaw thou hes it, quhen thou feillis the stink of it. Sa thair is the first answere, the seid of everie sin is in the hart of everie man, in sic sort that it wil gar[3] thee owg[4] at it, gif thou saw it; bot allace, it is hid fra our eies that we can not see it, and thairfoir we skunner not with it.[5] Again in sum men and wemen that seid of all lustis, will brek out in actions. Ane man that is ane harlot[6] wil be ane drunkard also, ane avaritious man will be ambitious also, &c. It is ane mervell to see how monie sins will be ringing[7] in ane miserabill slave, and to see how that slave will be harled[8] fra ane sin to another. Fy on thee, will thou never get thy fill of sinne? thou sall anis be filled with wraith, and then thou sall skunner[9] at thy sins. For albeit thair wer na mair bot ane sin in thee, it is enouch to gar thee gang[10] to hell.

Now to gang[11] fordward. He numbers out sum of thir concupiscencis, and the first is malice, maliciousness in the hart agains our neighbour. Then cummis in hir twa dochters, envie and hatred. Quhen thou art wa[12] at thy neighbouris weil, and can not

1 Those men who serve their own lusts to be the weariest bodies that ever lived. 2 Asked. 3 Make. 4 Loathe. 5 And therefore we loathe it not. 6 A man that followeth harlotry. 7 Reigning. 8 Hurried. 9 Loathe. 10 Cause thee to go. 11 Go. 12 Sorry.

se him thrive, then thou wil hait him. Thair ar three particulars, and they are als monie pleisures to them that servis them: he that hes malice thinkis him[1] never weill bot quhen thair is malice in his hart: thairon cummis envie, and the envious hart is never weil, bot quhen it speikis evill of the[2] neighbour, for that is meit and drink to it: he that hes hatred is never weil bot quhen he haitis thy[3] neighbour, and that is his meit and drink. Now I sal draw thir concupiscences to certain ranks. Thair ar sum of them against God, sum against our neighbour, and sum against ourself, amangs the quhilk is intemperancie. Fy on thee, O Epicurian, thou sinnis againis thy self. Now the Apostle in setting doun thir concupiscencis makis a choise of the concupiscencis against our neighbour, for gif we be malitious agains him, we ar malitious against God. Quhasaever is enemie to man, he is also enemie to God. Now thair is na harmonie amang men, that ar onlie naturall: for without God in Christ, na[4] true love, na true concord. Put ane man and ane woman togidder without God, wil thair be ony concord thair? Na, na: for the dewties of the first Table ar requisite for the discharge of the dewties of the second Table, and mon preceid them: how can thou love thy wife or thy bairnis[5] without God? Na, na[6] true love, and the end sall prove it to have bene bot hatred onlie. In the end of the verse he settis down twa sortis of hatrentis,[7] he sayis, "haitfull," that is, he that suffers hatred: then he subjoins, "haiting ane aneuther;" we ar odious to utheris, then againe we hait uthers. Alwayis mark ane meiting heir. Trowis[8] thou to hait, and not to be haited againe? It is bot the just judgment of God that as thou envyis and haitis, thou also be hated and envied. Quhat harmonie can be heir quhen thou haitis mee, and I thee? Nane true concord, bot all is louse. Thair is na conjunctioun bot that quhilk is in Christ Jesus. Quhen this conjunction is not amangs men, away with all uther conjunctions.

This is schortlie the miserabil estait quharin we stude be nature, befoir the participatioun of mercy in Christ. Now I cum to the

[1] Thinketh himself. [2] His [3] His. [4] There is no. [5] Children.
[6] No, there is no. [7] Hatreds. [8] Thinkest.

uther estait. Ane alteratioun mon be maid, or ellis we ar gane: For quhat can cum of ane body gif he die wodnes?[1] Now luik how we are delivered? "Bot (sayis he) efter that the bountifulness and love of God our Saviour appearit." Thair is the way how our mercifull delyvery cummis on. Ze reid not ane word heir that man lying in misery, begoud[2] to finde out ane deliverie him self. Ze reid not that the wod[3] man of him selfe begins to tak up him self: he sayis not, Then we tuik up our selfis. Na, na: we wald have lyin lang or[4] we had takin up our selfis. Then the natural man waltering and wallowing in sinne, and drinking in the foull pleisures thairof, he will never tak up him self, and let him goe on, and[5] he suld live ten thousand zeiris he will never be the better, bot ay[6] worse and worse. Can ane man that is deid naturallie, think of ony life to himself, to rise up and stand again? Not sic ane thing, he can not sa meikill as anis mint[7] to rise up. Now, Brethren, we ar all black deid spirituallie, be nature thair is not ane spunk of that hevinlie life in us, na mair nor in ane dead bodie, that is deid naturally, thair is a spunk of natural life: and we ar not half deid onlie, bot ar haill deid. Can a naturall man anis think of ane spirituall lyfe? Na, and thairfoir Paul sayis, Eph. ii. 31. "Quhen we wer deid in our sinnis, we wer quickned be Christ," meining that we had na power in our self to ryse again. Gif it be sa then, quhen I see ane wicked man (that hes bene serving his foul lustis all his lifetime) tak up him self, I will not say that that man tuik up him self, I wil say, thair is ane deid man rissin to life. I wil speir at[8] thee, In the beginning of the creatioun, thocht thow of thy creatioun, minted[9] thou to think of it? Na, na mair thocht thou of thy regeneratioun: thou thocht als littill of thy second creation, as thou thocht of thy first creatioun. And thairfoir it is weil said, "He created thee without thee." And as he created thee without thee, sa he redemit thee without thee. Dar thou say, that thou gave counsall to thy redemptioun, and

1 For what can become of a body that dieth in madness? 2 Began. 3 Mad. 4 Lain long ere. 5 If. 6 Still. 7 He cannot so much as once think. 8 Ask of. 9 Desiredst.

thocht of it quhen God redemed thee. Then how cummis this wark on? We ar prevented,[1] sum thing appeiris that was hid: thair wes ane thing lang hid, and now it begins to schyne. And quhat was this bountifulnes and love to mankind? it was hid, and brekis out. And quha is it that is bountiful? is this ony man's bountifulness? Na, it is the bountifulness of God: and this quickning love is God's, and that toward man. And quhat God is this? He callis him God our Saviour. For God is considered twa wayis, as ane Creator, and as ane Saviour. It is the love of him as ane Saviour that is schawin[2] to thee in thy redemptioun. And quhen was this love reveiled? quhen Jesus Christ come in[3] the warld, and tuik on him[4] our nature, then this love brak out toward man. He loved him fra all eternity, bot it brak not out quhil then. Mark then. It is the love of God that saves, it is Goddis bountifulnes that savis, our deliverie behoved to proceid of ane wonderfull bountifulnes in God, quhairof the ground is love. Gif he had not loved thee, he wald not have delivered thee. Then it is not ane common love quhilk he beiris towardis us, bot thair is ane speciall love in God to mankind; he lovis not thir hevins, thir starnis[5] sa weil as he dois men. Na he communicats not the thousand pairt of those thingis that he communicatis to man, either to the hevins or to the starnis.[5] Then it is not the love of God the Creator that dois this, and is the grund of this bountifulnes and of our life in him, bot it is ane special kind of love. It is that love that proceidis of God the Saviour. It is not the love of ane Creator, bot of ane Father, not to the creature, bot to the Son. God loves his Sonne better nor he dois his creature; he loves us as his sonnes. Gif thair wer na farther love of God bot as he is ane Creator, thou durst never cry "Abba, father," and except the Spreit sched abreid in our harts that love he beiris to us, for al the warld thou durst not face him.[6] The time is set doun quhen he hes saved us, quhen his singular love appeared in the warld, "he saved us, being manifested in the flesche." Then it followis we wer lost, tint,

1 *i. e.* The operation of the Spirit *comes first to us.* 2 Shewed. 3 Into.
4 And took upon him. 5 Stars. 6 Thou durst not appear before him.

and gane,[1] quhen God of his love pat to his hand and saved us, we wer out of our richt wit, rebellis to God, wavering and vaging[2] out of the richt way, slavis to our awin lustis. Quhom count ze tint,[3] gif thir be not tint?[3] I will never count of a deboschit body[4] given ovir to filthines, to harlatrie, given over to murther, given over to oppression and to mischief; I will never count of him bot as ane mad, tint,[5] and lost bodie: quhen he is walking abroad and moving in the warld, he is bot ane deid carcas, and gif he cum to God again in mercy, it may be said, thair is ane deid body turnit to life. Was thou an harlot,[6] repentis thou? Thou was deid[7] in sin, bot now thou art alife. The lost chylde quhen he had spended his bairns part of geir, and repented, and come hame to his father agane,[8] his father sayis, "he that was deade is living agane," Luke xv. 24. Sa in a word we war lost men. Trowis thou thou[9] ar not loist quhen thou can braith? And thinks thou ane man not dead gif he can gang upon the gait?[10] Thinkis thou thy selfe very weill gif thou have thir vitall motions in thee? O bot suppois thou had all the naturall lives in the warld, gif thou be gevin over to thy awin affections, and leaves not off thy auld sinnes and iniquities, thou art ane dead and wood[11] body. Begoud[12] than that love towards man onely to appeir quhen Christ came in[13] the warld? I answere; the love of God the Father appeirit and kythit the selfe[14] in some measure to the godly, even befoir Christ came in[13] the warld, God forbid bot this love had kythit the selfe[15] upon Abraham and the rest of the godly befoir the incarnatioun of our Saviour. Bot at the comming of Christ it kythit the selfe[16] mair brichtly nor ever it did befoir; for all his love of befoir was in Christ to come; bot now since he came in[13] the warlde, the love of God towards mankinde hes kythit the selfe[17] in greater abound-

[1] We were lost and gone. [2] Vagabonding, *i. e.* wandering. [3] Lost. [4] Reprobate person. [5] Desperate. [6] Hast thou followed harlotry? [7] Thou hast been dead. [8] The lost son, when he had spended his child's part of goods, yet he repented and came home to his father's again. [9] Thinkest thou that thou. [10] If he can walk upon the street. [11] Mad. [12] Began. [13] Into. [14] Manifested itself. [15] Been apparent. [16] It manifested itself. [17] Hath appeared.

ance. The Lord grant us ane apprehensioun and sight of this love, that at the least we may strive to love him agane, quha hes loved us sa deirlie in his sonne Jesus Christ.

Now he schaws be quhat meinis this our salvatioun is procured at the handis of God, he tellis zou be quhat meinis we ar not saved. "Not (sayis he) be the warkis of richteousnes quhilk we had done;" the meinis be the quhilk we ar not saved, is our awin just warkis, thou art not saved be thy just warkis. Leane to them as thou will, I will promeis thee in the name of that greit God, they sal never save thee. Can ane man that is wod[1] and rebel to God, and ane slave to his awin lustis, doe sic warkis as may procure salvatioun? "Bot sic wer we," (sayis the Apostle,) thairfoir we can deserve na thing be our warkis. Fy on thee Papist, with thy meritis: fy on the warkis of preparation, can ane wod[1] man prepair him self for grace? Na sic thing. I tell zou, quhen God pat to his hand to our salvatioun, he fand na matter in us of our salvatioun, bot damnation. Quhen God beginnis to love, he findis na mater of love in us, bot of hatred. And this commendis the greatnes of his love towardis us, quhen he seis na thing in us bot mater of damnation, zit he of his fre grace and mercy lovis us and savis us, Rom. v. 8. This settis out his love heichlie towardis us, quhen that we wer sinners he sent Christ to die for us. Thairfoir seik not thy salvatioun, neither befoir thou be in Christ nor efter thou art in him be the merite of warkis, for thou sall never get it that way, bot thou sal ay[2] be the farther fra it the mair thou seikis it be that mein. Then gif gude warks be not the mein, quhat is the mein? The Apostle sayis, "He hes saved us according to his mercie." Thir ar plat contrair,[3] the mercie of God, and the merite of man. Gif thou be savit be the mercie of God, then na merite, because thy merite is not abil to save thee. The first fountane of our salvation is love, efter love cummis on mercie, then pitie and compassioun in his mercie presupponis miserie. Mercie is schawin to the miserabill creature. God seing us miserabill, wod,[1] rebellis, following our awin crukit affectiounis, beginnis to be pitiful and to have

[1] Mad. [2] Still. [3] These are flat contrary.

compassioun of us. Ze ken[1] mercie and pitie followis upon love. For quhen we love ane bodie[2] and seis him in miserie, then we have pitie upon him; gif thou hait him suppois he wer in never sa great miserie thou will not pitie him. Then God seing us wrapped in sinne and miserie, he hes pitie upon us, quhilk pitie proceidis of love, and with love and pitie concurris his power. We will love ane and see him ly in miserie, quhen it will pas our power to releave him, bot Goddis power is ever[3] effectual to deliver all them quha is subject to miserie, gif anis he extend his love and compassioun towardis them. Then the cause of our salvation is in God onlie, and na pairt in man quha is saved. The first cause is the love of God, quhilk is the fountaine: the next cause is mercie, for or[4] ever this warld was created, God of his mercie tuik ane purpose to save us. The Apostle sayis, Eph. i. 4. "He purposed of himself, he saw nathing in us quhairfoir he suld tak purpose to save us." And quhen he cummis on to the executioun of that eternall purpose of our salvatioun, thair is na thing in us, bot all is in himself, for he is all-sufficient himself, and nathing is without him. The end quhairfoir he died all of himself, without us, was to the prais of the glory of his grace, Ephes. i. 6, that thairby the haill glorie of our salvatioun micht redound to him onlie, becaus the caus is onlie in him. Thou that takis ane[5] pairt in it, and attributs it to thy self, thou spulzies[6] God of his glorie. Either give him all the glorie of this actioun, or tak it all to thyself: this glorie is over[7] heavie for thee, gif thou tak it on thee, it will presse thee to everlasting damnatioun. Then thair is the mein of our salvatioun, the mercie of God. Nixt he layis out the pairtis of our salvatioun abreid, ane be ane, that ze may see quhat salvatioun meinis. He sayis, "Throuch the lavver or washing of our the new birth, or regeneration of the Halie Gaist."[8] Thair is the first pairt. It is ane wasching of us, quhen God puttis to his hand to save us. Ze knaw wesching presupponis foulnes: thairfoir it mon follow quhen God begoud[9] to save us, we wer uncleane, full of bylis and botchis,

[1] Know. [2] Any one. [3] Always. [4] Ere. [5] Any. [6] Spoilest. [7] Too.
[8] By the washing of the new birth, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost. [9] Began.

conceaved and born in filthines, and then worbling[1] and waltering in our awin sinne and filthiness, and ever the langer we live we ar ay[2] the filthier. It is ane mervell that that halie God suld ever sustain to luik to thy filthe,[3] or to put his halie and pure hand to thy vyle botches, or to send doun his clein Spreit to dwel in thy unclean hart, or that ony wayis his puritie suld mell[4] with thy impuritie. Amang all the arguments of his love this is ane, quhen he puts to his fair hand to thee that is sa foull. Findis thou thy sinnis pardoned, and thyself purged and wasched? assure thyself thou art saif, and God hes loved thee. For except the love of God had bene al the greater towardis thee, he wald never have purged thee fra thy sinnis. It is ane sure takin[5] of his love towardis thee, that it is infinite and exceding, that he hes not skunnerit at thee, at thy worsum bylis, and botchis.[6] I see heir twa waschingis, ane outward, ane uther inward; the first in thir wordis, "the lavver of regeneratioun," the nixt, "the renewing of the Halie Spreit." The first is our baptisme, the nixt the inward wasching and renewing be the Halie Spreit, represented be this outward baptisme. As the water waschis away the filth fra the bodie, sa the Halie Spreit purgis and waschis the hairt fra sinne, I will speik bot this far schortlie of Baptisme. The outward wasching in baptisme is not to be luikit to lichtlie, the pouring on of the water is bot ane base signe to luik to: zit it is not ane bair signe of the wasching of the Halie Spreit: Bot it is the instrument that God taks in his hand, and quhairby he applyis to us the inward wasching of the Haly Spreit; Col. ii. 12; Rom. vi. 4; he ascryvis our regeneratioun to baptisme. We be baptisme ar buried with Christ, risen with Christ, and gif this mean be contemnit, thair sall be na regeneration. Gif ane man lichtlie this baptisme, I affirme thair sall be na renewing inwardlie be the Halie Spreit: and gif he be not renewit, he sall never be saved: for without regeneratioun, na salvatioun. Ze see (2 Kings v. 10) quhat was injoyned to Naa-

[1] Warbling. The word means to wriggle like a worm. Jamieson gives *warble* and *wrabil*. [2] Still. [3] Filthy boils. [4] Should meddle. [5] Token. [6] That he hath not loathed thee, and thy filthy boils and botches.

man the Syrian, quhen he socht clenging,[1] the Prophet bade him gang[2] to Jordan and wasche him seven times. Bot he thocht with himself, quhat is this? Ar not thair fair rivers at hame at Damascus? Zea, he wald not gang quhil he tuke better counsaill, bot sa sune as he went, and waschit himself seven times, he was clengit.[3] Even sa it is in Baptisme: gif ane man contemne the outward washing, he sall never be cleansed by the Spreit. This same is also true of the sacrament of the Supper. Count not, thairfoir, littil of the sacraments, because God hes promised to give himself with the sacrament gif it be richtlie received. Now luik how lang our regeneratioun is in working in this life, the force of baptisme continewis als lang: thou mon be continually renewed till thy last braith. Thairfoir the force of baptism mon last with the to thy last braith. It is a vanity to think that the force of baptisme standis in the ministratioun of the actioun onlie: na, it leiffis us never fra time we receive it,[4] till we be placed with Jesus Christ. Have thy eie ay on[5] baptisme, for it is ane mein quhairby the Lord will save thee. Farther, brethren, he beginnis heir at regeneratioun: ze may see then the necessitie of regenerationn. Wald thou be saif? luik that thair be ane new birth; luik that thou be borne over againe, as Christ said to Nicodemus, John iii. 3; "Verilie I say to you, except ane man be borne again he cannot see the kingdome of God." Gif thou be not an new creature you are not in Christ, bot outwith[6] Christ, and outwith[6] Jesus Christ na salvation. Ze see men wald begyle themselfis, and they will say quhen ze speir[7] at them, quhidder they will gang[8] to hevin or not: they will answere, we will ga to hevin, and zit, in the mein time they will hald on the auld man, and will never change their maners, bot that vain opinioun will deceive them, 2 Cor. vi. 9. "Be not begyled, for na fornicators, adulterers, manslayers,[9] drunkardis sall inherite the kingdome of hevin." Gif thou hald on the auld man, thou sall never be saif, Jesus Christ mon beget thee anew againe, or[10] thou sall never

1 Cleansing. 2 Go. 3 Cleansed. 4 After we have once received it.
5 Have thine eye still upon. 6 Without. 7 Ask. 8 Go. 9 Murderers.
10 Or else.

enter within the zettis[1] of hevin. Now quhen he hes spoken of this inward and outward wasching, he insistis in this point concerning the Spreit, and declaris quhom fra[2] this Spreit cummis, "quhilk he sched on us abundantlie throw Jesus Christ our Saviour." We have him not our selfis, he that waschis us is he that pouris on the precious lavver of the Spreit, quhairby we ar waschin. Then the Spreit is fra God. Is that Spreit fra the Father immediatelie? Na, he powris him in throuch Jesus Christ our Saviour: sa immediatlie this Spreit cummis fra Jesus Christ, bot mediatelie fra God as the fountane: he cummis fra the Father to the Sonne, fra the Sonne to us, John xv. 26. The cause of this ordour[3] is this; he is our Saviour and hes coft[4] us with ane deir price; the Spreit is coft[4] to us be the blude of Jesus Christ; his blude hes coft[4] all quhilk we receive and get be him; sa he givis his Halie Spreit with al his graces be the hand of Jesus Christ the man. Then gif ye wald have the Spreit, dresse zour selfis to that treasure in hevin, and crave that God wald zett on that Spreit on zou[5] throuch Jesus Christ, and give zou his grace be the hand of the man Christ.

Zit to oppin up the words mair narrowlie, "Quhome he powris out," &c. He speikis of the Spreit as it wer of water: the Spreit heir is compared to water, becaus of the wasching, for as the ane waschis the filth of the bodie sa the uther waschis the filth of the saull. He is not content to say, he powris out the Spreit simplie, bot he sayis, "abundantlie," in ane great measure, as ane flude in abundance. This teichis twa things to us, first the liberalitie of God. He gives not grace niggardlie as men, bot quhat ever we get it is in abundance; his love is riche, his mercie is riche, the Spreit quhilk he givis us[6] is riche, sa he is liberall to us. Then it followis of this also, that we ar verie foull and unclein. Ane claith verie foul wil crave mekill water, and great wasching; sa we mon[7] have aboundance of grace, becaus we wer sa foull throuch sinne; bot suppose we ar never sa foull, ex-

1 Gates. 2 From whom. 3 Order. 4 Bought. 5 And beseech God that he would vouchsafe to send that Spirit upon you. 6 He giveth unto us. 7 A cloth that is very foul will require much water and washing; even so we must.

cept we get ane sicht of our filthines, we will never desire to be waschin, Psalm li. quhen David felt himself verie filthie in murther and adulterie, he cryed, "Wasche mee, O Lord, and make mee clein."

Quhen ane bodie cummis to ane remorse of conscience, it is ane wonder to se how ane man[1] will drink in that Spreit, and desire to be satiat with that water. Ane foul bodie that hes not the sense of his filthiness, will never cry for wasching. The murtherer and harlot will never cry Lord wasche mee, unlesse they get ane sicht of thair awin[2] uncleinnesse. "Blissed ar they that thirstis for richteousnes: for they sal be filled," Mat. v. 6. Thair may be moved ane questioun heir. How is it said that the Spreit is zet[3] out sa aboundantlie, how monie feillis this richnes? Will ane man or ane woman discend in thair selfis, they will find greit inlaik and scaircenes[4] of this Spreit. Brethren, I answer, Ane drop of the Spreit of Jesus Christ is counted greit riches: ane drop of grace is great riches, ane drop of the water of lyfe is greater riches nor all the water in the warld. It will wey doun all the precious thingis that ar upon the face of the eirth. Thou that hes gottin ane drop of grace in Jesus Christ, thou ar richer than al the kings in the warld. Mairover, gif this drop of grace culd be dryed up in the hartis of the regenerat, it wer les to be counted of, bot thair is ever[5] drop efter drop, and na[6] end of dropping. Continually thou art refresched now and then with new droppis of grace, sa lang as thou livis. Sa this continuance in dropping is ane greit riches: thou hes na caus to complein that hes this continuance. Weill is the saul that gets drop efter drop, for that saull may say it hes gottin greit riches.

This mekill[7] for the first part of our salvatioun called Regeneratioun: quhen God puts to his hand to save us, he puttis to his hand and wasches us inwardly, and outwardlie, and gives us his Spreit. Now followis the nixt pairt, "That being justified be grace, we may be made heires according to the hope

1 How he. 2 Own. 3 Poured. 4 They will find great lack and scarcity. 5 Still. 6 None. 7 Thus much.

of lyfe everlasting." The nixt pairt standis in Justificatioun. I will not insist; I sal touche it in ane word. It is na uther thing bot the imputing of the richteousnesse of Jesus Christ to[1] us. This richteousnes is not inherent in us, bot the satisfaction of Jesus Christ is impute to us. This justificatioun in effect is na thing uther,[2] bot forgivenes of sinnes, quhen God forgives thee thy sins, and accounts Christ's richteousnes to be thine, and layis not thy sinne to thy charge. All is ane thing. Justification is not this that men dreamis,[3] to wit, ane richteousnes inherent in our selfis, bot it is ane uther man's justice quhilk be imputatioun is maid ouris. Compair thir twa togidder, justificatioun and regeneratioun, and considder the naturall ordour[4] of them, justificatioun is first. Ane man is justified be the blud of Jesus Christ imputed to him, or[5] ever he be regenerate be the Spreit. The Spreit that waschis him in regeneratioun cummis throuch the blude: the blude is first, and than cummis in regeneratioun, and waschis away the mother sinne, and the foull stinking corruption that is in thee: and baith[6] thy justification and regeneration cummis of free grace, without meritis: for thir twa ar ever opponed, grace, and merit:[7] preise not to mingle[8] thir twa, to give God ane pairt, and to attribute ane uther pairt to thy self. Leif thy merite behind thee, tak thee to the mercy of God, utherwayis na[9] salvation for thee. Thairefter cummis on ane uther pairt of salvatioun, we ar maid heiris of everlasting life: bot thair is sum thing gois betwixt that is not set doun heir. For ze see that quhen we ar justified and regenered,[10] we ar made sonnis adopted:[11] or ever we be heiris, we mon be children. Bot I leif this becaus the Apostle speiks not of it heir. Then the last pairt is: We ar made heires of the kingdome of hevin. Quhat can mair be[12] requyrit in salvatioun? Thair is the heichest degree, thou art placed in thy inheritance; thair is thy perfectioun. "According to the hope of lyfe eternall." Leist

[1] Unto. [2] Is none other thing [3] That men dream of. [4] Order. [5] Ere. [6] Both. [7] In the original *mercie*, a misprint evidently. [8] Deal—surely a mistake. [9] Otherwise there is no. [10] Regenerated. [11] Sons by adoption. [12] What more can be.

we suld think that we ar alreadie put in possessioun of this inheritance, he meitis this, and shawis that albeit we ar in this life maid heires, zit we ar not in this life put in[1] ane reall possessioun of this heirschip: bot he sayis, "according to hope:" we are heiris be hope, bot anis hope and all sall go away,[2] and we sal be heires in verie deid. Zit hope is necessar sa lang as we live heir: sa lang as the Father is living, the airis hes ane to-luik and ane hope of the heirschip: Hope, or[3] thou sall never se hevin. Now this Hope is not sa bair, that in the meintime we have na fruitioun of the thing hoped for: zea, even in this life the fruition of hevin is begun in effect, and gif thou have not the beginning of it heir, hope never for the accomplischment of it hence.[4] We have ane beginning in this life, bot as for the full possessioun and fruitioun of our inheritance it is reserved to the life to cum. And thairfoir it is, that the godly in this life hoips stil for the cummi of Jesus Christ, quhill they be set and placed with him in that inheritance purchasit to us be his blud. To quhome with the Father and the Haly Spreit, be al honour, prais and glorie, for ever and ever.

[1] Into. [2] But once hope shall go away. [3] Hope thou, or else. [4] Hereafter.

CERTAINE

SERMONS,

VPON SEVERALL

Texts of Scripture:

PREACHED BY THAT REVE-rend and faithfull ſervant of Ieſus *Chriſt* M. ROBERT ROLLOK, *Miniſter of the Church (and Rector of the Colledge) of* Edinburgh.

Whereof the firſt eleven were be-*fore publiſhed, and the remnant* ſeven, are newly adioy-*ned thereunto.*

EDINBURGH:

Printed by *Andro Hart.* 1616.

(Another Edition of the Work bears)

Imprinted at *Edinburgh* by the heires of *Andro Hart.* 1634.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

THEIR MOST LOVING FRIEND IN THE LORD,

MASTER WILLIAM SCOT OF ELIE,

GRACE IN THIS LIFE, AND EVERLASTING GLORY IN THE LIFE TO COME.

OUR gracious God, who in his rich mercy (Right Worshipful) hath in this latter time raised up many rare and worthy instruments and faithful preachers in other countries about us, hath not left this our country destitute of the like benefits: for, as amongst them, so amongst us, striving with our ingratitude, he hath raised up from time to time, sundry notable men, endued with singular graces, whose ministry he made powerful to overthrow the kingdom of Satan, Sin, and the Antichrist, and to acquire a CHURCH unto himself, in the which he might be glorified in the riches of his mercies; of whom the most part now sleep in the LORD, and rest from their labours: Amongst whom Master ROBERT ROLLOK, of blessed memory, deserveth (for his graces) to be counted with the first: for who ever pressed more to approve himself to GOD in a good conscience than he? Who ever was more faithful and painful in his calling than he? He strove always to glorify GOD, and to honour his profession and calling, by a godly life and conversation, so that the very enemies of the truth could not accuse him, nor envy itself justly reprove him.

He set himself always to do good to others: for he thought he was not his own man, but deputed for the service of others. He was never idle, but he did either read, meditate, pray, confer, counsel, comfort, preach, or write. He was peaceable in the Church, patient of wrongs, never vindictive, but ever ready to forgive. He sought not the world, knowing that he had here no continuing, but had his conversation in the heaven, from whence he looked for his Saviour to come.

But it is needless to praise him, either to you, Sir, who knoweth so well what store of grace the LORD vouchsafed upon him, or yet to any others, seeing his works speak plainly enough for him: for as he edified many in his life by his preaching, so also he hath edified many not only in his country, but in many other parts, by his learned and judicious writings, left behind him.

And because his Lectures, that have been before published by us, upon the COLOSSIANS and THESSALONIANS, as also the first eleven Sermons here contained, have been received with good liking and applause of many: and now, finding that there are not copies extant, especially of these eleven Sermons, to satisfy the desire of such as seek them, we have thought good to cause imprint them over again: as also to adjoin seven other Sermons, preached by him upon diverse texts, and received by his scholars from his mouth: which, indeed, we must confess, required the refining hand of the Author, that they might have shined in their own beauty. Always our care has been in these, as in all the rest before published, out of some copies offered unto us, as near as we could, to give out to the public view of the Church, both the matter, style, and phrase of the godly Author.

Now, for many reasons, we are moved to recommend these his Sermons, (and our labours therein) to your patronage, that with them your memory with the posterity might long endure.

First, in respect of the entire love and affection ye carried to Master ROLLOK, from the first hour that ye were acquainted with him, even unto his death, for no man ever loved him, conversed

with him, respected him, &c., more than yourself: and many a time have you resorted unto him in his health, and offered him such courtesy and kindness that he acknowledged himself to be obliged to none so much as to you. And, finally, ye not only visited him in his sickness, but allured him to come to your house, where, without regard of pains and expenses, you entertained him, and such as visited him, most liberally and cheerfully, till the time that the LORD called him to himself. Yea, you counted it a singular blessing of the LORD, that he honoured you with such a guest.

Next, Master ROLLOK in his Testament ordained, that all his books which after should be imprinted should be dedicated unto you; that whosoever got commodity thereof, next after God, might give the honour and thanks unto you.

Thirdly, through your care, endeavour, and expenses only, these whole Sermons were gathered in from them that wrote them; through your procurement only, they were revised, corrected, and made fit for the printing: by your means only now they see the light, which, without you, had been buried in darkness.

Lastly, if it were free to us to make choice of a patron, we would make choice of none but you, to testify our thankfulness for your great undeserved kindness shewed unto us particularly, yea, and to all these whom the LORD hath set in his service.

So that, in all respects, reason requireth, that all these Sermons should be published under your patronage and protection. For, whereas your name was not prefixed unto the first eleven, when they were first imprinted: (seeing by your endeavour, charges, and expenses only, they were first set forth) now this occasion being presented, we might justly have been blamed, if that oversight by us had not been amended.

Finally, Sir, honour the LORD, and he will honour you, delight in his ways, and he will give you your heart's desire; weary not to do good unto the saints, and he will recompense you, and at last, will crown all your good deeds with glory.

The LORD make you to go on from grace to grace, and in all things direct you by his Spirit, that you may be long happy in this life, and for ever happy in the life to come. Amen.

Yours in the Lord,

H. C.
W. A.

Edinburgh, the 22. *of January, Anno Dom.* 1616.

THE TWELFTH SERMON.

Psalm CXXX.

1. Out of the deep places have I called unto thee, O Lord.
2. Lord hear my voice: let thine ears attend to the voice of my prayers.
3. If thou, O Lord, straitly markest iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?
4. But mercy is with thee, that thou mayest be feared.

The inscription of this Psalm, brethren, declareth that it is a psalm most excellent; the excellency of it we remit to the matter contained therein. It hath been penned by some holy man and prophet of old, but by whom it is not certain: it is sufficient to us to know that the Spirit of God was the dyter of it.

To come to the matter and parts thereof, the prophet, whosoever he was, first setteth down the estate and disposition of his soul in trouble, to wit, that he ran to the Lord, and prayed to him for delivery: and this he doeth to the fifth verse. Next, finding in very deed the effects of the prayer he made, and finding mercy and delivery as he craved, he professeth before all the world, that as he had before awaited upon God, so he will await still upon him, and he will put his confidence in him. And this he doeth to the seventh verse. Lastly, from the seventh verse to the end, he recommendeth this duty to Israel, that is, to the Church of God, to wait upon the Lord, and, with the recommendation, he giveth in

forcible reasons to move them. To come to the first part, first, he saith, that in his greatest danger he cried to the Lord Jehovah. Next, he setteth down the prayer. To come to the proposition, he saith, "Out of the deep:" yet more, "Out of the deep places have I called unto thee, O Jehovah." By these deep places he understandeth great miseries, great dangers wherein his body was, great terror and fear in his conscience for his sin and offending of God: for the Scripture, as ye may see, (Psalm lxix. 1, 2,) compareth great afflictions to deep waters, wherein a man is like to drown; and many a time, when the body is in danger, the soul will be like to drown in desperation. No doubt, the greatness of the danger, made him to utter to the Lord voices coming from the very depth of the heart. If we felt ourselves in great danger we would call from the depth of our hearts to God: he uttered not a voice only, but a loud voice, with a cry. This is the meaning of the words. We see here, first, that the children of God, whom God loveth most entirely, are many times subject to great and extreme dangers and troubles; and if ever thou thinkest to come to heaven, make thee[1] in thine own course to suffer one trouble or other. Let no man, therefore, judge evil of a man because he suffereth. Next, we see the greater the danger be, the heavier the distress and the affliction wherewith the godly is exercised be, the more vehement, fervent and earnest, will their prayer be they have to God. And how cometh this to pass? Even in this manner, and by these degrees, oppression and affliction worketh in the hearts of the faithful a sense of the common misery of nature. When the hand of the Lord is upon a faithful man then he begins to feel his sin and corruption; and except the Lord exercise us in this life, either one way or other, the best of us all will fall into such a sound sleep, that we will neither remember what we have been, what we are, nor what we shall be, neither acknowledge ourselves to be sinners: so there is a necessity of afflictions, for affliction bringeth us to a feeling of our misery. Next, when through affliction the heart is prepared and brought to some sense of sin,

[1] A Scottish idiom for *prepare*.

then it is capable of grace, then it prayeth to God. (Look never to come to heaven if thou feelest not thy sin, yea, and that thou art a miserable sinner.) Then, if once thine heart be prepared with some sense of sin and misery, then cometh in that holy Spirit of Jesus Christ, which in the Scripture is called the Spirit of adoption, who, finding the heart dejected and made lowly, (the Spirit will never look in to a proud heart,) beginneth to work, and to touch the heart of the miserable sinner with a sweet sense of mercy through Jesus, he beginneth to shed abroad the love of Christ into the soul: and when once the heart hath tasted of the sweetness of mercy, and, as Peter saith, hath tasted how sweet and gracious the Lord is, and findeth this passing love of God in Jesus Christ, then it taketh a boldness, and beginneth with confidence and pertness[1] to present itself before God, and to put up prayers and requests; (Romans viii. 26.) When once that Spirit hath given liberty, then we cry with an open mouth, (for the heart is wide opened, Abba, Father, (Romans viii. 15,) because we have gotten a sense of that fatherly love in Jesus Christ. The prayer of the faithful is most effectual when they are in greatest danger, and then the voice is loudest: for it is the Spirit of God who maketh intercession for us, with sighs which cannot be expressed; but God knoweth the meaning of his Spirit.

Now, Brethren, surely few of us have yet been in this deepness and extremity of misery. The Lord hath not yet so pressed us with his hand as he hath done many others; and, therefore, few there is amongst us who hath this feeling of sin and misery, and, consequently, few of us can pray so earnestly. How many are there amongst you that dare say, that ye feel sensible the common misery of nature? Go to your hearts and look if ye feel it not sleeping in sin; and so long as thou sleepest thus, and knowest not thy misery, how wilt thou be careful to feel the love of Christ? And how wilt thou earnestly pray to God? And certainly I take this coldness in prayer to be a forerunner of a judgment to overtake this land. No, it were better to be swimming in the waters

[1] Boldness.

of affliction, praying earnestly to God, than to be this way lying in prosperity without prayer.

Now I go forward. After he hath proponed, that out of the deepness he cried to Jehovah, then to let us see his cries, he setteth down the form of prayer that he used in his great miseries: First, he saith, "O Lord hear my voice:" Next, in the other words he doubleth over the same petition, "Attend to the voice of my prayers:" For he prayeth not coldly, but he crieth earnestly; certainly the doubling of the cry would be opened up from the ground. We should gripe[1] down to the heart from whence the prayers of the godly do flow, that when we hear them, or read them, we may get such a heart and disposition in prayer as they had. The doubling of the prayer, and the mouth wide opening, cometh of the doubling of the graces of the Spirit of God in the heart, and of a double opening of the heart; for, except the heart be opened in prayer, the mouth cannot be opened with pleasure, otherwise if thou speak any thing, I will not give one penny for it. So the opening of the mouth cometh from the opening of the heart. When the Holy Spirit so sweetly maketh manifest the love of God to the creature, then the tongue is loosed, and the second cry cometh of the second grace, and of the second opening of the heart; and so oft as thou criest, so oft is there a new grace and motion within the heart, wrought by the Holy Spirit, for it is he only, that openeth the mouth, piece and piece, to speak to God. For take this for certainty that Paul saith, "there is none that can call Jesus Lord, without the Spirit come in," (1 Cor. xii. 3.) And again he saith, "we know not what we should pray, or how we ought to pray, without that Spirit teach us," (Romans, chap. 8, verse 26,) and if he teach not, no man or woman is able once to open the mouth with confidence and liberty to pray.

And so, Brethren, if ye would speak well, pray well, or do well, look ever to the disposition of the heart, and night and day pray for that Spirit, who may transchange thee, transform thee, and take thee out of nature, and plant thee in grace; for so long as thou re-

[1] Search.

mainest in nature, thou canst not think well, thou canst not speak well, thou canst do nothing well, yea, thou art worse than a very beast.

But because the words are very weighty, we will yet consider them better. What meaneth he when he saith, "Lord let thine ear be attentive to my prayer?" Thought he that the Lord heard him not, and that the Lord played the part of a deaf man? No, he meaneth not this; look to the estate of the godly when the hand of the Lord is upon them, when the Lord afflicteth us any way, we think that he neither heareth nor seeth us, nor remembereth upon us: Indeed, I grant it is not so in effect, for God never altereth his affection towards his own; but the faithful oftentimes judge and apprehend so, and all the fault of this is in us. Ye see how David oftentimes complaineth to the Lord, that he had forsaken him, he had left him, and desireth that he should look upon him. I ask, is it so indeed, that when the faithful soul crieth, Lord hear, see, and remember, that he heareth not, he seeth not, he remembereth not? No question but he doth: "For he that made the eye, seeth he not? He that made the ear, heareth he not? He that formed the heart of man, understandeth he not? Remembereth he not?" (Psalm xciv.) Yea, all things are patent to his Majesty, albeit, when he maketh it not manifest by some sensible effects and operation, we think he heareth not, he seeth not, he remembereth not, his favour and affection is never indeed altered nor changed from his own children: Then, when they cry for his presence, are they altogether destitute and deprived of his presence? No, they want it not: For who gave the heart to say, Lord hear me, Lord see and remember me? If that thou hadst not some presence of the Lord in thine heart, thou couldest never utter these voices to God. Then I say, if I have the presence of God when I cry unto him, why cry I, and pray I, as though I had not his presence? Are not such prayers in vain? No, for although we have the presence of God when we pray, yet for all that, our prayers to God are not in vain; for if we had him of before in any measure by our prayers, he will manifest himself more sensibly, piece and piece, more

and more. And look how much more strongly thou criest, so much the more will the Lord be drawn to thy soul, and so much the more shalt thou find the increase and growth of grace in thy soul. It is impossible that the prayer of a faithful man, if it were but one word that proceedeth from the Spirit of adoption, can pass away without comfort: For the Lord giveth his Spirit to no man in vain, but because he knoweth the meaning of his own Spirit, therefore he will grant that thing for which he maketh request, there is nothing more certain; and therefore the Lord, (Mat. v. 6,) pronounceth them blessed, "who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for" (saith he,) "they shall be filled and satisfied:" And so Christ speaketh to that woman of Samaria, (John iv. 13, 14,) "If thou soughtest a drink, I should give thee a drink of the water of life; for the water that I shall give shall be, in a man (or woman) a well of water springing up into eternal life;" meaning, generally, that whosoever hath gotten the first fruits of the Spirit, and the beginnings of grace, desireth and seeketh for further progress and increase, that the Lord should ever furnish them with something to quench their thirst, and that because they should ever have a fountain within their belly, to furnish something to them when they thirsted; so that when as they should seek refreshment, they might get it in abundance. And if we felt this thirst and dryness of the soul, we would seek earnestly; for there was never such a dryness and such a heat in any man naturally, as there is in us through sin. Consider thine own experience, when thou hast felt sometimes the great burden of sin, and the terrors of the wrath of God for sin, whensoever, in this estate, thou camest to God, and prayed for mercy, and said, I am a miserable sinner—Lord give me mercy, hast thou not felt that the Lord hath answered thee comfortably, and hath filled thine heart with joy, even when, in thy prayer, thou sighest and sobbest unspeakably? What meaneth that joy? Even that as soon as thou openest thy mouth with liberty to seek that water of life, the Lord convoyeth some portion of it into thine heart to quench thy thirst.

Now, after he hath cried twice, he subjoineth in the next

words, "If thou, O Lord, straitly markest iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?" This, no question, followeth by way of preoccupation. It might have been objected to him in his prayer, (for many are the temptations of the godly,) by his conscience pleading for God against him, or God himself might have said, Thou prayest to me, and yet thou art a sinner, how should I hear thee? How darest thou stand before me? it is a wonder that, in my fierce wrath, I destroy thee not. To this he answereth, first, by way of confession, It is true, O Lord, that if thou wilt straitly mark iniquity that no flesh can stand in thy presence, but they must be consumed, through the rage of thy displeasure. Then he answereth, by way of correction, "But mercy is with thee." The meaning is, Thou takest no heed to our iniquities, but, of thy free mercy and grace, thou pardonest them all in thy Son Jesus Christ; for none of the saints, none of the fathers, none of the prophets ever got mercy, but through that blood of Jesus Christ, who was slain from the beginning of the world; through his blood only was the wrath of God pacified. Except God's justice be first satisfied, there is no place left to mercy; therefore, saith he, my refuge is to thy mercy. Indeed, our estate, who live now, is far better than the estate of them who lived before Christ came into the world; for they saw the death and satisfaction of Christ, and remission of sin in his blood, but afar off; but we see them now already past, and we may say, that now God in Christ is merciful to us, is become our Father, and hath forgiven all our sins.

Now, out of these words, and by this example of the prophet, ye may see what is the estate of God's children in prayer, to wit, when, in affliction, they seek to repair to God by prayer, they will not so soon begin to pray, but as soon their guilty consciences will begin to knock and challenge them, as unworthy to be heard. The conscience will stand up, and, if it be not cleansed, it will present thy sins before thee, and set them in order in all their circumstances. Albeit thou forget thy sins after thou hast got thy pleasure, yet thou shalt see that thy conscience hath marked them all; and as a man cannot read when the book is closed, yet being opened,

they may read therein; even so, albeit when our consciences are benumbed, we see not the ugliness and guiltiness of sin, yet when God wakeneth them, we will see sin in the own colour, and find the ugliness and guiltiness thereof. Our sins will come in, and stand up as mountains, and will hide the blessed face and presence of God from thee. Sin goeth betwixt us and God, and separateth us from God.

The saints find in experience, that it is not an easy thing to find a familiar access to God in prayer. Except our consciences first be purged, we can have no access to God; therefore, whosoever would draw near to God, let him seek to follow the counsel of the Apostle in the 10th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the 22d verse, where he saith, "Let us draw near with a true heart in an assurance of faith, sprinkled in our hearts from an evil conscience." No flesh can have a favourable access to God, except his conscience be first purged from guiltiness; yea, that which we speak of the guiltiness of sin, we speak also of sin itself, that except it be quite taken away out of his sight, that he will not look favourably upon us. And this is that which the prophet saith here, "If thou, O Lord, straitly markest iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?" For, as guiltiness of sin stayeth us to behold God, so sin itself stayeth God from beholding us, miserable wretches, with the eyes of his compassion. So long, therefore, as thy conscience is not purged, when thou goest to present thyself before his majesty, if thy conscience be wakened, thou wilt find God marking thy sins,—laying them to thy charge,—and wilt find him as a terrible judge, compassed about with burning wrath, ready to destroy thee: and if he mark thee, thou hast no standing, and if thou appear not clothed with the righteousness and perfect satisfaction that Jesus, through his blood, hath purchased for thee, thou darest not presume to approach, for then his fierce wrath shall be poured out upon thee.

Further, we learn hereof, that whenever we would have our prayers accepted, we should begin with an humble confession, of our sins and unworthiness, and with an earnest prayer to forgive

the same. Yea, we must aggreadge[1] our sins by all circumstances, as the prophet doeth here. No, none; not the holiest saints, fathers, nor prophets, could be able to stand, if he marked their iniquity, let be himself, who was such an unworthy wretch, who was laden with so many and great sins. Thou must not extenuate thy sins before God, if thou wouldest find favour with God, as many men commonly do, saying, We are all sinners; yea, many men have sinned more, and have done worse deeds than I have done.

That is not the way to find God's favour. Thou must be very abject, vile, and contemptible in thine own account, if thou wouldest have the Lord to account of thee. Then where shall we get a remedy to help an evil conscience? For sin taketh away all joy and confidence in prayer.

The next words furnish a fair remedy—"But mercy is with thee." Lord, it is not thy justice I look to, but thy mercy; thy justice holdeth me aback, but thy mercy allureth me. I flee from thy justice, and I claim to thy mercy. So when a man desireth his prayers to be heard, he must first have a sight of his own misery, guiltiness, and unworthiness, and of the fierceness of the Lord's wrath for the same; and in all humility he must confess the same. Next, he must have a sight of the Lord's mercy, and hope that it is possible that God be reconciled with him; except that these two be joined together he cometh not duly prepared. The one without the other will not serve; both are necessary. For without the knowledge, sight, and feeling of our misery, of sin, and of the wrath of God for the same, we will never be earnest in prayer. Who will ask, except he find his want? And without an humble confession there is no coming before God. Thou must not do as the Pharisee did. Read that parable of the Pharisee and of the Publican, (Luke xviii.) The Pharisee was so blinded with self-love, that he could not see the filthiness and corruption of his own heart; and, therefore, not only in the presence of man, whom he might deceive, would he justify himself, but also in the very presence of God, who cannot be deceived,

[1] Aggravate.

and who searcheth the hearts, he would boast of his righteousness, and condemn the poor Publican. But what found he? It is said he went home not justified, that all men might fear thereafter to come before God with a conceit of their worthiness. Thou must follow the example of the poor Publican, who, being ashamed of himself, would not look up to heaven, but looked down and smote his breast, and said, "O God be merciful to me a sinner." Next, if thou have no more but a sight, sense, and confession of thy misery, will that be sufficient? No, for albeit thou sawest all thy sins, and foundest the burden thereof, and foundest the Lord as a judge in a judgment pursuing thee, and heaping daily judgment upon judgment, and wrath upon wrath, that will never make thee to draw near to the Lord, but by the contrary, will make thee to turn thy back upon the Lord; for, as a malefactor hath no pleasure to behold the face of a judge, because his countenance is terrible, no more can the sinner abide the countenance of God. His judgments and his wrath may make us astonished and stupified, but, if there be no more, they will never make us to come to God. Then if this be not sufficient, what more is requisite? Even a sight of the Lord's mercy, for that is most forcible to allure, as the prophet saith here, and as the Church of God sayeth, (Can. i. 2,) "Because of the savour of thy good ointments, therefore the virgins love thee." This only is forcible to allure the sinner; for all the judgments of God, and curses of the law, will never allure him. What was the chief thing that moved the Prodigal son to return home to his father? Was it chiefly the distress, the disgrace, and poverty wherewith he was burdened, or the famine that almost caused him to starve? No, but the chief thing was this, he remembered that he had a loving father. That maketh him to resolve with an humble confession to go home. (Luke xv.) Even so is it with a sinner; it is not terrors and threatenings that chiefly will move him to come to God, but the consideration of his manifold and great mercies. Therefore, if the Lord waken thy conscience, present thy sins before thee, threaten thee, and heap judgments on thee, then say, Lord, I deserve to be

threatened, and always to be plagued; but, Lord, thou knowest my nature, these things will not make me to come to thee, but will put me away from thee. Therefore, let me see thy manifold mercies towards sinners, to allure me, and then I shall come unto thee.

So we see the remedy against an evil conscience, to wit, an humble confession of sin and unworthiness, and a fleeing from the justice of God, to his mercy. The fairest and sweetest thing in the world is to feel the mercy of God. But herein there is great hardness and difficulty. It is not so easily attained unto, as men commonly think; for his mercy is compassed about with his justice, and with his wrath against sinners, as with a wall of fire; and he who will come to grace, he must come through a consuming fire; and, when he presseth to come near, the fire of God's wrath will hold him off, and will strike out and burn up the impenitent sinner, as fire doeth the stubble; so it is a harder thing than many think it to be, to win God's mercy. And how shall this be remedied? By what means shall we get through this wall of fire? Truly, he who would mean to pass through fire had need to be well armed; the man who presseth to approach near to that inviolable majesty, who can abide no sort of uncleanness, and would draw near to the throne of his grace, must be well armed against the justice and wrath of God, which debarreth sinners. Surely there is none armour in the world, that can preserve us from that raging and consuming fire, of the justice and wrath of God, but only the righteousness and satisfaction of Jesus Christ. Let a man use all the means in the world, and he be not found in Christ, he shall have none access to come through the justice and wrath of God, to the throne of grace; yea, his soul and his conscience must be sprinkled and purged from dead works, with that blood which was offered up to God to that end, by his eternal Spirit, (Heb. ix.) Without he be dipped in that blood, he will find God a terrible judge. And after that, through faith in the death and blood of Jesus, thou comest to that throne of grace, thou shalt hear the sweetest and

* Throughout these sermons, *and* is often used, *Scottice*, for *if*.

most comfortable voice that ever was, that is, All thy sins are forgiven thee in that blood. And if a man were condemned to die for some heinous crime, if the king would say, I absolve thee, I forgive thee, thou shalt live: what joy and comfort would that voice bring to the heart of him who was condemned. The Apostle saith, (Heb. x. 22.) "Let us go to the throne of grace with a true heart, and purged from an evil conscience through the blood of Jesus Christ," that is, think not to come to that throne of grace, except first thou be purged with that blood. Therefore, as ever thou wouldest be in heaven, or see the face of God to thy comfort, seek to have faith in Christ Jesus; look what necessity is laid upon a sinner; either must he be banished from the presence and face of God for ever, and be casten into the society of the damned, or else if he would be saved, he must be imped and engrafted by a true and lively faith in Jesus Christ. Make thee for it with all thy main, to get a gripe of Christ as ever thou wouldest be saved.

Now after he hath met this objection, which God, or his own conscience in God's cause, might have casten in, that he was so unworthy to be heard, by an humble confession of unworthiness, and by fleeing from his justice, and claiming to his great mercies, he setteth down the end of this mercy and free forgiveness of sins when he saith, "But mercy is with thee, that thou mayest be feared." The end wherefore the Lord granteth mercy and forgiveness of sins to sinners, is that they may obey, serve and worship God with pleasure and alacrity. No man can ever be able to glorify God, and to serve him cheerfully, but the man who hath assurance that his sins are freely forgiven him in that eternal love of God, through the blood of Jesus; for none can glorify God, except first he be glorified of God. Albeit the natural man got never so many and great benefits, yet because he hath none assurance of the forgiveness of his sins he can never glorify God nor be thankful to him. On the other part. It is impossible, and if thou have a sure persuasion that thy sins are forgiven thee, but thou wilt be careful in some measure to meet the Lord God in love, to pleasure him, and to thank him. For the first effect that flow-

eth from the remission of sins, is sanctification or glorification: And it is not possible but if thou be glorified, thou must glorify the Lord again. But the question may be here proponed, wherein standeth our glorifying of God? Hath he need of our glorification? Can our service be profitable to him? Can our well-doing extend to him? Hath he need of any thing that we can do? I answer; Indeed it is true, our well-doing cannot extend to him, as David confesseth of himself in the 16th Psalm and the 2d verse. All the kings and monarchs in the world cannot do any thing that is profitable and steadable[1] to God. We are not able to add anything to the glory of God, for his glory is infinite, and to an infinite thing, nothing can be added, for if any thing could be added it were not infinite. The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit perfectly glorified one another from all eternity. "Glorify me," saith Christ, "with that glory which I had with thee before the foundation of the world was laid." That blessed Trinity was as perfect in glory before the creation of the world as it hath been ever since. Our glorifying of God standeth only in this, when the Lord illuminateth our minds that we may see his glory in all his properties, that we in our hearts, with pleasure and cheerfulness consent thereunto, allow of it, and with our mouths proclaim that glory which we see to be in him. And it lieth not in man nor angel to impair his glory. The good and the evil, the weal and the wo, the commodity and incommodity of all, cometh to our own selves; and happy is that man that glorifieth God, and miserable is he that glorifieth him not, for our felicity standeth not in that that we ourselves be glorified, but in this, that we glorify our Lord eternally, for that end were we created, and to that end were we redeemed with that precious ransom, even that we should glorify the Lord; and happy is that creature that hath some purpose, thirst and desire to glorify God in this life, for he may be assured that one day the Lord shall glorify him eternally in heaven. That soul, I say, shall be perfected in the life to come, and without all impediment shall cry with the blessed angels, "Holy, holy, holy, is the God of heaven, the whole world is full of his glory." There shall it find

[1] Available.

"in his countenance satiety of joy, and at his right hand pleasures for ever."

Mark here last, (and I shall end with it,) that the feeling of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ bringeth out obedience and cheerful service of God; yea, of all arguments to move a man to abstain from sin, and to serve the Lord with pleasure, that is the most pithy and forcible. The shame of the world, the fear of temporal judgment, the horror of conscience, and the fear of the pains of hell, will not be so steadable; it may be that they repress raging lusts and furious affections for a time, but they will not mortify sin and slay corruption, and will never cause a man with pleasure to serve and obey God. But if a man hath found that God hath loved him so well that he hath given his only son to die, that he might live, it is not possible but that man, in some measure, will set himself with alacrity and cheerfulness to serve God. Therefore, the Apostle, when he would persuade Christians to abstain from sin, and to serve God, what argument useth he chiefly? Read Rom. xii. 1, he proponeth the mercy of God offering Jesus to die for them, for there he saith, "I beseech you, brethren, through the mercies of God, that ye offer up yourselves a living sacrifice." Therefore, if thou wouldest covet to do the Lord's will cheerfully, pray the Lord, that he would not so much threaten thee, and propone terrors to thee as that he would make thee sensible of his mercies in Jesus Christ. The vain Papist speaks little, or nothing almost, to the people of this mercy of God in Jesus Christ, but propones to the people the pains of Hell and fire of Purgatory, to stay them from sin and to make them serve God, and do good works; but if there be no more, it will never make them to bring forth such obedience, as either is acceptable to God, or yet profitable to themselves. The Lord, therefore, make us to be sensible of his unspeakable love in Jesus, that we may set ourselves with pleasure to serve and glorify him here, that so we may be assured that he shall glorify us, in the kingdom of heaven, which Jesus hath purchased to us by his precious blood. To this Jesus, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all praise, honour and glory, for now and ever. So be it.

THE THIRTEENTH SERMON.

PSALM CXXX.

5. I have waited on the Lord; my soul hath waited, and I have trusted in his word.

6. My soul waiteth on the Lord more than the morning watch, watcheth for the morning.

7. Let Israel wait on the Lord: For with the Lord is mercy and with him is great redemption.

8. And he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities.

WELL-BELOVED in the LORD JESUS, The last day we divided this Psalm in these three parts: First, the proposition. Whosoever he was that wrote this psalm, he maketh mention and rehearsal of that prayer that he made to his God in the time of his great danger, and this he doth to the fifth verse; then finding in experience a comfortable answer, and how good a thing it was to pray to God, and to wait on him, he professeth, that, as before, he had awaited on him, so still in time coming he would await on him, and this he doeth to the seventh verse. In the third and last part, he turneth him to Israel, to the Church, and exhorteth them to await on God, as he had done, promising them mercy and redemption from all their iniquities if they would await on him. The last day we ended the first part, so we have now to follow out the other two parts which remain.

Then as for the second; the prophet finding in experience the fruit of his prayer, he professeth that he will yet still wait on the Lord: "I have waited on the Lord: my soul hath waited, and I

have trusted in his word;" as though he would say, I depend yet still on his word, for the presence of the Lord that we have in this life, is in his word, and in his Holy Spirit, that accompanieth it; so all the dependence we have on God is in his word and promise. Take that away and then we have no sight, no presence, no faith here, till we see him face to face.

Yet the words are better to be marked, he saith, "I have waited on the Lord:" Then he saith, "My soul hath waited on the Lord," as if he would say, I have not awaited on the Lord only with my bodily eyes; but with mine heart and secret inward affections: I have depended on him from my very heart. For brethren, mark it well, it is the heart of a man or woman that draweth God down from heaven and sucketh in his presence.

Marvellous is the power that a faithful heart hath, when it sendeth up sighs and sobs to heaven for grace, to pull down God's presence and grace; if there be no more but the eye, it will not do the turn, but where the Spirit of the Lord dwelleth in the heart, it maketh it to sigh with sobs that cannot be expressed. It is not possible but God, who giveth his Spirit to no man in vain, and who knoweth the meaning of his own Spirit, will grant that, for which the Spirit maketh intercession. Paul (in the 8th chapter to the Romans,) setting down the waiting on of the godly, how they wait on the Lord, he setteth down both the forcible operation of God's Spirit in our hearts, as also the fruit of its operation, "We sigh in ourselves, waiting for the adoption, even the redemption of our bodies;" there the waiting on of the godly, is conjoyned with sighs and sobs. Then after, he letteth us see what followeth upon that: "What to seek we know not;" but when the Spirit of the Lord intercedeth for us with sighs and sobs unspeakable, then the Lord who searcheth the heart, and knoweth the meaning of his own Spirit, granteth that thing for the which the Spirit maketh intercession; for what else meaneth that unspeakable joy, which many a time the saints of God find before they have ended their prayers, but that their prayers are favourably accepted? What meaneth that unspeakable joy when he saith, "Believing we re-

joice with joy unspeakable and glorious?" That joy witnesseth that the Lord giveth his presence; for there is a sure ground. There is no true joy but in the presence of God; and so the joy testifieth to thee, that thou sighest not so soon, but the Lord giveth his presence to thee. Now, when he hath said, "My soul hath waited," then he subjoineth, "I will wait still upon his word;" I will hold up mine ear to heaven, as it were, and hear what he will speak unto me. There is no consolation nor joy in this world but in the hearing of his voice: "The friends of the bridegroom," saith St John, "when they stand and hear the bridegroom speak they rejoice exceedingly;" so it is the joy of a Christian to hear the Lord Jesus speak. The meaning is this, I have waited on so long, and have found in experience how good a thing it is, and therefore that experience shall move me to wait on still, I am forced through the experience of mercy, to wait on still without wearying. This prophet, whosoever he was, was in a great danger, and, therefore, in the beginning he said, "Out of the deep places have I cried unto thee, O Jehovah;" so he was under great affliction: his affliction that he suffered wrought in him so, that he waiteth patiently the Lord's deliverance; awaiting with patience, in end he finds experience and proof of the mercy of God; for he was delivered; finding experience of the Lord's love through that delivery he conceits a hope that God's favour shall never leave him, and professeth that he will wait yet still, and wait on continually, because of that experience of mercy. In the fifth chapter to the Romans ye have the notable effects that affliction worketh, linked together; and if there were no more but the effects that we find to have been in this man, they testify, that it is true that the Apostle speaketh here, "Oppression," saith he, "worketh patience," that is, "when affliction is sanctified to him that is afflicted," through time, it bringeth forth patience. Then after that a man hath waited patiently on the deliverance of the Lord, then saith he patience worketh experience, that is, a body that abideth patiently under the cross, in the end he findeth an experience and proof of the Lord's love, one way or other, either by delivery or by

furnishing strength to bear it out, or by some spiritual grace. Then he saith, experience worketh hope, that is, when any one hath found in experience the mercy of the Lord, he conceiveth a hope that the Lord shall ever deliver him, and never forsake him; and he hopeth that he shall get greater favour than ever he got before; for if the Lord give the faithful a temporal delivery, they hope he shall give them eternal delivery. And this is sure, thou canst never hope for great enough things of the Lord, thine hope is far inferior to the things that shall be granted: for certainly they that hope in the Lord shall find greater things than ever they hoped for: thou art not able to apprehend in thine hope the greatness of them, the kingdom, the joy, and the glory, is greater than thou canst look for: when thou shalt come there, thou shalt find that all things are greater than thine hope.

Now when he hath proponed that he will hope in the Lord, he beginneth in the next verse to amplify that proposition, and declareth the earnestness of it, by a comparison taken from the watchmen, who watch all the night over without any relief, and saith, "My soul waiteth on the Lord more than the morning watch, watcheth for the morning." It is a worthy thing to consider how that after the heart is once prevented with a tasting of the sweetness of God's favour, how that heart will hang and depend upon him, and seek and wait for grace at him more and more. Alas! from whence cometh this that men and women are so careless to seek the Lord, and to wait on him? Alas! they have not tasted of that gracious sweetness that is in God through Jesus Christ; for if they had once tasted of it, there would be a perpetual thirsting and desiring for that presence: the heart would never have rest nor ease till it got that presence. The apostle, Peter, when he desireth them to seek that sincere milk of the word whereby they might grow, he subjoineth, "If once ye have tasted how sweet and gracious the Lord is," meaning, that they that never have tasted of the sweetness of the Lord's presence and his graces have not a desire of grace. We see here what is the estate of the faithful in this world, by this comparison with the

watch. The estate of every one of us is this waking, and watching, from evening to morning. The watch, ye know, watcheth in the night, and there especially where greatest danger may fall out, and the watch that hath no relief in his watching, but must watch from the evening to the morning, he must be very weary, and being very weary, he will be very desirous of the morning, and the sun rising: when it cometh, he is relieved of his painful watching, and goeth to take his rest. To apply this to us: this world which we live in, till the coming again of the Lord Jesus, is but a darksome night, in respect of that glorious day that shall appear when he cometh again. Indeed, the world, since the first coming of Christ, is called a day in the Scripture; but that is in respect of them that were before Christ; but in respect of that passing light, that Jesus Christ shall then bring with him, this is but passing darkness, and we shall think so when that day shall come. Now, next the watch in this world was never more straitly bound to watch in the night than every Christian man is bound to watch till he come again; and this was the direction that Christ gave his disciples, "Wait, for ye know not what hour the goodman of the house shall come." And in watching we find a great heaviness. What faithful man is in this world that is not wearied with watching? The world that sleepeth in this life is not wearied, but the faithful that watcheth is weary of this life; and fain would they have that morning coming when the sun of righteousness, the Lord Jesus, shall rise up, that they may be relieved; and when that morning shall come, thou that hast watched in this world, at the least hast striven to watch, and looked for that glorious coming of the Lord Jesus, thou shalt get rest, so sweet a rest as never man found in this world; but thou that hast slept here, and hast not watched for him, sleep on: when he cometh thou shalt get no rest,—thy sleeping shall end in a terrible wakening. There is no rest to them that have not a desire to watch in this world; but they that have a desire to watch and to hold up their heads, they shall get rest, yea, endless rest and quietness.

Now, having spoken of the first and second parts, I shall go shortly forward to the third part of the Psalm, wherein the prophet turns himself to Israel,—that is, the Church of God,—and he exhorts Israel, the Church of God, to watch and wait on the Lord: "Let Israel wait on the Lord." Finding in experience what he had got for his waiting on, to wit, mercy and deliverance, he cannot be held from glorifying him, and cannot get him glorified enough; therefore he turneth him to the whole Church, and exhorts them to wait on, that they may find such experience as he found, and that they may glorify the Lord also; so the end he looketh to is, to glorify the Lord, that he may be glorified in many believers and waiters on him. The end of the mercy of God tendeth to his own glory. There are many properties in God; he is infinite in wisdom, in power, in truth; infinite in glory and majesty. Now the Lord is glorified in all his properties,—in his wisdom, power, and justice, —but, above all things, the Lord seeks that the world should glorify him in that deep riches of mercy and gentleness that is in him, that we should praise him everlastingly in his mercy.

And as this is his will, and as the mercy of God serveth to his glory, so the soul of a man that hath once tasted of the Lord Jesus is carried away with such a zeal to his glory, that it will cause a man forget himself, and, with Moses and Paul, wish to be a curse and anathema to have God glorified. This man, ye see, when he hath tasted of his mercy, he turneth him to the whole Church, and willeth them to trust in him, that they might find his mercy, that so God may be glorified. So it is he only who hath tasted of the mercy of God, who, when he looketh through the miserable world, can have pity on any man. He that never tasted of that mercy of God, had never true pity upon any man; then the thing which he craveth is this, that many should taste of his mercy, that God may be glorified by many. His heart is moved with pity, and so all his endeavour is, to see if once he can get them won to God; for when he looketh abroad upon miserable sinners, he is full of ruth and compassion. But mark again, the zeal which he hath to the glory of God is the first cause that moved him to seek that all the world

should taste of mercy, and glorify God; so first he beareth a love to God's glory, and then he hath pity toward men. The one is the cause, the other the effect; the one precedeth, the other followeth; the one is the root, and the other the branch. All the love we carry to man should be for the love we have to God; and where these two go together,—a zeal to the glory of God, (alas! where is zeal to God's glory now-a-days? which is a true token that his glory is departing away,) and then a pity of the misery of man, a desire of the salvation of man,—then that man will forget himself, that he may seek the salvation of the world, that so in it God may be glorified. And the man that hath this disposition in his heart, is fit to be a minister and preacher of grace to the world; otherwise, if he want this disposition, it is but a cold preaching that he will make.

Now, in the next words, when he hath proponed the exhortation, and desired them to wait on the Lord, to move them the more, he pointeth out to the Church the nature of God, what God is; for we must know what God is, ere ever we put our trust and confidence in him. "For, why?" saith he, "with the Lord is mercy and gentleness;" as if he would say, The Lord is full of mercy, his mercies are incomprehensible, yea, infinite, and neither man nor angel can sound out the deepness thereof. He is all mercy. And as St John saith in his first Epistle, chap. iv. ver. 8. "The Lord is love." Therefore, await on him. For why? there is no want nor scant of mercy in him. This is well to be marked, when he exhorteth Israel to wait upon the Lord, he saith not, because, "He is omnipotent, and infinite in justice, only wise," &c. But he giveth this reason, "because mercy is with him, therefore, wait upon him." This would be well considered, what is the cause of this? Now I will ask another question. What thing in God need we most into this world? There are many things which we have much need of. What is it that we have most need of? Another question. What is the estate that every one of us is born in, in this world? Are we not born sinners? Conceived and born in sin and iniquity? And so are we not all miserable?

For there is nothing for sinners but misery, death and damnation, and so all sinners are miserable. So what thing is it that a sinner wanteth most? what is it that sin and misery craveth, but mercy, and if thou be miserable, the thing in this world that thou shouldest crave first, is mercy, that God would be merciful to thee. So mercy and forgiveness of sin is the first thing whereto thou oughtest to have recourse. And if thou wilt tell a miserable body that feeleth himself to be miserable and the child of wrath, that God is omnipotent, if thou point him out in his wisdom, in his justice, he shall be so far from receiving any comfort, and consolation, of any of these things, that, by the contrary, he shall be so terrified that he dare not presume to seek God, to look to him, to come to him, &c. But he will run away from God: but tell him that God is merciful, and full of grace in Jesus Christ, that is the sweetest speech that ever he heard But alas! few of us feeleth that burthen of sin: Who is he that groaneth under sin? Who feareth the terrors of that wrath? If thou find them, then tell thee of the mercies of Jesus Christ, it would be the sweetest tale that ever thou heardest. And when a man is once sensible of the infinite mercies of God, in Jesus, then tell him of all the infinite properties of God; tell him of his power, wisdom, and providence, they will all serve to his comfort: for why? He will think that all things that are in God appertain to him and serve to his weal; he will find that all things will serve to his salvation; otherwise, without this assurance of mercy, he will never think them comfortable. So there is a sure ground, the faith of a man or woman, first of all, is ever relative to the mercy of God; and that is the first object of faith. Indeed, having gotten a grip of mercy, then it extendeth to all the rest; but, before that, there is nothing in God that it can rest upon. Ye see by experience, when the Law is preached there is little allurance of the heart; but when the Evangel and Christ Jesus is preached, the heart is drawn on and allured. What is the cause of this? The doctrine of the Law is a doctrine of extreme justice, and his justice doeth nothing but terrify the soul; but the doctrine of the Evangel is a doctrine of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, which draweth to it

the hearts of men; albeit thou hear the law preached a hundred years, and hear no more, thou shalt be so far from being the better, that thou shalt still be the worse; so this testifieth that the object of our faith is the surpassing mercy of God. Then, if thou wouldest search the nature of God, (and search him a thousand years, thou shalt never come to the ground of his deepness,) search out especially his love and mercy. A man may fail and vanish away in curiosity, searching the deepness of God; but in searching out his mercy thou shalt never err; it shall be with joy and consolation of the heart. Paul prayeth for the Ephesians (chap. iii. verse 18,) that they might attain to that infinite deepness and breadth, length and heighth in God, for God is infinitely deep in all things. But wherefore is it that he prayeth? Even that they, searching in God, should search that infinite profundity of the love of God. Surely, if we would know that profundity of God, and search into his nature, then let us search always into that love and mercy of God in Jesus Christ; and this searching hath ever a growth and increase in faith, till we get a sight of him everlastingly.

To go forward, He is not content to say, "with him is gentleness," but he subjoins, "with him is great redemption." The words grow in highness, and these words comprehend and set out a greater mercy in God than the former. Now, the mercy of God in Jesus Christ is not all told in a word. Alas, for want of feeling we speak slenderly and lightly of it. No, in very deed, all the words, and the greatest words in the world, of the most holy, most wise, and most eloquent men, is not able to set out and point out that infinite greatness and deepness of it, and he and she that once have tasted of mercy, scarcely can they find words to express the thousandth part of it; when they have gotten a little taste and apprehension of it, they are not able to get words to express that apprehension of the heart. Paul commonly calleth it the riches of mercy, "God who is rich in mercy, according to his infinite and great love," &c., (Eph. ii. 4.) Paul, David, and the rest of them, cannot get words to express that apprehension of mercy that they

have in their hearts. No, there is no creature that is capable of that infinite mercy. For the work that the Spirit of Jesus Christ doth work in the heart, whether it be a sense of dolour, or a sense of joy, the tongue of no creature can tell or express. Paul calleth it sighs inexpressible; and Peter calleth it joy unspeakable. So the heart cannot express the greatness of the work of the Spirit. Men will think them hyperbolical words, but that is a token that they have not tasted that joy and mercy in their own hearts.

Now, in the last words, he cometh near hand, and makes a particular promise of his mercy to his Church, "He will redeem Israel," his Church, "from all her iniquity." As he would say, I have told you, he is merciful and full of redemption, but I come nearer hand; thou shalt find in experience, that he is merciful, and full of redemption. So it is not enough to the preachers of the word, to preach God's mercy and redemption generally to the world. No, they must come nearer hand, and, in promising, they must make to the hearts of the people a particular application, and say, not only, God is merciful, but, he would be merciful unto you, and he is full of redemption, and he shall redeem you. And so say I, I have not been speaking of mercy and redemption that appertaineth not to us, but the Lord shall be merciful, and redeem you, if ye believe in Jesus Christ; for there is no grace but in him. If this particular application be not made, the conscience of sin is so great, that the sinner dare not put forth his hand to receive mercy. Now, to whom pertaineth mercy and redemption? He saith, he shall redeem Israel, that is, the Church militant. The Church is militant in this world, but redemption pertaineth to it in the end. But wherefrom shall the Lord redeem the Church? not from persecution and tribulation in this world, but from all her sins. So this presupponeth first, that the Church is full of sin so long as it is in this world.

This is but a vain dream, to imagine that there shall be a Church, or any member of the same, in this world, without spot; away with that vanity. So next, the redemption of the Church standeth not so much in freeing it in persecution or tribulation, (although she

shall be redeemed from all these things also,) as in redeeming her from sin, the chief redemption shall be from sin. For why? the greatest enemy of the Church is her own sins, and it is her own sins that is the cause of all her persecution, and it is sin that the Lord mortifieth and slayeth by persecution and tribulation. For if there were no sin there would not be such a thing as a persecutor or a tyrant against her; and the greatest burthen that the godly feel is always their own sins, and they were never under so great persecution—no cross, no trouble comparable to the burthen of sin. Paul saith, (Rom. vii. 24,) "Miserable man, who shall deliver me —where from? not from persecution, albeit, he was subject to as great persecution as any man, but—"from this body of sin?" because he could not get that obedience to God that he would have had. And wherefore died Christ; was it to redeem us from persecution, or crosses in this world? No, the Lord died that he might redeem us from sin with his precious blood; and Paul (to the Corinthians) maketh mention of that triumph that the Church shall have when the Lord Jesus shall come, "O death where is thy sting?" Then she shall glory that she is redeemed from sin, and from offending of God.

And that shall be our chief felicity in that life to come, that our hearts and thoughts shall be free of all sin—we shall offend God no more, but all shall be full of obedience to Jesus Christ; and then shall we be fully sanctified and glorified, when we get that blessed presence of the Lord Jesus, which we long for. To whom be praise, honour and glory, for now and evermore.

THE FOURTEENTH SERMON.

MATTHEW, CHAP. XV.

21. And Jesus went thence, and departed into the coasts of Tyrus and Sidon.

22. And, behold a woman, a Canaanite, came out of the same coasts, and cried saying unto him, have mercy on me, O Lord, the son of David, my daughter is miserably vexed with a devil.

23. But he answered her not a word. Then came to him his disciples, and besought him, saying, send her away, for she crieth after us.

24. But he answered and said, I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

25. Yet she came and worshipped him, saying, Lord help me.

26. And he answered, and said, It is not good to take the children's bread, and to cast it to whelps.

27. But she said, truth, Lord, yet indeed the whelps eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table.

28. Then Jesus answered and said unto her, O woman, great is thy faith: Be it unto thee as thou desirest. And her daughter was made whole at that hour.

In this text which we have read,—well-beloved in the Lord Jesus,—we have a wonder that the Lord wrought on a woman, a Canaanite, a Gentile, of a cursed generation, the generation of Canaan. The wonder is, the healing of a woman's daughter that was possessed and sore and miserably vexed with a devil. The woman having the occasion to meet with the Lord through his

coming to these parts where she abode, she slippeth not the occasion, but seeketh mercy and grace; she findeth at the first great hardness and difficulty to get mercy; but at the last, overcometh all by her faith, and getteth mercy.

Now to go through this history so shortly and plainly as the Lord shall give the grace. This woman is called a Canaanite; that is, descended of that old and rotten stock of Canaan, that was destinate for wrath and destruction, (Genesis ix. 25.) Look to her estate—she is come of a cursed race, she is lying in sin and security of sin. This is the estate of every one of us—we lie in sin. Conceived in sin, and born in sin, we feel not the sin and that deadly sleep of security is worse than the sin we lie in. There is none of us better by nature than this woman was. Then, when she is thus lying in sin and security, the Lord from the heaven sendeth her a wakening and a sharp wakening; for the judgments of God are like so many messengers from heaven to waken us. In the example of the woman we see that the Lord's children must be wakened; and oftentimes our first wakening is very sharp, doleful and fearful, as it is with one that is wakened in the rage of a fever. Yet there is grace here. Well is the man that is wakened, though the wakening were never so sore and sharp, for the multitude of the world die in security, and never waken till the fire of hell waken them. Well is thee, and thou be wakened, albeit it should be with never so heavy a judgment; yea, though thy daughter, or thyself, should be possessed with a devil.

Now when this poor woman is thus wakened, and in wrestling under the heavy hand of God, the Lord casteth an eye towards her, (for no doubt, howbeit she was one of the race of cursed Canaan, yet she was chosen to eternal life,) and of very purpose he casteth himself into these parts where she was. Whatever other errand he had, there is no question but he had a particular respect to her, that she might have the occasion to come to him, and this was a great grace. When we are wakened out of security, then the mediciner hath his time, and this is a greater grace. It is a great grace to be wakened, but it is a greater grace to find

a mediciner to cure thy disease; for, as multitudes die in security, so also multitudes die in pain, torment and desperation after they are wakened. Well, she hearing tell that he was come to these parts, and that he was such a man, "a wonderful man," as the prophet Esay calleth him, "who cured all sorts of diseases, who restored sight to the blind, limbs to the lame, cleansed the leprous, and raised up the dead," she is moved to seek grace and mercy at him. Had not the Lord prevented her, and come down thither and sought her to draw her to him, there had never been such a thing, that she had sought for him. All thy misery, albeit it were never so great, will never draw thee to him, except he seek thee first, and draw thine heart unto him.

Well now to come forward: When she seeketh him, she findeth him and getteth his bodily presence. Christ and his disciples were walking together after his accustomed manner. At the first meeting, saith the text, "The woman crieth:" he is apparently going before, and the woman followeth after, and crieth; misery constraineth her to cry. And if the Lord lay his hand upon thee, he will compel thee to howl and cry. O that power and might that is in the Lord over his creature!

But I doubt not, considering the words and communication that the Lord hath with this poor, miserable, and sinful woman, but it was that spirit of adoption that opened her mouth so wide to cry upon him so, "O thou son of David, have mercy on me." What crieth she? Mark her words: she crieth, "Have mercy upon me." How many of Jerusalem cried after this manner? A heathen, a Canaanite, crieth this way: misery compelleth her to cry. But what maketh her to cry, "Mercy?" We will rail and blaspheme God when we are in misery; but what caused her to cry "Mercy?" No question the conscience of her demerits caused her to cry "Mercy." She felt herself to be worthy of all that misery wherewith she was burthened. The voice of a miserable sinner that feeleth misery is, "O Lord have mercy upon me:" but lo, how she styleth him, "O Lord, the son of David." These were the common styles, indeed, of the Lord in this life: he was called of the multitude "Lord," and,

"The son of David." But certainly I am of this mind, that this woman took these styles otherwise than the common multitude. The very eye of her soul was opened to see Jesus Christ to be the Lord, and to be the Son of God manifested in the flesh, of the seed of David—howbeit, I will not attribute unto her a distinct and clear knowledge of both his natures in one person, and of his offices.

Then, Brethren, ye see two grounds of her petition: The first is, a lordship, and power, and dominion in him of whom she sought mercy; the next is, a pity, a mercy in him of whom she sought mercy. She sought mercy at a merciful face, grace at a gracious face. Look that thy prayer be well grounded on the Lord: when thou openest thy mouth to seek mercy at that Lord, look that thou acknowledge that there is a power in that Lord to give thee every thing that thou standest in need of. And, chiefly, look that thou acknowledge that there is an infinite passing mercy in that Lord, surmounting all thy sins, and then shalt thou pray from the heart with confidence and liberty; otherwise thou mayest well seek mercy from the teeth outward, but never with thine heart. Then she letteth him see a good cause wherefore she sought mercy: "Lord, I have need of a physician, for I am sick." What sickness is sorer to a poor body than this, to be rent both in soul and body with a devil? "Lord, my poor daughter is tormented with a devil." As in thy prayer thou must have a sight of the infinite power of thy God, of the mercy of thy God, so scorn him not with a senseless heart: no, if thou gettest not a sense and feeling of thy misery, of thy trouble, and vexation in thine heart, call not upon the name of the Lord. It is true, indeed, the Lord sees and knows thy misery as well as thyself, albeit thou speak not a word unto him of thy misery; yet, for all that, the Lord takes pleasure to hear thy misery out of thine own mouth. He will not only have thee to feel and groan in thy heart for it, but he will have thee to utter it unto him with thy tongue also, if opportunity serve; he will have thee to make it known unto him, as if he knew it not; he will have thee to bring up thy misery from the ground of thy heart, and as thou feelest it in the

sadness of thy heart, so to utter it in thy voice; for the Lord delights to hear miserable bodies speaking of their misery.

Now to go forward. When she hath made her petition, see the meeting. The text saith, at the first he answered her not a word, but goeth forward with the disciples, and letteth her follow on, crying, "O Lord, have mercy upon me," not once or twice, but the cry goeth never out of her head. This is wonderful. He that prevented her with grace, and gave her grace to seek him, will not make her one word answer, but goeth his way, and will not speak unto her. Yea, thou wilt find that he who prevented thee with grace, and sought thee or ever thou soughtest him, and gave thee grace to cry and pray, "Have mercy, O God!" yet he will seem to misknow thee, and make thee none answer. Thou wilt cry, in sickness, "Mercy," but wilt thou always find mercy? No, no; thou wilt cry in other troubles, "Mercy," and his Spirit, no question, will intercede for thee, and yet for a time he will make thee none answer. What meaneth this? why doeth he so? Now when he hath given thee grace to cry for mercy, a thirst and a hunger for grace,—"Blessed are they that hunger and thirst,"—when he hath given thee this first grace, he will let thee cry a great while to try thy constancy. We never get a spiritual grace in this life, but with the grace we get always a trial; and when he giveth us grace to cry, he will try if we will cry on; and to speak the truth, brethren, all our life here is but a trial of the graces of God, which he hath given us. We get not our heaven here, but a faith to look afar off unto it, a hunger, a thirst, a desire of it; and with our thirst, a trial of our faith, a trial of our hope, of our desire to see if we will stand in it. "And then," saith Peter, "in the life to come, the trial of thy faith, and hope, and patience being ended,"—what shall follow?—"Praise, and honour, and glory when Jesus shall appear." (1 Pet. i. 7.) Thou shalt be filled with satiety and fulness of joy—thy hunger and thirst shall be satisfied as soon as ever thou seest thy Redeemer.

Now to proceed: the disciples that followed the Lord they are troubled with the cry of the woman, and say to the Lord, "Either

give her one answer or other, and let her go her way." Surely, I think, this suit of the disciples was not so much for any desire they had that he should help her, as to be quit of her crying, because they were deafened with her. So, then, the Papists need not upon this to ground their intercession of the saints in heaven for us that remain here on earth; for this ground is as weak as their doctrine of intercession is. And she directeth not her speech to the apostles here, to Peter, James or John, that they should intercede for her, but to the Lord himself: she speaketh to none of them, but she passeth and speaketh to the Lord immediately. So should we leave all the saints, and with confidence go to the Lord himself. The disciples are deafened and troubled with her crying: the Lord himself letteth her cry on, and this is a token that he is not wearied with her crying. Well, then, thou findest a comfort here when thou criest night and day: he never wearieth with thee: he saith not "Thou troublest me:" all thy cries, sighs, and sobs are pleasant to him. Men will be weary sometimes with thy crying, as we read that unjust judge was importuned by the just suit of the poor woman, and dispatcheth her away, and saith, "Thou troublest and irkest me night and day," (Luke xviii. 1.) But the true righteous judge is never wearied with thee; when he letteth thee cry out, he will not answer with a grudge, as the judge did, but cheerfully. The Lord that loveth a cheerful giver he himself giveth cheerfully. What meaneth that joy that the faithful find in their hearts, accompanying the benefit that cometh from him, but that the Lord giveth his benefits cheerfully? For if the Lord gave them not thee cheerfully, but in anger and wrath, and threw them to thee as to a reprobate, thou wouldst never have joy in the receiving of them. There is not such a thing as a reprobate can have joy in the giver, or ever have his mouth open with true thanksgiving to the Lord to say once, "I thank thee." Why? Because the Lord giveth him not his benefits in love, but in anger. So this is a sure token when thou findest joy in thine heart, and a contentation in thy prayer, and a purpose to be thankful, that the Lord giveth thee cheerfully, and heareth thee joyfully;

and if thou canst get but a joyful look of thy God, thou mayest be assured that it proceedeth of mercy. When he looketh so unto thee he doeth not as earthly kings, or any earthly creature used to do, for they can keep a fair countenance and yet have little goodwill in their hearts. Well, the woman crieth, and the disciples cry: the Lord must answer once, but he maketh an answer little to her contentment:—"I am not sent," saith he, "but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel. What have I to do with that poor woman? She is not one of my sheep; she is of a cursed generation of the Canaanites, ordained to destruction and wrath." In a word, he debarreth her from grace, he closeth the gates of heaven upon her teeth; for when he saith he is not sent to her, he shutteth her out of heaven. We ought to mark this well, for we are Canaanites, that is to say Gentiles. It is true, indeed, the Lord coming down from the heaven, and manifesting himself in the flesh, he had his commission first and principally to the Jews, and not to the Gentiles,—not to Scotland, nor England, nor Germany, nor France, chiefly and principally. As Christ said to Jerusalem, "Oh! that thou couldest see the day of thy visitation," (Luke xix. 41.) He was sent with commission to the Gentiles, but in case of the contumacy and rebellion of the Jews; as if the Lord had said unto him, "Go thy way unto my own people, whom I have chosen from among all the nations of the earth, and see if thou canst win them: go no further." And if the Jews had not been rebellious and disobedient, we had never gotten mercy and grace. Look Romans xi. 11. The fall of the Jews was the raising up of the Gentiles, and the diminution of the Jews was the riches of the Gentiles. "How got ye grace?" saith he. By their contumacy and rebellion. So Christ, sending out his disciples to preach, biddeth them go, not unto the Gentiles, or unto the Samaritans their next neighbours, "but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel," (Matt. x. 5.) And Paul, in a preaching before both the Jews and Gentiles, (Acts xiii. 46,) "The word of God," saith he, "behoved first to be preached unto you, the promise belonging unto you: But, because ye will not receive the word, and have made your-

selves unworthy of life everlasting; therefore, I will turn and preach to the Gentiles;" and so he bade the Jews good-night, and turned him to the Gentiles. And the text saith, that then the Gentiles rejoiced exceedingly.

So we were strangers from heaven, and aliens from the commonwealth of Israel. And we learn, in the example of this woman, that our entry to grace, and to heaven, was very hard and difficult. And as our entry to grace was hard, so if we fall from grace, our re-entry to grace shall be far harder. And if thou fall once from grace, hardly shalt thou get grace again. A Gentile that falleth once from grace, and treadeth under his feet the blood of Jesus, shall never be renewed with grace again. And I say to thee, O Scotland, if thou fallest from grace, look never for grace again. Look to the cities amongst the Gentiles that fell from grace, look Corinth, look Philippi, look the Galatians, &c. Got they ever grace again? No: so if Scotland fall from grace, it will be a wonder if ever it get grace again. The wrath of God shall be poured forth upon every one, from the greatest to the smallest. For if he received not the Jews, his own people, into grace, after that they were once fallen from it, shall he take thee up again, a Gentile, a vile dog, in respect of them? And yet our men in this country care not to cast themselves and their whole land into hell, and into everlasting abjection from grace without all hope of recovery.

So this is a hard answer, she findeth no grace at all. They that follow Jesus Christ, and seek for grace, will find in their way a sore trial. Men think that heaven is but a common benefit, and that it is easy to a man to come thither: but albeit thou be a king, an emperor, or monarch, thou wilt find a hard entry therein. Will thy kingdom or thy lordship bring thee to heaven? No; if thou sleep on in careless security, thou shalt never see heaven. So if there were no more but this example of this Gentilish woman, it teaches us, that it is hard to win heaven, and that the gates of heaven at the first shall be shut upon our teeth. What is the cause of this? Thou art further from Christ, and from grace, from heaven, and

from the joy of heaven, a thousand times more than the natural earth is from the natural heaven. Thou art a Canaanite, come of a cursed generation. What ado hath a Canaanite with heaven; so unworthy a thing, with so worthy a thing? The Lord, before he opened the gates of heaven unto her, he would let her understand, that she had nothing to do with heaven. And I say unto thee, that the Lord, ere ever he give thee grace, he will have thee knowing by tentations and trials, that thou art a Canaanite, descended of a cursed and reprobate generation, and unworthy that ever thou shouldest see heaven, or have ado with heaven. And if he bring thee not to this sight and this fear, I give thee thy doom, thou shalt never see heaven.

Now mark, he hath closed the doors of heaven upon her. And, certainly, this answer might have caused her to have gone away with shame and confusion. But for all this tentation, she continueth still, she crieth still, and hopeth for mercy. Hold upon mercy, hope still, believe on still, and that hope shall never make thee ashamed. She hath cried for mercy, the gates of heaven are shut against her. What doeth she? Goeth she her way? No, no; she tarrieth still, and knocketh. And if thou knewest what heaven were, and what hell were, thou wouldest be loath to leave heaven. Oh! the torments that remain for them that fall into hell! So she knocketh, and falleth down upon her face, and adoreth, and saith, "O Son of David, have mercy on me." This adoring was not only for the casting the devil out of her daughter. No, no; she sought everlasting life at the hands of the Lord, and that healing of her daughter was an earnest-penny of that life. This was the mind of the woman, no question. It is said in the Scripture, "Seek and ye shall find, ask, and ye shall receive; knock, and it shall be opened unto you," (Matt. vii. 7.) If the seeking fail thee, yet tarry still, and knock. And if it had not been the Lord's will that a sinner, when he findeth heaven's gates closed upon him, should tarry still, and knock, would he have bidden him knock? It were a presumptuous thing for a beggar to knock at one of our doors. But seeing the Lord hath expressly com-

manded thee to knock, then knock on boldly. And if thou go away with the first answer, or the first nay-saying, thou wast never truly hungry nor thirsty, and it is a token that thou countest little of the grace of God. If thou knewest how precious a thing the grace of God and Jesus Christ were, and what heaven were, and what hell were, thou wouldest never cease knocking, day nor night, all the days of thy life. For if thou go away proudly, and tarriest not upon God's answer, but speak presumptuously, and say, "If he will not give me grace, let him hold it to himself," as blasphemous men will say; then he will shoot thee into hell. For if thou wert a king of all the world, thou shalt never get thine head in at heaven gates, except thou knock. Lord, if the world knew how hard a thing it is to get entry there! Men think that they will come easily and sleeping to heaven, albeit they take their pleasure and pastime. But they deceive themselves, there must be much striving and fighting ere they get heaven. Before that heaven could be opened, it behoved Jesus Christ to shed his precious blood.

Now, Brethren, ye may say to me, alas, who can knock? Who is able to come there? No, thou hast no power once to lift up thine hand to knock at that gate, except that the Lord put out his hand and hold thee up even in the mean time when he is holding thee back. So wonderful is the Lord's working with his own, he will be holding them aback with the one hand, and he will be pulling them in to him as fast with the other hand. When he will be dissuading he will persuade, when he forbiddeth to approach unto him, he inwardly allureth men to come unto him.

Now, will ye hear the Lord's answer? If the first answer was hard, this is as hard and rough; for with an angry countenance, no doubt, he answereth; "It is not lawful," saith he, "to take the children's bread, and to cast it unto dogs." It is even as much as if he had taken her by the shoulders, and thrust her out. First he saith, "Thou art but a dog, a Gentile, and this that thou seekest is a precious thing—the bread of life—this appertaineth only to the children of God; shall I take that, and give it unto a

dog?" As if he had said, "Go thy way, dog, thou shalt not get such a precious benefit as thou requirest."

Then we see here, because she was a Gentile, therefore he calleth her a dog. Suppose thou be a King, (I pray thee be not too proud in thine own conceit), and yet a Gentile—*ergo*,[1] by nature a dog. He will cast a kingdom, an empire, a monarchy to a man, as one will cast a bone into the mouth of a dog, but all is nothing in respect of one drop of grace, and the hope of the kingdom of heaven. Albeit thou be a beggar, and yet gettest but one drop of grace through Jesus Christ, any hope of the kingdom of heaven, any beginning of regeneration, then thou hast gotten a greater grace, a more precious thing than Cæsar, that got all the world. There is no comparison betwixt the meanest spiritual and heavenly gift, and betwixt the greatest temporal and earthly thing.

Now I note again the hardness to win to the kingdom of heaven. Would ye not think it a marvellous thing to turn a dog into the Son of God? It is as great a wonder to see a Gentile to be called to heaven, as to make dogs and stones the sons of God. Now know, that before thou gettest access to heaven, although thou wert a king, thou must be humbled in thine own conceit, thou must know thine own estate and condition, thou must think thyself as vile and contemptible as a very dog by nature, as this woman was brought to say; otherwise thou shalt never get heaven.

Then, brethren, if the entry to the kingdom of heaven be so hard, if thou like a dog return to vomit, or as a sow to the puddle, as Peter sayeth, (2 Peter ii. 22,) after thou art washen with the blood of that immaculate Lamb, then it is a wonder if ever thou get grace to re-enter again. Now hear the poor woman's answer; she granteth all:—"It is very true thou sayest. I am but a dog, a vile and an unworthy wretch, and that bread of heaven is a precious thing, I am not worthy that it should be casten unto me. Yet" (saith she) "the whelps do eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table. If thou wilt not shew me this grace to eat bread with the children yet let me eat the parings and crumbs under the table."

[1] In consequence of being a Gentile, thou art by nature, &c.

Ere ever the Lord bestow grace and eternal life upon thee, he will have thee to accompt thyself unworthy of any grace; yea, he will have thee to accompt as vilely of thyself as of a dog, albeit thou hadst never so many great prerogatives otherways in the world. Ere thou get that life, thy conscience will accuse thee to be unworthy of such a life, and such a joy as the Lord ordained for his own. She skipped before, now she thrumbleth[1] and thrusteth in at the gates of heaven, and goeth like a violent woman—not indeed pressing like a sturdy beggar, to be in whether the Lord would or not; but by humility and acknowledging of her own unworthiness, in all submission, coming—as it were, creeping like a silly whelp under the table; that is "the violence that is done to the kingdom of heaven," (Matt. xi. 12.) She taketh up heaven by violence, in all submission and humility. And if thou be once but a whelp under the table of God, in the house of God to gather up the crumbs of that plentiful table, thou art called to a greater honour than if thou were made king of all the world. "I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of God than to be king of all the world."

Now, brethren, when she is thronging in, he is loath to put her out again. No;[2] he saith, "O woman, great is thy faith, be it unto thee as thou desirest; thy faith hath won the victory." From whence had this poor woman all this perseverance, and this continuance and this constancy, but from him? And yet he standeth wondering at his own graces. The Lord,—behold his doing,—when he hath given thee grace and perseverance, when thou comest to heaven, he will wonder at thee; and there is the end of all thy perseverance, a fair crown of glory.

And what more doeth he? That same moment, that force that was in the word, that proceeded out of the mouth of Jesus, extended itself to the woman's daughter, and healeth her, and casteth the devil out of her. Now she sought only to creep in as a whelp under the table to eat the crumbs, and now the Lord setteth her up at the table to sit with him in glory; as

[1] *i. e.* Pusheth. [2] He will not put her out again.

Christ himself saith, "I say to thee," saith he, "many shall come out of the east, and out of the west, into mine house, into the kingdom of heaven, and sit down at the table with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," (Matt. viii. 11.) And from whence are we come? Even out of the furthermost point of the west. And, O Scotland, believe in Jesus, seek earnestly grace at him, and wait patiently, when he trieth thee, and thou shalt find that thou shalt be set down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in glory. We are the sons of God indeed, but it appeareth not yet what we shall be; but one day it shall appear, when we shall be crowned with the crown of glory. The Lord work this faith and earnest desire of grace in us for Jesus Christ's sake! To whom be all glory, honour and praise, for ever and ever. So be it.

THE FIFTEENTH SERMON.

LUKE, CHAP. VII.

37. And behold, a woman in the city, who was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at table in the Pharisee's house, she brought a box of ointment:

38. And she stood at his feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment.

39. Now when the Pharisee who bade him saw it, he spake within himself, saying, If this man were a prophet, he would surely have known who and what manner of woman this is who toucheth him: for she is a sinner.

40. And Jesus answered, and said unto him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. And he said, Master, say on.

41. There was a certain lender who had two debtors: the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty.

42. When they had nothing to pay, he forgave them both: Which of them, therefore, tell me, will love him most?

43. Simon answered, and said, I suppose that he to whom he forgave most. And he said unto him, Thou hast truly judged.

44. Then he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, and thou gavest me no water to my feet: But she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head.

45. Thou gavest me no kiss: But she, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet.

46. Mine head with oil thou didst not anoint: But she hath anointed my feet with ointment.

47. Wherefore, I say unto thee, many sins are forgiven her: For she loved much. To whom a little is forgiven, he doth love a little.

48. And he said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven thee.

49. And they that sat at table with him, began to say within themselves, Who is this that even forgiveth sins?

50. And he said to the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.

THIS text,—well-beloved in the Lord Jesus,—containeth a notable history of the conversion of a penitent sinner, a sinful woman, whom the Lord first called inwardly by his Spirit, and to whom, after, outwardly by his own voice, he giveth assurance of the remission of her sins. And we have first set down the occasion that the Lord offereth to this sinful woman to meet with him, that she may receive mercy and forgiveness of her sins. Of very purpose he casteth himself in her way, and into these parts where the woman was, and yieldeth to dine in the house of a Pharisee, where she might have the occasion and opportunity to meet with him. This occasion being offered unto her, being partly touched with a feeling of her own misery, partly being prevented with the Spirit of Jesus alluring her, she letteth it not slip, but she cometh to the house where the Lord was, and she cometh not empty handed, but she bringeth with her a box of precious sweet-smelling ointment, and, coming to the house where the Lord was sitting at table, look what she doeth. She entereth not in pertly, and boldly, neither cometh she before his face, being ashamed of her own sins; she was ashamed that these eyes, these all-seeing eyes of the Lord, which pierce into the soul of man, should see her: "So she standeth," (saith the text,) "behind his back, and then she falleth down at his feet."

The[1] sight of thy sin,—as it will work shame of face, when the re-

1 This seems to mean, that just as there is a natural sense of shame at the first conception of sin, there is a profound sense of humility produced by God's grace opening

ques of nature begin to challenge it, when it striveth to enter into the soul, so that scarcely thou darest look a man in the face, let be the Lord, who is the revenger of it—even so, when it once pleaseth the Lord to waken the conscience, it will work in thee a wonderful humility, so that thou wilt stoop, and cast thyself down under the feet of thy God. The stiffness that ye see in men, who bow not their bodies and knees unto the Lord, proceedeth of the want of that sight of sin and corruption within them. If these men who fling their heads in the air, and make their boasts of their evil deeds saw their sins, they would be ashamed of themselves, and humble themselves in the dust. When she is fallen down, she weepeth. The sight of sin will make thee to weep and mourn. Thou laughest now, and playest the wanton, because there is a veil casten over thine eye, that blindeth thee so that thou canst not see sin in the own colour; yea, it covereth thyself from thee: but if once thou saw sin and thyself well, it would make thee to weep and lament bitterly. Well, she leaveth not off yet, but being drawn and allured with a sense of his preventing mercy, that came from him, she draweth near unto him. If she had not felt that love that came from him, she durst never have come near him. As a malefactor hath no pleasure to behold the countenance of the judge, but his eye and countenance is terrible to him; even so, the Lord is fearful and terrible to them that feel not that love that proceedeth from him.

It is the sense of the love that allureth sinners to come to God. As David saith, (Psalm cxxx. 3,) "If thou straitly markest iniquity, no flesh can stand; but mercy is with thee, that thou mayest be feared." The tears that the displeasure for sin expresseth out of her, she will not lose them, but she taketh "them and washeth his feet with them," and then "taketh the hair of her head, and drieth them therewith." Hadst thou once a sense of that sweet mercy in Jesus Christ, were that love once spread abroad in thine heart by his Holy Spirit, as the Apostle[1] speaketh, O how thou

up a sense of sin. The *reliques of natare* seems to indicate man's natural feelings or conscience not wholly depraved.

[1] Rom. v. 5.

wouldst love him, and be careful to serve and pleasure him! This want of love towards the Lord Jesus argues plainly that thou hast not felt that love of his towards thee; for if once thou hadst felt how well he loveth thee, who shed his precious blood for thee, then it is a fair matter to thee to shed tears for him that shed his blood for thee; and if thou once felt that love, now all the tears, and all the moisture in thy body—yea, thy very soul—thou wouldest be glad to pour it out for him, and consecrate thy life unto his service; but living against him, in doing all kind of villany in despite of him, thou testifiest plainly that thou hast never found the virtue of his blood.

Look what Paul says, (2 Cor. v. 14,) "The love of God constraineth me;" that is, bindeth up my soul and all the powers and faculties thereof, and occupieth my whole senses, that I am ravished from all things in the world, to get my heart and affections fixed upon him. Why? saith he. Because he loved me so well, that he hath died for me, and, therefore, I will consecrate my life to him who hath purchased everlasting life for me. And therefore, whosoever hath not a purpose to pour out his life for Jesus Christ, and hath not a free heart towards him in some measure, he cannot have any sure argument that Christ hath died for him; and if you have not that assurance, wo is thee, that ever thou tookest life: it had been better thou hadst been made a stock or a stone, if thou findest not that Christ died for thee.

But what further did this silly woman? She ceaseth not here, but is continually "kissing the feet of the Lord." Ye who before delighted in kissing, leave your harlots, and from this woman learn to kiss the Lord, or else thou and thy vile mouth shalt burn in hell. Kiss the feet of the Lord, who hath shed his blood for thee. For so oft as thou kissest the feet of the Lord, thou shalt find that thou suckest grace out of him. And this woman, who was before a vile harlot, now only she taketh pleasure to kiss the Lord. And what did this woman more? It is said, when she had bestowed her body upon him, she taketh that "box of costly ointment," that she had prepared for him, "and anointed his feet therewith." Bestow

thyself first upon the Lord, and bestow thy body upon him and his service, and say to him, "Now Lord I give thee, and I bestow upon thee mine heart, my soul, my body, and all the members thereof; keep thou them in holiness, that they may be consecrate to thee." Then when thou hast bestowed first thine heart and thyself upon him, it will be none hard matter to bestow thy goods when his glory requireth. And, certainly, when men are so niggard in the Lord's cause, that they will not bestow a penny upon him when his glory requireth, or upon his poor members, it is a sure argument that they never bestowed their heart upon him. Many vain men and women will say, "And if Christ were in the world, for the love I carry unto him, I would follow him, serve him, employ my body and all that I have in his service, and to his glory." But if thou wilt not bestow thy goods upon the needy, upon his servants and upon these who carry his image, if Christ himself were in the world, thou wouldest bestow nothing upon him; for if once thou were sensible of that liberality that Jesus offereth unto his own, thou wouldest love him so well, that thou wouldest shew thyself liberal to these who carry his image; thou wouldest give all that thou hast for his cause, who is only able to make thee rich.

Now to go forward in the history. Whilest she is thus exercised in weeping, in washing the Lord's feet with her tears, in drying them with her hair, in anointing them with precious ointment, what doeth the Lord? What is his behaviour? All this time the Lord speaketh never a word unto her; all this time while she findeth so great grace and mercy in him, he turneth not once his face unto her. If thou gettest once the Lord's back near unto thee, if thou gettest leave to kiss his feet, howbeit thou gettest not his face at the first, nor his countenance at the entry, yet out of him thou shalt suck grace and mercy unspeakable. It is a marvellous thing to see how a sinner will get grace. When the Lord will seem to turn his back upon thee, yet follow thou on and leave him not, till he turn his face toward thee; and I assure thee thou shalt get his face at the last. Therefore, never depart from him, but stick by his back and his feet, and certainly in the end thou shalt

get that sight of that joyful countenance that shall complete thy joy.

Now to come to the Pharisee's part, who called him to dinner—for we have heard the part of the woman. The Pharisee, named Simon, sitteth still and seeth all that is done and speaketh not one word, but thinketh. And he thinketh the thing which is not good; his mouth is closed, but he blasphemeth in his heart, "If this man were a prophet," saith he, "he would know who, and what manner of woman this were who toucheth him, for she is a sinner." He thought incontinent, that the filthiness of the woman would pollute the Lord—would he suffer this vile harlot to touch him if he were a prophet or a holy man? Ye see now, Brethren, how disdainfully he thinketh of her; and how he contemneth her in his heart. A Pharisee; that is—a hypocrite that will counterfeit outwardly a kind of holiness—see how he will disdain a poor sinner, that is an open sinner in the sight of the world. A hypocrite is a foul sinner, and he will do such things in secret that is a shame to speak of, because his sin is cloaked from the sight of the world, and from his own eyes. When he beholdeth another sinner again, that sinneth openly in the sight of the world, how disdainfully will he count and speak of the open sinner, and will spit at him! The severest censurer that ever was, is a hypocrite; and then he will stand up admiring of himself and his coloured righteousness, and say, "I thank God, I am not like other men." And what is the cause of this? The Lord saith "The hypocrite is nothing but a whited tomb, a painted grave, all within is full of dead men's bones, stink and filthiness." (Matthew xxiii. 27.) And yet that cloak of hypocrisy being spread over the heart, the hypocrite seeth not that filthiness that is in his own heart; and that hypocrite that thinketh to beguile all the world, chiefly he beguileth himself. And if thou sawest that seed of that mischief that is within thyself, certainly thou wouldest disdain thyself, and thou wouldest be inclined to judge charitably of a poor sinner; thou wouldest not be so sore and rigorous a censurer of others as thou art; and if thou sawest what kind of stuff were within thyself, howbeit it break not out, thou

wouldest say; "Now, I see as great corruption in myself as in any body, and it is the Lord that letteth it not break out. The Lord purge and renew me, and the Lord purge and renew yonder sinner from the sin that breaketh out so openly in outward action!" Now as the Pharisee knoweth not himself, so he knoweth not what the Lord is, he knoweth him not to be the mediator come into the world to save poor sinners; and, therefore, he concludeth so blasphemously, the Lord is not a prophet.

Mark, Brethren, whoever seeth not that misery that is within themselves, of necessity they never saw that mercy that is in Jesus Christ. These two go together of necessity; whosoever seeth not himself is ignorant of Christ, and would not buy the mercy of Christ for one penny, he careth not for Christ's kindness, he counteth grace and mercy all but vanity. Now of these two followeth another thing. Not seeing himself, first; next, not seeing that mercy in Christ, not knowing that he was that Saviour of the world —of these two followeth this wicked conceit in him, seeing the sinner deal with him to get grace and mercy, and the Lord dealing so mercifully with her, he scorneth and contemptuously disdaineth in his heart this dealing that the poor sinner hath with the Lord. The men who see not their own misery nor the Lord's mercy, they will scorn and disdain a poor sinner, either outwardly, calling them sighing brethren and sobbing sisters, or at least in their heart inwardly. And I am assured there are hypocrites enough this day, who have no sense of mercy, that scorn in their hearts a poor sinner that seeketh mercy of the Lord, and hold in derision our fasting, our humiliation, and all our preaching which they hear. And therefore, as thou wouldest not be culpable of such scorning, and wouldest not be involved in that judgment that abideth that scornful number, seek, I beseech thee, to get these two sights, and say, "Lord, I am but a miserable body, and am unworthy to look up to the heaven"—and then get a sense of the mercy of the Lord; and then thou shalt be so far from scorning grace in thine heart, that thou shalt be fain to creep in with all humility to get a part and portion of the grace that is spoken of. The Pharisee yet hath not

been one of the worst of them. He was not an open blasphemer, but a hypocrite; I doubt not, but the Lord hath had mercy on him; but what, how, and when his conversion hath been, the Lord knoweth.

Now I go forward to the part of the Lord, first toward the Pharisee, and then toward the poor woman. The Pharisee conceived not this so quietly and secretly within his own heart, but the Lord, the searcher of the heart, that made the heart, draweth it to light, and saith, "Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. I know what thou thinkest well enough; no man needeth to tell me thine heart, and, therefore, I will speak something unto thee." Simon answereth, "Lord, say on." Brethren, strive to present holy thoughts before God: think it not enough to keep thine hand holy, thy tongue from blasphemy, but keep a holy heart unto the Lord; begin not to play the counterfeit, to speak holily and to have a fair shew outwardly, and then to keep a foul heart. And if an evil thought escape thee, (as who will not have a thousand evil thoughts?) if a blasphemy against God escape thee, (as who blasphemeth not God in their heart as well as the Pharisee?) be sorrowful for it, away with it, let it not tarry, but say as Paul saith, (Rom. vii. 17,) "It is not I that doeth it, but the corruption of my nature which remaineth within me." Renounce that foul birth, and take it never unto thee; and this is that battle which we should have night and day, to get that vile canker and corruption which uttereth itself so violently against that inviolable majesty, repressed and put away.

Now, when he had thus spoken, he beginneth to let Simon see that that same very woman, of whom he counted so disdainfully, was not so vile a woman as he thought; as though he would say, "Simon, thou thinkest there is not so vile a sinner in the world as she is; but I say unto thee she is not so sinful: I have cleansed her,—I have given her remission of all her sins." (Who dare call a sinner foul that the Lord hath called clean?) "Darest thou call a penitent sinner foul who hath washen my feet with tears, and repenteth unfeignedly?" Then subsuming, he saith, "This woman

repenteth unfeignedly, and testifieth her repentance in loving me so exceedingly: therefore," he concludeth, "all her sins are forgiven her. Therefore, Simon, disdain her not, no more than I do."

But to consider more narrowly, first, the ground of the proposition; then the assumption; last, that joyful conclusion. The ground of his reason is this—to whom a great debt is forgiven, that person will love exceedingly. To make us to understand this the better he bringeth in a familiar example, a parable:—"There was a certain lender who had two debtors; the one owed five hundred pence and the other fifty: and when they had nothing to pay he forgave them both. Which of them, therefore, tell me, will love him most?" "He," saith Simon, "to whom he forgave most." "Well," saith the Lord, "then I take this proposition out of thy mouth, He to whom much is forgiven, he loveth exceedingly: he loveth much." And, certainly, if thou have no sense of debt, if thou thinkest in thine own conceit that thou owest nothing, I say to thee, thou lovest not God; thou hast no love towards him. A wanton sinner that feels not the burthen of sin, he hath no more love to God, nor to Christ, than a dog hath. Fy on thee, dog! fy on thee that hast not a sense of sin, for thou hast no love to God! Next, again, suppose thou have a sense of sin, and feelest some burthen thereof, yet if thou but thinkest that thou hast a penny in thy purse to pay God for thy debt, thou wilt never love thy God. And I say to thee, I could never think in mine heart that a Papist, a vain lowne,[1] who will boast of his merits, who glorieth in his own works, and thinketh he can pay God for his redemption, I say I could never be persuaded that such a one could love the Lord. Next, except with the sense of thy debt, thou find also a free remission of all thy debt, alas! thou canst have no love to God. Feel thy sin and thy poverty as much as thou wilt, if thou findest not a free remission and pardon of all thy debt, thou wilt never love him; but he is a terror unto thee so oft as thou thinkest of him, and thou wouldst flee out of the world to escape his hands. Then, thirdly, thou that feelest thy debt, and then feelest thine own

[1] Generally *loon*, *i. e.*, a worthless, or an ignorant man.

poverty, that thou hast not one penny to give him, (suppose thou be a king, all thy kingdom will not ransom thy soul: no, sell the heaven and the earth and all, they will not ransom the soul of one creature; they will not fill up one penny of the sum to ransom the soul of one sinner,) and then with the sense of the poverty feeleth a free remission, and heareth the Lord say, "I forgive thee all, I will have none of thy silver; but I forgive thee all in the precious blood of my dear son, the Lord Jesus"—(there is the ransom, and I adjudge thee to damnation that seekest any other ransom)—then thou wilt love the Lord exceedingly. These three things being felt, first with groans and sobs feeling the debt and burthen: next, thy poverty and unability to pay; and, last, a free remission and disburthening, that sinner would bestow all his goods, and land, and life, and all that he hath, for the love that he beareth to the Lord Jesus; thine heart will be sweetly loosed with a love to the Lord. Who is able to express that love and that unspeakable joy that will be in the heart of a sinner that feeleth the remission of his sins!

Brethren, there is yet more than this in the comparison—"He to whom little is forgiven, he will love little; and he to whom much is forgiven will love much." He or she that will come in and confess their sins, but will in the meantime extenuate it and say; "It is but a little sin, it is but a venial sin, and many one hath done twice as much;" that body, I say, that will extenuate sin, although it were but an evil thought against that inviolable Majesty, I know not whether such a one hath gotten remission of their sins or not. And supposing they have gotten remission of it, yet it will be but a little love that they will have unto the Lord. But he or she that will come in and aggreadge their sin, though it were but a thought against that Majesty, for thou art never able to aggreadge it enough; and if thou find a remission of thy sin, then no man can think how heartily that body will love the Lord; for if once thou gettest grace to repent, and to love God, thou mayest be assured that thy sins, though they were never so great, never so weighty, and many in number, shall never hinder thee of

grace and mercy. And then, again, I say to thee, the greatest sinner that counteth most of their sins, once feeling the remission of their sins, will ever be the greatest lover. Paul, an oppressor, a persecutor, a blasphemer, a wrongful man, once feeling the love of the Lord forgiving him, O! how exceedingly loved he the Lord. A penitent sinner shall far surpass them in love that have not sinned half so much. The world shall admire at him for his love; he shall be a miracle to all them that behold him.

Now I proceed forward. The Pharisee can judge well enough of this general, that he that hath most forgiven him loveth most; and that love is the effect of remission of sins; (well art thou that lovest the Lord, for be assured that the Lord loveth thee, and hath forgiven thee thy sins;) but when it cometh to the assumption that that poor woman, that sinful woman, loved the Lord, there he erreth. Behold, brethren, the light of nature, and the blindness of nature. By nature we will know the general well enough. Suppose thou hadest no more but that light of nature, thou wilt confess that a murderer should die the death; but if thou come to the particular, "O! but thou art a murderer, thou hast a bloody heart, a bloody hand, and thou art all bloody;" will any man suffer that? No, no, and therefore he will hold off this conclusion, "Therefore thou shouldest die the death, and be taken to the place of execution, and there lose thine head." And would to God that our bloody men, whether they be noblemen, lords, earls, barons, or others, had been beheaded long since; for it is a marvel that plague followeth not after plague continually, till this land be purged of this blood that crieth continually in the streets. So the Pharisee could not believe the particular, that ever the poor sinner could get mercy, he was so hard a censurer of the poor woman. But I count it nothing worth to judge uprightly in general, except also thou judge uprightly in particular. The judges of the land they will judge uprightly in general; but come to the particular, to kinsfolks, friends, and alliances, this man or that man with his bud,[1] O there the judgment is perverted.

[1] *i. e.* Bribe.

Well is the judge that judgeth uprightly in particular; for a Turk may judge uprightly in general; and woe is thee that judgest not uprightly in particular.

Now, to come to the other part of the reason. The Lord turneth him to the poor woman, and the more the Pharisee findeth fault with the Lord, the more the Lord turneth him toward her, and saith, "I say to thee, Simon, that this woman loveth me more a thousand times than ever thou didst." If thou withholdest grace from a sinner, then, in despite of thy teeth, the Lord will heap grace upon him. The assumption is this—"This woman loveth me exceedingly;" then the conclusion will follow in the own room—"Therefore, this woman certainly hath all her sins forgiven her." Then he declareth the assumption by way of comparison with the Pharisee, "Thou calledst me to dinner," saith he, "but this woman loved me better than thou doest. I entered into thine house, and thou gavest me no water to my feet," after the fashion of the country: "But she hath washed my feet with tears. Look if this be a token of love." Then, again, "Thou gavest me no kiss," after the fashion of the country; "but she, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet." Then, "Mine head with oil thou didst not anoint: But she hath anointed my feet with ointment. Therefore, she loveth me better than thou."

Now the Pharisee could not discern of the penitent sinner; but the Lord letteth him see that he can discern betwixt a hypocrite and a true penitent sinner—there he hath paid him in his own hand. And the Lord letteth us see that he taketh heed, and shall take heed to the end of the world, to the least thing that thou doest for his cause to any of his. Who would have thought that the Lord would have taken heed to this? The Lord will take heed who giveth him water to wash his feet, which is but a sober office. The Lord will take heed who will stoop down and give him kiss, and wash his feet with tears. The Lord will take heed who will bestow common oil to anoint him with, or who will bestow precious ointment on him; and in the great day, when all secrets shall be revealed, (look if he took heed what we were doing in the

world, Matt. xv. 34,) he will say, "Thou gavest me nothing when I was here in the world, thou visitedst me not:" and he will point out place, time, and all the circumstances unto thee.

Then, brethren, if the Lord taketh so good heed what we do, well is the soul that giveth but a piece of bread to a hungry body for Christ's sake, or a coat to a naked body for his sake. And, therefore, ever have him before thine eyes, and say, "Lord, I give this to thee, that thou mayest not say to me when thou comest to judge the world, "Thou gavest me nothing."

Now, I hear there is a great poverty and famine in this land, and wo unto them that are the instruments of hunger. Let us be so far from this, to be the causes thereof, that, on the contrary, we may pinch ourselves, that we may spare upon the needy; for I see the Lord will try our liberality. Therefore, let us spare upon the poor in this land, that we may hear of the Lord in that great day, "Come ye blessed of my Father, for ye gave me meat and ye gave me drink in this world." And further, we see here, the trial of a hypocrite. How shalt thou know a hypocrite? The Lord layeth down the rule: "Ye shall know them by their fruits;" (Matt. vii. 16.) Ye shall know by their doings; a hypocrite hath many fair words. And I doubt not but this Pharisee, when he invited the Lord to dinner, had many fair words; but there shall be little doing, at the least he shall never do any thing heartily. Where is this Pharisee's humility? He offereth not to wash the Lord's feet, who was ever travelling and journeying, nor to kiss the Lord when he entered into his house, after the fashion of the country, nor shewed none heartsomeness towards the Lord. A hypocrite can never do any thing heartily, neither to God nor man. Then wouldest thou know a true Christian man or woman? Ye hear never a word out of her mouth, all this time that she is washing the Lord's feet with tears, kissing them, anointing them with ointment. So a true Christian hath few words, but many deeds. One good deed is worth ten words. And when thou speakest look that thy words be hearty, and savour of love. Look that thou bless not with thy mouth, and curse with thine heart. And whatsoever

thou doest, do it heartily, and though thou were but presenting a cupful of cold water to a poor body, do it heartily, and then the Lord shall count well of it, though it were never so little. Look what sentence the Lord giveth out concerning the poor woman that presented two mites: He saith, she gave more than they all did, (Luke xxi. 3.) Whatsoever thou doest, do it for the love of the Lord, still waiting for that day wherein the Lord shall reward thee. It is true, indeed, that he who hath any discretion will discern the heart by the very deed of the hand. And he or she that hath any heartsomeness inwardly, it will be manifest and uttered in the very deed of the hand outwardly.

But stand thou not upon the sight of any man in the world; but say, "Lord, thou seest the heart, thou seest with what heartiness I do this." And whatsoever thou doest, strive ever to do it with heartsomeness, for Jesus Christ's sake: so in doing thou shalt have joy. No man can do any thing heartily or joyfully but they who have their eyes upon the Lord.

Ye have heard the proposition, and the assumption also. Now he cometh to the conclusion, and he concludeth as it were in the teeth of the Pharisee, "Therefore her sins are forgiven her." Not that this love is the cause of the remission of her sins, but a sure argument and testimony of her faith. Her love toward Christ preceded not, nor went before the assurance of the remission of her sins, but it followed as a true token. So it is an argument not from the cause but from the effect, that testifieth assuredly, that the cause is and hath preceded; that is, that she hath faith in Jesus Christ.

Howbeit, the Papists abuse this place,[1] gathering here, that the love which this woman carried to Jesus was the cause of the remission of her sins; but I leave them to their own vanity.

Now, Brethren, after the example of this Pharisee, I shall never judge evil, nor be a sharp censurer of a penitent sinner. For the poor sinner that believeth once in Jesus Christ, and repenteth; and

[1] "Not only faith, (as you may perceive,) but love or charity obtaineth remission of sins." Rhemish Testament.—Note *in locum.*

taketh purpose of amendment, (for faith and repentance go ever together) a sinner that believeth in Jesus Christ, will repent, and hate and detest sin to the death, wherewith he hath offended God. For when he hath once tasted of mercy, then will he say, "Alas! that I have offended so loving and so merciful a father." For after that he hath once gotten a sense of the infinite mercy of God, all his displeasure will be, that ever he hath offended so loving and so merciful a father. I say, such a sinner may be assured of forgiveness.

Now, mark the Lord's answer to the Pharisee. He saith not, "Howbeit she be a sinner, yet she is penitent and loveth me." But he saith, "She is no sinner, all her sins are taken away." For except all her sins had been taken away, and purged by him, it is most true that the Pharisee thought, to wit, the Lord would not have suffered her to have touched him, he would not have received the kisses of her mouth, nor the tears of her eyes. No, the Lord Jesus, that Holy One, (if thou be not made as white as the snow and all thy sins be not purged) he will not suffer thee once to touch him, nor to kiss his feet. It is a wonderful thing to see such a sudden change in an instant, that so vile and so unclean a body should be so pure and so clean. Howbeit the body were as red as the blood, and as the scarlet, as the prophet Isaiah saith, in the first chapter of his Prophecy, and the 18th verse, yet, suddenly, he will make it as white as the snow and the wool. Indeed, it is true, thou wilt never be purged from the remains of sin, so long as thou art in this life; but yet, notwithstanding, if thou put on that righteousness of Jesus Christ, by faith, God shall count thee as clean as a glorious angel in his sight.

Now, when he hath ended the speech to the Pharisee, at the last he speaketh to the Woman, not thinking it enough to speak in her hearing unto the Pharisee. But to the greater joy and consolation of the poor woman, he speaketh to herself. Thou will run in and out, hither and thither, to get a word of the king. And why not, if so thy necessity require? But strive to get a word out of the mouth of Jesus. Kings many times will give thee flat-

tering words, but the Lord, when he speaketh unto thee, he will speak in truth, and with wonderful love. When he saith to thee, "Thy sins are forgiven thee," thy sins are forgiven thee indeed. For the word of the Lord hath an operation with it, for if he once call thee a Holy One, thou wilt be so indeed. The word of the Lord worketh in thee the thing that he speaketh, most powerfully. For he calleth these things that are not, and by calling he maketh them to be. So the Lord filleth her heart with joy; her heart, no question, began to find joy when she was speaking to the Pharisee. Now he filleth up her joy, for the fulness of joy is not gotten in an instant; all joy is in the face of Jesus Christ. Think ye not, but this woman, when she heard this word, conceived an unspeakable joy in her heart? And I say unto every one of you, who, as penitent sinners, will bewail your sins, and mourn for offending of God, and will purpose to wash the feet of Jesus with tears, and wipe his feet with your hair, as the Lord hath given me commission to speak, "Repentest thou sinner of thy sins? Thinkest thou to amend thy life? Detestest thou thy sins? Believest thou assuredly? Lovest thou the Lord?" I say to thee, thy sins are forgiven thee, in the blood of that same Jesus whom thou lovest so well.

Now a word, and so I shall end. When he hath spoken thus comfortably to the Woman, the Pharisee beginneth again to interrupt and to impede him—if it had been possible, to hinder the woman of her salvation. The rest about the table scorn him, "What is he this," quoth they, "that taketh upon him to forgive sins? He taketh too much upon him, more than he is able to perform." So as the Pharisee concluded before, that he was no prophet, now they conclude that he was no mediator.

Well, Brethren, the work of our salvation hath many impediments. Wilt thou seek salvation? seek grace and mercy? Then think not to come sleeping to grace; for I say to thee, ere thou wantest a stop to hinder thee from grace, from remission of sins, thine own heart, by the suggestion of the devil, shall stand up in thy teeth and blaspheme,—as the Pharisee did first, and as the

rest at the table did thereafter,—and all to hinder the work of thy salvation. But see the end. Stayeth the Lord for all this? retreateth he his sentence again, and saith, "Thy sins are not forgiven thee?" No, no; the Lord's conclusion is past; if he say it once to thine heart, and if he give once that persuasion in thine heart, so that thou mayest say, "Lord be blessed, my sins are forgiven me; happy art thou; they shall be forgiven thee. The Lord shall double it within thee. So he speaketh to the woman, as he would say, "Let them speak what they will, thou art in heaven: thy sins are forgiven thee; go in peace!" There is no peace but the peace of the Lord, coming from the remission of sins. Cry peace as thou wilt, but if thou go not in the peace of the Lord, thou goest not in peace, but in war. The Lord is at war with thee; and albeit thou gettest the king's peace, and all the world's peace, yet, if thou gettest not the Lord's peace, thou hast no peace at all. So well is he that hath his peace; for they only may go in joy, that may say, "Now, Lord, I am at peace with thee, thou hast forgiven me my sins." And if thou canst say this truly, thou shalt have such a joy in thy soul as all the kings in the world cannot give thee, nor all outward comforts and pleasures afford thee.

Now, the Lord give us this peace, and a blink of that joy in the heart, through the remission of our sins; for then, one day, we shall see the accomplishment of it, to our everlasting joy and salvation, in Jesus Christ. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, praise, glory, power, and dominion, both now and evermore, world without end. So be it.

THE SIXTEENTH SERMON.

JOHN, CHAP. III.

6. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that that is born of the Spirit is spirit.

In this conference that Nicodemus hath with Christ,—well-beloved in the Lord Jesus—first, Nicodemus coming to him by night, confesseth him plainly that he was a teacher that came from God, because there was none that could work those wonders that he wrought, except the Lord were with him. Then, the Lord Jesus begins to play the part of a teacher to Nicodemus, who was a doctor in Israel, and the first ground that he begins to instruct him into, is the ground of regeneration; for Christ came to make a a new world again, and to renew man, who was dead in sins and trespasses. Therefore he beginneth to instruct Nicodemus in this doctrine of regeneration, and he bindeth him to learn it with such necessity, that except he and whole mankind be regenerated, there are none of them that shall see the kingdom of God; and this he doeth with a great asseveration, saying, "Verily, verily." Nicodemus, hearing and fearing that heavy denunciation of banishment from the kingdom of God, but not understanding this regeneration, beginneth to reason that it was a thing impossible that he could be born again, because he was an old man, and it is not possible that an old man can enter into his mother's womb again. Christ answereth, and, answering, insisteth in that proposition of regene-

ration, urging him again with a necessity of the same regeneration; only He addeth to that that he spake before, the manner and way of this begetting, to wit, "of water and the Spirit." It is not a fleshly generation, but a spiritual generation, whereby a man is begotten again, by the renewing of the Holy Spirit in him, of the which water is the seal, to seal up our faith in that assurance of that regeneration or new birth.

Now in this text which I have read, Christ insisteth in the same doctrine: and, likeas in the verse preceding he hath proponed the manner of this new birth not to be natural but spiritual, so in this verse, he sheweth Nicodemus what a kind of birth it is—"That," (saith he) "that is begotten of the Spirit, is spirit;" that is, the Spirit of the Lord Jesus working, begetteth not a fleshly or corrupt creature, but a spiritual and heavenly creature. This he setteth not down simply, but he setteth it down by the way of comparison with the fleshly generation, to the end that Nicodemus and all men seeing the corruption of the flesh, they should esteem the more highly of that spiritual generation. And he saith that "the thing begotten of the flesh is flesh;" that is, as the flesh a corrupt mass of flesh and blood, cannot beget but corrupt flesh, even so, the Spirit of the Lord Jesus cannot beget but that that is spiritual and heavenly. And thus ye see the meaning of this place.

But because this place offereth occasion to speak somewhat of Regeneration, whereof the world had never greater need than at this present,—for I think that the world is going back again to that old corruption from the which they were delivered,—therefore, to the end that all things may be the more clear, I shall speak to you first of the flesh and generation thereof; next, of the Spirit and regeneration. And the Lord make us careful to find the Spirit to be effectual in every one of us to Regeneration.

Then, being to speak of the flesh, it shall be expedient to deduce it from the fountain. There are two sorts of sin in this world. The one sort is called original,—that sin that man and woman is born with in this world, which they draw out of their mother's womb with their birth. The other sort is called actual sin, that

standeth in a doing and working, and which floweth and proceedeth from that original sin, as from the fountain. I may not insist upon these things particularly, but I shall give you a short view of them.

Original Sin[1] standeth in two parts. The first is that horrible defection and apostacy which whole mankind[2] in the world, from Adam to the end of the world, have made in the loins of Adam. For ye must understand, it was not Adam alone that sinned, and fell from God, but it was thou, and all others that ever were gotten of man, and born of woman, whole mankind made that defection. For it is said, in the seventh chapter to the Hebrews, and the ninth verse, that when Abraham paid tithes to Melchisedec, that Levi, who long after was not begotten nor born, was tithed in the loins of Abraham his forefather, he paid his tithe as well as Abraham did, even so, we being, every one of us, in the loins of Adam when he sinned, we made all defection from the Lord, and sinned in him. Upon this defection there followed a guiltiness, wherethrough there is none of us but we are obliged to die everlastingly. And if there were no more sin in all this world but that first apostacy only, there is matter enough of thine everlasting damnation: thou needest not to heap sin upon sin, there is thine obligation to thine everlasting death and to damnation. This is the first part of original sin. The second part of original sin is the effect that followeth upon the first, a foul and horrible corruption, that entered in the whole nature of man, so that, from the top to the toe of man, there is not so much whole as one inch. Man is a vile, leprous creature, there is not a whole inch, neither in body nor soul, but all is infected. For, brethren, that first defection past not away so, but it brought with it a fearful ruin and wreck[3] to mankind. And it leaveth behind it a foul stink and terrible darkness, and that came of the just judgment of God, punishing sin by sin. And this corruption of nature

1 The reader will do well to compare with this, the chapter on *Original Sin*, (XXV.) in the treatise on *Effectual Calling*, pp. 166, &c. of this volume. 2 We now say, *all* mankind. 3 It may be useful to the etymologist to know, that the original has *wracke*.

bringeth with it the own guiltiness and obligation to eternal death, so that sundry ways we are guilty of death.

The Apostle Paul, (Eph. ii. 3,) setteth down this guiltiness, when he saith, "we were all children of wrath." This second part of it is it that Christ calleth here "flesh;" in another place it is called the old man[1]. For by flesh we understand not this fleshly and bodily lump which we carry about with us; nor yet, as the Papists[2] call it, a concupiscence in this lump, and nothing in the soul; no, no, but this flesh is a corruption both in soul and body, and in all the powers and faculties thereof; so that there is never an inch free from that pest.

The Lord who made man (Gen. viii. 21) expresseth the work and the force of the flesh after the fall, where it is said, that after he looked and saw this corruption, he said that the whole imaginations of the cogitations of the heart of man are wicked and evil continually; which words import, that man from his youth, yea, even from his mother's womb, could do nothing but imagine, think and forge evil, wickedness and all sorts of mischief. And when he saw this, he uttered a sad and a heavy voice, "It forthinketh[3] me that ever I made man," (Gen. vi. 6.) And it was no small thing, no question, that made the Creator to repent that he had made man. What is man now but a filthy creature, and a pest to infect heaven and earth if it were possible?

But that ye may the better understand the incomparable greatness of this evil which is in man, I shall let you see how it hath spread itself through the whole power of the soul of man. For as for the body, I speak nothing of it. It is true, indeed, it never leaveth that body till it resolve it in earth again, which otherwise was made to be immortal, and in the mean time, till death come, it maketh the body to be subject to many great and fearful sicknesses and diseases. Where from come these biles, the fevers, the palsy, the pest, the leprosy, and other diseases, but from this corruption? But I speak nothing of it. I will let you see how it hath

[1] Rom. vi. 6. Eph. iv. 22. Col. iii. 9. [2] See pp. 178-80 of this volume.
[3] *i.e.* Repenteth.

spread itself in the soul of man. Brethren, there is never a power nor faculty in the soul but all is infected. This pest, it hath not only infected the inferior appetite, as the blind philosophers thought, and as the Papists do this day affirm. But where beginneth it? What is the most excellent power of the soul? It is the understanding, the mind, and this is it that we call reason. This corruption, it hath so entered into the soul of man, that when, as that understanding should be as a light going before to direct all our actions, motions, and thoughts, the right way according to God's word and ordinance, it doeth nothing but fight and repine against the wisdom of the God of heaven. It is a hard matter that God hath created this understanding, and yet it fighteth against him. Paul saith, (Rom. viii. 7,) "that the wisdom of the flesh is enmity against God;" that is, the very understanding of man, which is the most excellent thing in man, is enemy to God, let be the inferior appetites. And, therefore, (Eph. iv. 23,) he desireth not only that the inferior appetites should be renewed, but that regeneration should begin at that which is most excellent in the soul, even that they "may be renewed in the spirit of their mind." Then ye see this understanding of man is altogether corrupt, and that light of the mind is turned unto terrible darkness, and that this wisdom fighteth directly against God. For this reason of man fighteth not only against the wisdom of God set down and declared in the law, but chiefly against that which is more against his wisdom manifested in the evangel—he esteemeth naturally to be but mere foolishness, that ever a man should get salvation by a crucified man, (1 Corinthians, i. 18.)

And to go forward. This pest ceaseth not here, nor resteth not in the mind only, but it entereth into the roots of the heart, into the will and affections of man. It hath entered so into his will, that when as this will of ours, this power of our soul, that we call the will, should have chosen that which is good, and refused that which is evil, according to the reason going before and informing what is to be chosen and pursued, and what is to be refused and eschewed; it fighteth not only directly against that most holy

wisdom and will of God, but even against that spunk of knowledge, light and reason that is left in man. For when man fell in Adam the Lord took not all kind of light from man, but he left in his great mercy in man some spunk of light and knowledge of the majesty of God the creator, whereby he might in some measure know his creator. And he left in man also some knowledge and judgment of politic things concerning our conversation and dealing with our neighbours, what is just and what is unjust, what is reasonable and what is unreasonable; he left in him also some judgment and discretion of natural things, whereas he might have set up man as brutish as a dog or an ass. Notwithstanding of this, the raging corruption of the malicious will repineth against this spunk, and striveth to blot it out, that it should never utter itself to reformation, and to glorify God and to discharge a duty to man, in such sort, that it were a just judgment of God, that they should be made as brute as beasts; as it went with the Gentiles, (Rom. i. 28,) "whom he gave over unto reprobate minds," so that they had not care of natural honesty or shame, but they wrought all sort of uncleanness, because they detained the truth of God in unrighteousness, and suffered it not to reform them. And natural men have found this repining of this corrupt will contrary the reason and light of the mind, and they have said, "*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*," that is, "I see and allow better things, but I follow the worst[1]." And to be short, this wit of a man repineth as fast against the Lord's will, as the will of the devil doth. For by nature we will that same thing that the devil willeth, and there was never any thing so abominable that the devil hath pleasure in but we have pleasure of the same: "Ye," saith our Saviour, "are of the devil your father, and the lusts of your father will ye fulfil," (John viii. 44.) Behold how great matter and occasion the Papists have to boast of free will to any good[2]; they are but vain blind bodies. The will of man goeth wholly with the will of the devil; there is no such a thing. There is not so much as one jot of the will of man free: yet the corruption resteth not here, but it goeth for-

[1] See the same quotation, p. 172. [2] See pp. 256, &c.

ward, and pulleth and defileth all the affections that are in man; as anger, love, hope, fear, &c. None of them are free, they fight all against God, they have no conformity, but a great repugnance with that will of God.

I go forward, and I will not omit the natural powers and faculties of the soul: and I affirm that there are no powers of the soul that are natural, as the faculty and appetite of eating, of digesting, of expelling, but all are infected with this pest; so that, brethren, there is never a power of the soul that is free of this corruption. Would ye understand what becometh of this corruption, and what it doeth? Being in the soul of man, it maketh that there is never a thought that a man thinketh but it is a sin. And if thou have no more than nature, the least motion of thine heart is a sin in the sight of God; never a word that thou speakest but it is a sin; never a deed that thou doest but it is a sin; never a way that thou wilt go but it is a sin, and, consequently, it maketh thee always subject to the heavy wrath of God. If thou stirrest but thine hand or thy foot thou sinnest, and the wrath of God will pursue and follow thee, till at last thou be casten into hell if thou be not renewed. Besides this, so long as we remain in nature this corruption and pest is so forcible in every one of us, that there is not one sin in the world so great and abominable, but with pleasure and delight every one of us would perform it, if the Lord of his mercy did not by his Spirit renew us, at least by his power restrain us when occasion is presented. The root and seed of all mischief under the sun is compacted in every man and woman. Marvel not when thou seest some running to adultery, some to murther, some to sorcery and witchcraft; for that seed which is forcible in them would be as forcible in thee to all mischief, if the Lord restrained thee not. Naturally thou art as bent and inclined to these things as they are, if the Lord by his powerful providence did not restrain thee. When the Apostle Paul considereth the strength and the force of that corruption that was in his heart, he saith, "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, there is no good." And in another place the Prophet saith, "Except the

Lord had left a seed in us, we had been made like Sodom and Gomorrha." (Esay, chap. i. verse 9.)

Brethren, this same seed and root of bitterness is in every infant. Ye think they be angels, and men commonly call them innocents. No, no, they are but wolves' birds;[1] and there is a world of mischief within them which will burst out, when years, strength, and occasion concurreth, except the Lord restrain the same.

Further, I advertise you of the deceitful lurking of this pest, for it is not only to be feared when it bursteth forth, and is fruitful in evil deeds, but also when it lurketh. Ye see if there be a pest in the flesh of man, before it be broken out, many a time they will think they have not a pest. So it is with this pest: it will lurk within the flesh and sinews of the heart so quietly, that a man will think he is the holiest body in the world; but touch him, present any object or small occasion, yea, apply but the holy law of God to that heart, incontinent his foul affections and lusts shall utter themselves, and burst out; even as ye see sometimes that fire will be so hidden and covered under the ashes that it will not appear, and men will think that there is no fire there; but as soon as there is any meet and apt matter, as wood, powder, or brimstone applied, then it will manifest itself and burst forth in a flame. Even so, albeit when men feel not their foul lusts and affections, they seem to themselves to be holy: yet speak to them of the law of God, forbidding and discharging such and such things to be done, then they shall find the passions of sin, which appeared before to be dead within them, to begin to live, yea, to rage in the soul, and to bring forth fruits unto death, as Paul saith in his Epistle to the Romans, the seventh chapter and fifth verse. And then when these passions break out, happy is he that hath some part of the spirit of regeneration to repress them, and strive against them in some measure. For, naturally, there is nothing in

1 "Bird, burd, offspring. This term seems to be generally used in a bad sense, as *witch-burd*."—*Dr Jamieson*, s.v. This seems to be an attempt of the editors to Anglicize the Scottish expression, "Tod's birds," (or "bairns,") used by Robert Bruce, (p. 354, Wodrow Edition,) and to which Dr Jamieson refers.

us to gainstand them, but wholly with all our force, and with greediness we will accomplish them; yea, the devil sitteth betwixt the shoulders, yea, in the very heart of man, and carrieth him here and there to accomplish all sort of mischief in all kind of filthiness, and shall never let him stay till he bring him to destruction. There is no power in man to resist, and, therefore, sin is said to reign, and to have a kingdom within us; and except the Spirit of Christ come, and in mercy either hold down, or else mortify and slay that foul corruption, it shall slay us at the last.

Ye see, then, how deceitful it is, and how easily men are deceived, whilst this corruption lurketh within and uttereth not itself.

But, brethren, more dangerous is the deceit thereof when it bursteth out. We think that man to be in a miserable estate who is raging in this bodily pest, and yet is so blinded and senseless that he is not aware of the sickness till he die in the same. If he were sensible of the disease, he were in a better estate and condition. And so is the estate and condition of man naturally, when this corruption beginneth to utter itself; for ye see some raging in murder with pleasure, and washing their hands in innocent blood with greediness, and some committing adultery without any remorse, yea, boasting and vaunting of it among their companions; others, abusing the benefits of God through intemperance in drunkenness, without any grief of conscience; and others, delighting to oppress and spoil with violence such as they may overcome; and, in the meantime, they have no grief, prick, nor trouble in their conscience for such doing. Are not such men miserably deceived, who, when they are going to judgment and wrath, rejoice; yea, when they are posting to destruction, take their pastime; when they are running to condemnation, laugh; and who, when they are most miserable, think themselves most happy? And this is the estate of many, and chiefly of the great men in this country. They rejoice and boast of their sins, and they think themselves in a good and happy estate, because they find no remorse nor grief in their consciences.

I shall use a homely similitude to declare this matter. A man will have a worm in his finger, or tooth; it will keep itself quiet, and cease from gnawing for a season, and he will think he is whole enough, but take a little vinegar, or some such like piercing and sharp water, then she[1] will begin to gnaw, and then the silly man will complain that he was beguiled, when he thought he was well enough. Even so it is with the conscience of man; for it lieth in the soul of man lurking, as a worm lieth in the flesh, and sometimes it gnaweth and sometimes it lieth still, and letteth the murderer, the adulterer, the oppressor, go forward in murder, adultery, oppression, and other most abominable sins, without any accusation, grief, remorse, or fear of the law of God, and threatening of the curses thereof. I shall tell you more than that. Sometimes the conscience of a miserable malefactor will be so senseless, that it will nowise be moved by the preaching. A murderer will be sitting before the minister; a vile, filthy adulterer will be sitting there, devising how to accomplish their abominable lusts, in the meantime that the minister will be threatening judgment against their wickedness. They will not be moved with the threatenings, but will disdain and scorn them in their hearts, and will say, "This fellow doeth nothing but prate and rail what he pleaseth; and, after preaching, will go out merrily to his dinner, and there curse and swear and blaspheme God's name, and thereafter go to his bed as a beast, or a senseless sow."

But I admonish thee, O miserable wretch, in despite of thy teeth, thy conscience shall not sleep always. The conscience of all flesh shall be wakened one day, either to their weal or to their wo; and that law which so securely men contemn many a time, shall be so powerful to waken the consciences, and to torment them, that by no means nor policy shall they be able to pacify them again. Their drinking, their hawking, their hunting, their carding, their dicing, and other pastimes, will not then bring comfort or true peace to the soul; then that man who thought himself most happy when he was enjoying the pleasures of sin,

[1] She—the worm.

shall think himself the most miserable wretch that ever the earth bare.

Brethren, the law that was given, and threatening thereof is wondrous terrible; and for as little as many men account of it, yet either one time or other it shall be effectual to stir up and to waken the consciences of men; I except no man. And if the conscience sleep still on in this life, till death overtake men, as it doeth in many, yet it shall be so wakened after this life in hell, that it shall never get leave to sleep again—it shall so gnaw upon the soul, that it shall never get rest. And in that great day when that righteous judge shall appear, the law shall be most forcible to raise in the soul dolor, grief, and anguish for ever, which is impossible for any flesh to overcome, expel, and put away; yea, it is as impossible as it is to overcome the majesty of God his own self. For as the gospel is the power of God to salvation, to every one that believeth; so the law is the power of God, to raise up dolor, terror, and anguish in the souls of impenitent sinners, and at last to bring them unto condemnation. Therefore, happy is that man, who, in the time of grace, when the gospel is crying unto every weary and laden soul to come to Jesus, and promising to ease and disburden all that come unto him, findeth his conscience wakened in mercy; for now Jesus Christ, by his servants, is[1] going through the world, offering to cure all sorts of diseases, yea, even these that are most incurable. And miserable is that man who sleepeth on till death overtake him, for then the time of grace is past; repentance then will be too late, it will not avail; remission of sins then cannot be obtained. The voice of the law shall ever sound, "Cursed art thou, miserable wretch, for ever." The comfortable voice of the gospel crying, "Come all ye weary and laden," shall never be heard any more. Suffer, therefore, yourselves to be lanced and wounded in time, that ye may be compelled to come to Jesus; and the Lord waken the conscience of these bloody murderers, adulterers, and oppressors in time, that they may see where away they are going, and at last may return to God!

[1] Original, *in*, an evident mistake.

Now, hitherto we have handled this natural corruption and this noble[1] flesh which men glory so much into. Now, let us speak something of that natural birth, "That which is born of the flesh, is flesh." And what can corruption breed but corruption? What can a leprous man bring out but a leprous child? Who can bring a clean thing out of filthiness? No, not one, (Job, chap. xiv. ver. 4.) For why, brethren? In this natural generation, as the parent naturally communicateth nature, and his own substance; so, look what venom, vileness, and detestableness is in his nature, he giveth and communicateth it all to his children[2].

Men glory commonly much of these things which they get through their parents: they will say, I have gotten great heritages, much honour, and great riches by my father. But I say, that no man ever got so surely these things through their parents, as they get through them and their birth a poison and pest with their flesh, whereby they are made the children of wrath, and shall get hell for their inheritance.

Brethren, happy is the man that can consider this natural uncleanness, and is touched in conscience with the pollution which he giveth to his children, and striveth to have it purged; for in so doing, he both acquireth a good conscience to himself, and giveth his children a better heritage than if he left him all the heirships of the world.

When thou hast begotten thy child, and gathered goods and riches together, and acquired great possessions unto him, then, if thou takest no care of the purging of that corruption which he hath contracted from thy loins, that same pest shall be laid to thy charge in that great day.

Therefore, now having spoken something of the flesh and the generation thereof, let us now speak shortly of the Spirit and his generation. What is meant by the Spirit? This Spirit is the Spirit of the Lord Jesus; this Spirit is the Spirit of regeneration, who reneweth men and women, and, of old and sinful creatures

[1] This may be irony. But our author does not imply this figure, and *noble* is probably a misprint for *vile*, or some such word. [2] See pp. 173, &c.

maketh them new and holy again; for as soon as a sinful man beginneth to lay hold on the Lord Jesus, by a true and lively faith, so soon findeth he power and grace convoyed by his Spirit into his soul to renew it.

Then to speak of Christ, because this Spirit is his Spirit. As Jesus Christ is our elder brother, so is he also our Father. He is called the Father of eternity, (Esay ix. 6;) he is called the second Adam, (Rom. v. 14.) He is our spiritual Father, who begetteth us by his Holy Spirit. Now, compare the natural parent with this spiritual parent. Our natural parent is not only culpable and guilty of that first defection, but also of innumerable sins and transgressions following thereupon; our spiritual parent, Christ, is culpable of no sin at all, but is full of all kind of obedience; for he was obedient to the Father to the death, even to the death of the cross. Our natural parent is altogether naturally corrupt, —yea, a lump of sin,—but Christ, our spiritual parent, is not only clean, in nature, from all spot of sin, and perfectly holy, as he is man, but also he is holiness itself, because he is the Son of God from all eternity; and what can be cleaner than cleanness itself?

Now to come to their generation. The natural parent begetteth by the force of nature: there is a force in nature to beget. Our spiritual parent, Jesus, is far more able to beget by the power of his Spirit, who is the author of nature. The natural parent, by the force of nature, will beget flesh—a corrupt mass, a sinful creature, yea, the image of the devil. This will he give to his child. But our heavenly parent, the Lord Jesus, by his Spirit begetteth the Spirit, that is, a spiritual man, a holy and clean man, who hath no delight nor pleasure in sin; for Saint John saith, in his First Epistle, chap. iii. verse 9, "He that is born of God sinneth not;" that is, sinneth not as the worldlings do, with pleasure and delight —sin reigneth not in him. Why sinneth he not? "Because," saith he, "the seed of God remaineth in him;" that is, his Spirit, by whom, as a lively seed, we are begotten and made new creatures. And what saith he more? He saith, such a man "cannot

sin," that is, he cannot sin as the natural and unregenerate man sinneth; he cannot follow the course of this world, and wallow in the puddle of sin as they do. And why can he not sin so? "Because," saith he, "he is born of God." It is a marvellous force that the Spirit of God hath; he maketh a man that he cannot sin; all the world will not make him to sin. The natural man can do nothing but sin; all his actions are sins; but he that is born of God cannot sin.

Now this generation of the Spirit is called Regeneration, which word, albeit it be commonly in many men's mouths, yet few understand what it meaneth. Therefore we shall set down the nature and definition thereof, and touch some particular circumstances which may serve for the better understanding thereof. Then, what is regeneration? It is an alteration and changing of the whole nature of man, accomplished and performed by the powerful operation of the Holy Spirit. When I call regeneration a changing of nature, I mean not that there should be any change of the substance and essence itself, either of the soul or of the body, as if that, by regeneration, the old substance were quite abolished, and a new substance brought forth, but I mean that there is a change and alteration of the qualities which are in the substance.

I will let you see this in the powers and faculties of the soul, as in the mind and reason, in the will, and in the affections. In the mind and reason there must be a change of the wisdom of the flesh into the wisdom of God. Nothing is a greater enemy to God and his glory, to thyself and thy salvation, than the wisdom of the flesh; and therefore, if thou wouldest be saved, this wisdom must be mortified, and thou must become "a fool, that thou mayest be wise," as ye may read in the First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, the 3d chapter and the 18th verse. Instead of this wisdom, must be poured into the mind the wisdom of God. In the will and affections there must be a change of the frowardness and wicked inclination into holiness and a good inclination. Whereas, before, there was nothing in them but frowardness,

—Lord, that man is a froward creature! when God commandeth him to go one way, he will go the plain contrary,—that must be mortified and slain; and instead of it there must be wrought in the heart a propension and willingness, in some measure, to pursue and to do that which the Lord commandeth, and hath pleasure into.

Now, howbeit I call regeneration a change only of the qualities, yet it is not so light a matter, and so easily performed, as men would think: for it is a greater work to renew man than to create him. In the beginning God created all things with his word, but before man could be renewed, the Son of God behoved to become the son of man, and suffer shame and ignominy, and die an accursed death, "even the death of the cross."

It is an easy thing for thee to say, "I must be changed ere ever I see heaven;" but, brethren, it is not so soon done. It is the most difficult thing under the sun, to get the heart of a creature changed. And they who have found this work sensibly to have been begun in them, have found how hard it is by their own experience. For I tell thee, that before thou be renewed, thou must deny thine own self; Christ saith, thou must renounce thyself, and take up thy cross daily, and follow him, (Luke, chap. ix. ver. 23.) If the Lord had only bidden us to renounce our friends, our father, our mother, our riches, our lands, and such other things as are without us, we would have thought it a matter hard enough, and scarcely would we have been induced to give obedience, as ye see in the young man in the gospel, (Matt. xix. 16.) But when the Lord commandeth us to renounce ourselves, even that thing that is most excellent—that which is most wise, this reason itself, the wisdom of the flesh—that[1] furnisheth so many reasons to dissuade men either to profess or follow Christ. What can be more hard? But suppone reason were convinced, and the mouth thereof closed that it could get no shift to answer, yet thinkest thou so to be quit of thyself? No, the will and the affections will stand obstinately against the judgment of the mind, and follow out, and pursue that which the mind discerneth to be evil.

[1] *That* refers to *reason, the wisdom of the flesh.*

So thou mayest easily see, that there is nothing more hard than to get this regeneration. Yea, thou mayest see that is a thing altogether impossible, except that almighty Spirit of God be present and work it effectually in the soul. All the kings of the earth, with all their weapons and engines of war, cannot be able to do it—no, all the angels in heaven are not able to accomplish this work: "The weapons of our warfare," saith Paul, "are not carnal, but mighty through God, to cast down strongholds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that is exalted against the knowledge of God and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." (2 Corinth. x. 4, 5.) There is no power in heaven or earth but only the Spirit of God that is able to renew one creature. And this power is granted to this our ministry, the preaching of the Evangel. Let great men, let worldly men esteem of it as they please, God hath ordained this ministry to minister this wonderful power whereby the souls of men shall be regenerate

Further thou must understand, that this regeneration is not perfected in an instant, but in process of time. It must continue all the days of thy life. So long as thou livest, albeit thou livest a thousand years, this old man will not be perfectly and altogether mortified and slain, till the hour of death. Thou must all the days of thy lifetime be groaning under the burden of sin, subject to crosses and troubles,—away with lightheaded sinners, who say, they would always have their hearts up! sadness becometh a sinner well—and thou must strive to find the new man to be renewed degree by degree, piece and piece, even till at last death be swallowed up of life, and mortality of immortality. And if thou wouldest have this work to go forward in thee, then set evermore Jesus thy Lord and thine head before the eyes of thy soul. Look upon him with the eyes of faith. For it is only his presence and the sight of his glory, that worketh this marvellous change. For there is a great odds between the sight of his glory, and the sight of the glory of worldly princes. For the sight of their glory will not change thee, nor make thee glorious, but vanisheth away in a moment; but

the sight of the glory of Jesus shall change thee, and make thee glorious, whensoever thou beholdest him, either by faith in this world, or else face to face in the kingdom of glory. For when thou beholdest him with the eyes of faith here, thou shalt be changed, according to the measure of thy faith—and because thy faith is imperfect, thy change here must be imperfect. But when thou shalt see him face to face, and behold him as he is, then shalt thou be like unto him in glory—thy change shall be perfect. His presence shall be effectual to change thy vile body, and to fashion it like unto his own glorious body. When thou beholdest his glory, thou shalt be changed into the same glory.

Therefore, ye see what need we have to find this regeneration begun in us here, and to find a continual progress therein all the days of our life, that so we may be assured that the Lord shall crown his work in us with glory in Jesus.

And now to end. Then, surely ye see what corruption, mischief and venom, every man, without exception, communicateth unto his children, by natural generation. Therefore, Brethren, this is mine exhortation to all, both to great and small,—I except none, from the king to the beggar—Strive, as ye are instruments of generation, so to be instruments of regeneration, that your children may be taken out of nature, and planted in grace, and so be made members of the mystical body of Jesus Christ. Strive to bring them up in the knowledge of Christ, that so ye may be free of that heavy judgment which remaineth for all such as neglect this duty towards their children, and that ye may see God's blessing upon your children here, and may have hope of that eternal life and glory hereafter, which the Lord hath promised to his own in Christ Jesus. To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, three persons and one God, be all honour, glory, praise, and dominion, both now and for evermore. So be it.

THE SEVENTEENTH SERMON.

1 TIMOTHY, CHAP. I.

12. Therefore, I thank him, who hath made me strong, that is, Christ Jesus our Lord: For he counted me faithful, and put me in his service:

13. When before, I was a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and an oppressor. But I was received to mercy; for I did it ignorantly through unbelief.

14. But the grace of our Lord was exceeding abundant with faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus.

IN this text—beloved Brethren in Jesus Christ—there is set down to us a notable example of thankfulness to God, in the person of the Apostle Paul, for that great and incomparable mercy which the Lord bestowed upon him, not only in forgiving him his gross and manifold sins, but also for setting of him in his service, and for the committing to him the message of reconciliation, and making him an Apostle to preach repentance and remission of sins to others. As the mercies which he found were wondrous great, so is he wondrous careful always to testify his thankfulness to God. And to the end the more cheerfully he may praise and thank God, he considereth and setteth down by degrees and in order his unworthiness, and the evil deeds that he did, notwithstanding whereof, the Lord extended his mercy most abundantly towards him.

To come to the words. He saith, "Therefore, I thank him who hath made me strong, that is, Christ Jesus our Lord." These

words depend upon the verse immediately going before. He said before that the glorious evangell of Jesus Christ was concredit to him, for the which cause he bursteth forth in thanksgiving, and he saith, "Therefore I will be thankful to him, who hath concredited it unto me."

Then ye see, his thankfulness ariseth on two considerations: First, upon the consideration of the excellency of the Evangel of Jesus Christ: the gospel is glorious in itself, and it is come down from the blessed God. Next, upon the consideration of his own unworthiness: look how worthy the gospel was, as unworthy was he. Then considering that so worthy a thing was given unto him, and that he himself was so unworthy, he knoweth not what thanks to give, he cannot devise what manner of way to testify his thankfulness. If once we could see what God were, how blessed that inviolable Majesty were, and what the evangell is, how glorious, how lively, and how powerful in operation, and then what ourselves are, how unworthy we are, how, Lord, what would we account of Jesus Christ? This heart that now is bound up, would then be loosed to thankfulness. But we see not what God is, and we have not found the glory and power of the gospel. Look what great commendation this Apostle giveth to the gospel, (2 Corinth. iii. 6.) When he compareth the law with the gospel, and calleth the gospel the ministry of the Spirit, the ministry of righteousness, the ministry of life. Then again, we see not what ourselves are, how vile, how filthy and unclean we are. We see not that mystery of sin that is in us, and therefore we account so little of the gospel, and are so little moved when the Lord threateneth the away-taking of it. And to the end men may know how they ought to esteem of this ministry and of this gospel committed unto them, which now the world so much contemneth and disdaineth, we shall speak a little of the dignity and excellency thereof. To have the gospel of Jesus Christ committed to a man's charge is no small thing. No, there is no flesh worthy of such dignity and honour. No, not the angels in heaven, let be silly mortal creatures. Is the creature worthy to dispose the treasures of salvation? Is a man worthy to

reconcile God and the world? Is any man worthy to be an instrument to bring remission of sins, peace of conscience, and joy in the Holy Ghost to the soul of man? Is any worthy to bear witness to the soul of man, that life everlasting appertaineth unto him, and is laid up for him in the heavens? And this moved the Apostle to cry out, when he considered this, "who can be found meet for these things?" (2 Cor. ii. 16.) And so, if we knew all that is contained in the gospel, we would say, that the angels themselves are not worthy to bear such a message, to dispense the secret and hidden things of God, to confirm forgiveness of sins, to put poor sinners out of doubt, that the Lord loveth them, and taketh them for his children; and last, that he will crown them with salvation, and everlasting life. And the consideration of this should move them whom the Lord hath set in his service, to follow the example of the Apostle Paul, and day and night to be thankful unto God, who chooseth such frail and poor creatures to such a high, excellent, and glorious office, as to offer salvation to them who before were condemned and castaways. Next, this consideration should move men faithfully and carefully to execute that charge which is committed unto them, as also to pray the Lord earnestly, that he would bless them with graces and strength according to the weightiness of the calling, that they may be found faithful in that great day. For man of himself cannot do so much as to think a good thought (2 Cor. chap. iii. verse 5), let be to have such graces by nature as to furnish such a high and glorious a calling. And as the pastors have their duty to learn here, so the people also may and should make their use of it; that is, when they come to hear the word of God, to the end that the gospel and the promises of mercy may profit and edify them, they should be resolved in themselves, that it is God that sendeth men unto them, and maketh them meet who were unmeet. And in this place the Apostle's mind is not only to humble preachers to acknowledge the grace bestowed upon them, but also to resolve all men that he that preacheth is sent from God. Otherwise, the preaching of the gospel will never profit them.

And last, this serveth to reprove the vain thoughts and ungodly speeches of the common multitude; for they think this ministry to be but a base and contemptible calling, and say, who should be placed into it? Who but such fools and unworthy bodies as cannot be meet for another calling? Who but kinless[1] bodies? But if a gentleman, an esquire's son, a lord's brother, &c., take on this calling, he is disgraced and abased therewith. But O unworthy wretch! No emperor, no monarch, nor no flesh whatsoever, is worthy of so great a calling; no, the angels in heaven honour not so much the commission as the commission honoureth them. If thou continuest in counting basely of it to the end, thou shalt find it at the last to be the most glorious thing that ever was; but it shall be to thy confusion and destruction.

Now I go forward. He cometh to a reason of his thankfulness; "who hath strengthened me," saith he; that is, of a weak body full of imperfection, blots and sins, which might have hindered me from that calling, he made me strong and able. So the Apostle compareth his estate by nature, with that estate which he found of grace; and when he was in nature, he saith he was weak; and, under the word of weakness he comprehendeth his blasphemy, persecution and oppression, which he setteth down hereafter. And hereby we may see, that men will never know the grace of God well, nor account worthily of it, until they consider what men are when God leaveth them to their own estate; and when men get a sight either of themselves or of others, they will see that there is no goodness, nothing worthy of praise, but much mischief and misery both in themselves and in others. And when men once see and know this, then it will be an easy thing to them to judge of the grace of God, which supplieth and remedieth all wants and vices.

When Paul looked to himself, he saw no goodness, and that, that

[1] Kinless, *sine gente*, who have no kin to boast of. Hence the double force of the sneer of the Scottish judge at the praise bestowed on the impartiality shown by the Englishmen, who, in part, administered justice in Scotland, under the Protectorate,—"Small thanks to them—*kinless* loons."

had appearance of goodness, was nothing but evanishing smoke; and, therefore, confesseth that whatsoever was in him by nature was corrected, and so he giveth the praise of all to God.

Again, I see that none will account of Jesus Christ and his gospel, but they who find a power and strength in the gospel. There is a power in the gospel which all the faithful find; for by the gospel, he that was weak to any good deed is made strong; by the gospel, he that was dead is quickened and beginneth to live. This constrained the Apostle Paul to give such glorious and powerful styles to the gospel. He calleth it "the power of God to life and salvation, (Rom. i. 16,) he calleth it "lively and mighty in operation," (Heb. iv. 12.) The children of God find it powerful "to overthrow and cast down the imaginations of man and every strong-hold which is raised up against Jesus."[1] And whosoever findeth this, of necessity they must be thankful. Alas! that there should be such a power and strength in the gospel, and that we should find so little of it; for if we found it, it could not be possible but we would testify and practise by mouth and hand, by word and action, our thankfulness otherwise than we do.

Now we come to the next argument which moved the Apostle to be thankful; he saith, that "our Lord Jesus Christ counted him faithful, and set him in his service." He meaneth not here that the Lord foresaw that there would be some worthiness, goodness and faithfulness into him, and therefore employed him, as vain and ignorant men do affirm; for are not all corrupt? Are not all children of wrath and subject to Satan? What goodness then can God see in any of us, except he put it into us? And what can move him to make a choice of one more than another, but only his good pleasure and free-liking? But this he saith, to meet and stop the mouths of wicked and malicious men, who went about to disgrace his person and office, and to make his preaching fruitless—the world is now full of such persons. As if he had said, "Let men reproach me, disdain me, set themselves against me, yet this is sufficient for me, that Jesus Christ who hath all authority, and who is

[1] 2 Cor. x.

supreme judge, who only can absolve and condemn, and from whose sentence none can appeal, is on my side, and hath declared, by putting me into his service, and by calling me immediately with his own mouth, that he would use my ministry; and declared, that where I was unfaithful before, he accounted me faithful—he accounted more of me then I was worthy of."

So by this the Apostle importeth a double grace which he got from Christ; first, that whereas he was unfaithful, the Lord gave him faith, and so accounted him faithful; next, that he had manifested, by calling him to be an Apostle, that he had a liking that he should be in his service.

Then here ye see, that as before, he thanked God for the power and strength that he found, so here he thanketh God for that exceeding mercy uttered in forgiving him his sins, and in calling him to be an Apostle.

Hence we perceive, brethren, that no man will ever account of Jesus Christ, except he first find that Christ hath accounted of him; yea, except he find that Christ hath accounted of him that which he is not; whereas he is unfaithful, he must find that Jesus counteth him faithful; whereas he is unjust, he must find that Christ counted him just. Ye see by common experience, that when one man loveth another exceedingly, he will account more of him than he is to be counted of indeed, for love over-seeth and hideth many infirmities and offences. Was there ever such a love as Christ Jesus carried unto us, unworthy wretches? For when we were vile and wretched sinners, ever offending the majesty of God, and procuring his wrath, the Lord Jesus, in the multitude of his mercies and infinite deepness of his love, covered our sins and hid our iniquities that they should not be seen by God.

So when the Lord Jesus hath once extended the mantle of his mercy and compassion upon his chosen children, then albeit they were replenished with never so many vile and gross sins, yet the Lord will not lay them to their charge, but in Jesus he will count them just, righteous and innocent; so he will account more of them than they are worthy of. For except that every one of us be per-

suaded of this, that we are greater men in the account of Jesus Christ than we are in ourselves, we shall perish in our sins for ever.

The Pope, and that crew of his shameless ones, scorn this doctrine of the Imputation of the righteousness of Jesus. They will have men to be justified by their inherent righteousness in God's presence; but I denounce, in the name of the great God, that if they go on, if they lean to their own righteousness, and if they find not the righteousness of Jesus to be imputed unto them, they shall never taste of mercy.

But how knoweth the Apostle that the Lord accounteth so much of him? The last words of the verse declareth; "He put me into his service;" therefore I know that he hath accounted more of me than I am. Wouldest thou know that the Lord hath accounted more of thee than thou art? hath the Lord Jesus put thee into his service? then he accounted of thee. Indeed, I grant that there are many who are called to offices, both in Church and policy, who cannot, nor may not say that, therefore, the Lord hath counted them faithful; for there are many who are not sent of God, but who run unsent, and are thrust out by their own corrupt affections—as by ambition, by vainglory, by desire of preferment, by covetousness. Oftentimes ye see that many who have the place and name of pastors, set themselves to trouble the estate of the Church, and to give offences unto the weak ones, to speak nothing of their negligence in that calling. And such like,[1] in the seat of justice, ye will see men without regard of God, conscience, nature, and common honesty, to give out wicked judgment, and maintain manifest heinous crimes, and to stand directly in contrary terms with the majesty of God, countermanding where he hath commanded.

Therefore, such persons cannot allege that the Lord hath counted them faithful, and men cannot say that they are set into these offices by God's hand, but, as it were, by Satan. Therefore, to the end that thou mayest know whether the Lord counteth

[1] *i.* And in a similar manner.

thee faithful or not, look and see that thou have these signs and testimonies, which may bear witness that the Lord hath called thee. It is true, men now-a-days cannot have such a persuasion as Paul had, for he was called immediately by the mouth of Jesus Christ from heaven, and therefore he might speak confidently; but it is as true there are none whom the Lord calleth but they have some signs thereof. Look, therefore, if thou have an earnest desire to glorify the Lord in the riches of his mercy, to propagate the kingdom of Jesus, to draw men from darkness to light, from misery to felicity, from death to life, from hell to heaven; look if thou hast grace, in some measure, for such a calling; look if the Lord accompanieth thy ministry with evidence and demonstration of the Spirit, and by thy preaching hath acquired subjects to his kingdom; look if thou do the work of the Lord cheerfully. If thou have these tokens thou mayest be assured in thy conscience, and other men also may be persuaded that thou runnest not unsent; but if thou hast not these tokens, then boast not of this, that thou art in a calling. And, to speak more generally to all them who are called Christians. Wouldest thou know, in what estate and calling soever thou art into, whether private or public, whether the Lord account more of thee than thou art worthy? whether he accounteth thee faithful or not? Look to the marks, signs, and tokens of a true Christian,—if thou find them in thee,—as, namely, whether thou hast a pleasure in body and soul, through infirmity, to serve the Lord, to be exercised in the means of grace, in preaching, prayers, reading, conference, &c.; look if thou have a pleasure to approve thyself in all things to thy Lord and Master; look if thou have a care to further others in the course of Christianity and way of repentance. Then, if thou hast these tokens, thou mayest rejoice.

Then he goeth forward; and he cannot sufficiently set out that mercy which he found, he knoweth not how nor in what terms to utter and proclaim it. If we could find that mercy of Jesus, we would see that the heart would never satisfy itself with thinking of it, or the mouth with speaking of it. And to the intent that he

may magnify the greatness and the riches of the mercy of the Lord, he confesseth and setteth down, although to his own shame, his former sinful life and behaviour in sundry degrees: "Whereas before," saith he, "I was a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and an oppressor." Look if he thought much of himself; he was one of the cruellest persecutors that ever was in the Church; he was in a rage against Christ.

Behold, Brethren, Paul is not ashamed to paint out himself in his own colours, and, particularly, to confess his former evil deeds, and to registrate them to his own shame to the world's end. Yea, ye shall see in sundry places where he speaketh of himself, that he can never satisfy himself in aggreaging his own wickedness. The sinner who hath found mercy will not regard to discover his sins to his own shame, and to tell all the world of them, that he may glorify him who hath given him mercy: he will not stand upon his reputation, but he will prefer God's glory unto his own account; he will glorify the Lord with his own shame. When David found mercy for his vile adultery and abominable murther, he not only confesseth his sins to his own shame, but also ascendeth to confess the natural corruption which he had from the loins of his parents.

The man that hath fallen into a notorious and vile sin and offence, and yet for shame will not confess it that God may be glorified, that soul hath never felt the mercy of God. And if thou hadst felt that mercy of God, thine heart would be loosed and thy mouth also, to glorify God by an humble confession.

Moreover, ye may perceive out of these words how and what way the Apostle found the strength and power of the gospel. He found a power in it, but not at the first instant; but ere ever he felt the power of the Lord, he findeth himself to be weak, and ere he felt the mercy of God, he findeth himself to be a miserable man. Thou shalt never feel the power of God, except first thou feel thine own weakness; and thou shalt never feel his mercy, except first thou feel thy misery. And, therefore, the Lord Jesus many a time, sundry ways crosseth his own in this life, to the end that

they may know and feel their weakness and misery, and so go out of themselves to find strength and mercy in Jesus Christ. Sometimes he will exercise his own with shame and reproach in the world; sometimes with heavy diseases and painful sicknesses; sometimes with want of the outward comforts of this life; sometimes with trouble and terror in the conscience—and all to this end, that they may know what they are without the Lord; how weak, how frail, how abject and naughty they are; that so finding themselves as nothing, they may be compelled to renounce themselves, and to seek to be found in Jesus. Yea, after the Lord hath drawn them to him by crosses, the Lord useth all the days of their lifetime to expone them to crosses, that every day, finding more their wants, infirmities, and lack of comfort in themselves, they may the more daily seek and strive to be found in Jesus, who can supply all their wants, and furnish every thing that they stand in need of.

It is true, indeed, many a time the Lord will not exercise his own with crosses, but spare them and let them have liberty, and give them in abundance the outward comforts of this life before they be effectually called. Look to Paul. Before he knew Christ he boasted much of his worldly prerogatives, of his kindred; he was a gentleman—he was in great account—by the law a Pharisee, (Philip. iii. 5.) He knew not what the cross meant.

The like ye will find in many other of the saints of God. But as soon as he calleth them effectually, he layeth the cross upon them; that seeing their weakness, and distrusting themselves, they may learn to renounce themselves, and desire to find the power and life of Jesus in them, which they will find effectual in the cross in a wonderful manner. Look 2 Corinthians xii. 8, 9, 10: the Lord layeth manifold crosses upon Paul; and when, with tears, he prayeth that the Lord would take them away, he getteth this answer, "My grace is sufficient for thee, for my power is made perfect through thy weakness;" meaning that he will be glorified, and make Paul to find strength in him when as he is weak in himself. And never one is strong in Christ but when he feeleth

himself weak. Therefore, he subjoineth, that he would rejoice and take pleasure in his infirmities, that the power of Christ might dwell in him. He saith, (2 Cor. iv. 10,) "Every where we bear about in our body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might also be made manifest in our bodies,"—when the body by crosses was dying, then he found the life of Christ. And no soul shall find that life without it be dying. Therefore, if ever thou wouldest find the power and life of Christ in thee, be careful to feel thine own weakness and misery.

Yet mark the words. He saith, "notwithstanding of my sins, the Lord had mercy upon me;" and if ye look to the speech, it importeth a wondering that ever he should have found mercy, who was such a great sinner. It is the greatest wonder that ever was, that one sin is forgiven to a sinner, suppose it were but an evil thought: and if thou sawest that great, inviolable, and infinite majesty, and the greatness of thy sins, thou wouldst wonder that ever thou gettest one sin forgiven thee, let be blasphemy and persecution forgiven thee. And wonder thou as thou wilt; all the angels of heaven wonder that sinners should get mercy, and that God loved the unworthy world so, that he would give his only son to die that they should live for ever. And they wondered when Adam and the fathers of old got mercy; but when Christ came into the world to die for the sins of the world, they wondered far more at that mercy, and with cheerful voice praised God for the same, saying "Glory be to God in the high heavens, and peace on earth, and towards men good will." (Luke ii. 14.) Look also what the Apostle saith to this purpose to the Ephesians (chap. iii. verse 10); it is their pleasure to pierce into that mystery, and to look to that mercy; but miserable man, to whom it belongeth, commonly wondereth not at it. But albeit the profane man when he is sleeping in sin, and going on in an evil course, thinketh it but an easy thing to get mercy; and albeit he wonder not much when he seeth another miserable sinner to get mercy, but account it a matter of sober[1] importance, yet—if it please the Lord once to waken

[1] Unexciting, small.

his conscience, and make his sins to appear in their own colour, how great, how vile, and how detestable they are, and what it is to offend that infinite and inviolable majesty, that omnipotent Jehovah who created all things, and to find the terrors and torments of that inevitable wrath and everlasting pain; and if the Spirit of God leave him there to his own self, and help him not forward—he would conclude that there were no mercy for him, and he would marvel that ever a sinner should get mercy; for he would see the justice of God as a wall of fire standing before God, holding off the sinner, that he press not to come near to God.[1] So such persons would dite their own dittay,[2] and give out their own doom against themselves. And except it please the Lord to send his Holy Spirit—who searcheth all things, yea, the deepness of God—out of his own bosom to a miserable sinner, thus exercised, to convoy him through his justice through that wall of fire, and to let him see and feel the mercy of God in the Lord Jesus, he would never, nor durst never claim to his mercy. Only they who get that Holy Spirit—who cometh out of that deepness—to convoy the creature to that unsearchable deepness, (for albeit the deepness of that mercy be infinite, yet the Spirit of God searcheth out that deepness,) will acclaim and apprehend mercy; and then such persons will marvel, that ever themselves, or any other should have found such infinite mercy: and the saints of God in the kingdom of heaven shall ever be exercised in marvelling at the mercies of God upon them.

It is true that many vain, wanton men, when they are going on in sin, being drunken and bewitched with the pleasures of sin, and mad in their damnable course, will promise mercy to them-

1 If this sentence does not belong to that unfinished class technically called *ἀνακόλουθα*, it is, at the best, an awkward one, from which character all the mysteries of punctuation can hardly rescue it.

2 *i. e.* Would write out the accusation against themselves. *Dittay* is not to be confounded with *ditty*, a song, which Johnson derives from the German *dicht*. The former, (probably from *dictum*,) is a term of Scottish law, and signifies a criminal charge, or an indictment, as—"whereupon dittay or indictment is taken up."—*(Regiam Magistat.*, fol. 163.) It is not noticed by Jamieson, but will be found in a work of great value and merit, the *Imperial Dictionary*, now in course of publication.

selves, and will apply mercy to sin, to make sin more and more sweet, as if it were not sweet enough before. But away with thee! for mercy appertaineth not unto thee, but wrath and judgment, so long as thou remainest in that estate. Thou art not in that estate that thou mayest claim to his mercy; for only the man who hath a sad, a contrite, and a broken soul, may acclaim to mercy, and such a man, in greatest sadness for sin, shall have unspeakable joy.

Now after he hath wondered at the mercy of God, in the end of the verse he setteth down a cause, not so much wherefore God gave him mercy, as that God was so ready to give him mercy. He saith that he "was an ignorant;" and that he proveth, "because he wanted faith." His ignorance deserved no mercy, but rather made him culpable and guilty; for the Lord will not allow such an excuse in that great day; but ignorance maketh the sin the less. The sin that proceedeth from ignorance is not so great as the sin that proceedeth from knowledge; for the servant who knoweth not the master's will, and doeth it not, shall be striped with few stripes; but the servant who knoweth the master's will, and doeth it not, shall be striped with many stripes, (Luke xii. 47, 48.)

But, for the better clearing of this point, we must understand that Paul meaneth not that every sin which is committed willingly and wittingly, men knowing well enough that they are sinning, shall not be forgiven; for in what case should we all be into then? Do we not all, many a time, sin wittingly and willingly? do not our consciences challenge us in the very act? will we not do wrong to our neighbour in his person or in his goods, or in his name and account? Yes, no question; and we cannot justify ourselves in our doings. If, therefore, they who offend God, even with open eyes, were condemned without hope of mercy, alas! in what case would we be into? He meaneth not then of all sins in general; he meaneth not of the sins committed against the second table—against our neighbours; but, by joining ignorance and misbelief together, he sheweth that he meaneth of the resisting of the truth of God,—which is a far greater sin than theft, whoredom, or backbiting; for they who resist the truth do as much as in them lieth

to pluck God out of his seat, and to put out the remembrance of his glorious majesty, that he reign no more. And they say in effect, "Let me alone with God and I shall handle him well enough. I shall bring him to nought; he shall not reign; I shall fight against him." Therefore Paul, speaking of such an accursed sin, saith, not without cause, "I did it of ignorance;" as if he had said, "It is true, to blaspheme God's name, and to tread God's word under feet, and to persecute the saints of God, is a sin that surmounteth and surpasseth all sins, and I am culpable of this sin; but, what! I did it not wittingly, for I thought I served God when I was an enemy to the gospel, because I wanted faith." Indeed Paul was a learned man, and brought up in all good literature, as we read in the third chapter to the Philippians; as for the knowledge of the law, and the tradition of the Pharisees, he surpassed the rest, (Gal. i. 14.) Yet, for all this, he saith he was ignorant, because he wanted the knowledge of Christ. Suppose thou knowest all the world, and yet if thou knowest not Jesus Christ, thou knowest nothing; and though thou knowest all the laws in the world, all humanity and philosophy, yet, if thou knowest not Christ, thou knowest nothing. Now blessed is that soul that knoweth Christ, albeit he knew no more,[1] for in the knowledge of him standeth life everlasting.

Mark again. He saith, "because he was ignorant," therefore "he was a blasphemer and persecutor." Ignorance is a dangerous thing. They who are ignorant of Christ; they who have not faith in him; they who know not what a glorious personage he is, what incomparable benefit he brought with him unto the world; who have not found his mercies; who have not been sensible of the forgiveness of their sins; who have not found the image of God repaired in them; and they who have not found that peace of conscience and joy in the Holy Ghost—they will persecute Christ, and his gospel, and his saints. It is a dangerous thing for the saints of God to dwell among ignorants and unbelievers, for such men are unreasonable—yea, they are atheists. The Apostle Paul requesteth the Thessalonians to pray to God for him, that he may

[1] She knows—and knows no more—her Bible true, &c. *Cowper.*

be delivered from froward and unreasonable men; "for," saith he, "all men have not faith," (2 Thessal. iii. 2.) This land is full of atheists; and give them but a watchword, they would soon make a massacre. And it is a marvel that the Church of God standeth so long amongst them; for few is the number, and silly is the flock of God that believeth, in comparison of them who remain in ignorance and infidelity. We should, therefore, pray to God daily, that he would deliver his own saints from them, and that, by his powerful providence, he would restrain their malice and fury, and guard his own on all sides. Further, think not that Paul allegeth his ignorance, that thereby he may justify himself, as if it were without fault and offence. For no man's ignorance shall serve to be a cloak to absolve him before God; it will not serve a man to say, "I thought not of it; I thought otherwise, I knew it not;" but if he get not mercy, he must die for his ignorance. But he allegeth it, to let men see that it was not of malice and despite that he set himself to fight against God, and therefore that the Lord was more ready to forgive him.

Then, consider that the Lord taketh heed, and regardeth the grounds and fountain of sin—wherefrom it proceedeth, and, accordingly, he is either more easy, or more hard to shew mercy. There is a sin against Christ of ignorance, and such was the sin of Paul; there is a sin against Christ of knowledge; this is a higher degree, and this sin will hardlier get remission. This sin of knowledge is of two sorts; for either it cometh of infirmity or else of malice. If it come of infirmity, as fear of trouble, danger of life, it may find mercy. Such was the sin of Peter, when at the voice of an handmaid he denied his master Christ, for he knew in his conscience that he said and did wrong; yet it proceeded of infirmity, for fear of his life. For as Bernard saith, "*Petrus peccavit contra veritatem, non contra caritatem,*" for he loved him in his heart whom he was denying with his mouth. And therefore he found mercy, albeit his sin was higher than the sin of Paul was. But if it come of malice and despite against God and the light of his gospel, it getteth no mercy. That is, if a man come to this

point, that when he knoweth God's truth—albeit he be not moved with infirmity, fear or danger—that he will say in his heart, "I know that this doctrine is truth, it is the truth of God, yet I will go of set purpose to fight against God; I will go clean against it; I will do so much as in me lieth to bring it to nought;"—when a man cometh thus far this man carrieth a mark about with him, whereby he may account himself a condemned person. Such was the sin of Judas, and of Julian the Apostate; for of very malice they sinned against Jesus Christ and his gospel—therefore they got no mercy. And well were it with many of this land, and namely these whom the Lord hath promoved and preferred above others, who have sold themselves to the Antichrist, that man of perdition,[1] either quietly and craftily to undermine, or else openly, if occasion offer, to persecute the Church and saints of God; well, I say, were they, if either they did it of ignorance, or of infirmity and weakness.

Now to come to an end. In the last verse he returns again to the grace and mercy; "But the grace of our Lord superabounded so much the more. My sin was great, but it reached above and surpassed my sin." He wondered before of the mercy of God; but now, finding unspeakable joy proceeding of this mercy, his heart is enlarged and his tongue loosed with cheerfulness, to magnify his mercy. "Where sin aboundeth," saith the Apostle, "there grace superaboundeth," (Rom. chap. v. ver. 20.) Go to thine own experience, and consider what motions thou hast found in using the means of grace, sometimes at the hearing of the word, sometimes at the holy sacraments, sometimes in prayer, and sometimes in meditation; and I will let thee see that grace superaboundeth. Wilt thou not feel when thy heart is very sad, when it is burthened with exceeding grief and displeasure; when thou art sighing, sobbing and groaning under the burthen of sin, and when thou art pouring out tears abundantly before God because of thy sinful life and foolish race which thou hast run; will ye not find exceeding, yea, incomprehensible joy to arise out of that sadness at that same time, which will swallow up all displeasure and sadness—such a joy, I

[1] 2 Thess. ii. 3.

say, as the like whereof all worldly pleasures and comforts cannot be able to afford? No question but if thou be the child of God, sometimes thou wilt find this joy. Now from whence proceedeth this joy but from the feeling of a superabundant mercy, forgiving thee all thy sins? For as sadness riseth of sin for offending such a loving God and merciful father; so the joy riseth of the assurance of forgiveness of sin in his superabundant mercy; and if there were not a superabundant mercy the joy would never swallow up the sadness. So if there were no more to testify that the mercies of the Lord superaboundeth but the unspeakable joy mixed with sadness, it is as sure an argument as ever was in the world. Yea, and when thou feelest this joy, wilt thou not be compelled sometimes to burst out, and to say, "Lord thy mercies are superabundant, where sin aboundeth there thy grace and mercy aboundeth more?" So if thou wouldest feel this surpassing joy, strive not so much by a general knowledge and bare contemplation to know that the mercies of God are infinite, and to speak of them that they are above all his works, higher than the heavens, deeper than the sea, and broader than the earth; but chiefly to find and feel them by experience in thy own soul (for a bare knowledge and naked speaking without feeling avails nothing)—and then thou shalt find such a joy as will make thee contemn and disdain all joys that thou found before in sin, or in these worldly courses, and it shall make thee to say, that thou never knewest before what true and solid joy meant. And to the intent thou mayest find this superabundant mercy, which is the cause and fountain of this joy, strive to have sadness and bitterness in thy soul for the offending of so loving a God and merciful father; for none is capable of this mercy but he who hath a contrite, a broken and bruised soul. The Lord, therefore, give us grace to feel the burthen of sin, and to groan under it, that we may taste of that "superabundant mercy," and so may find that true and solid joy, that passeth all understanding, in Jesus Christ. So be it.

THE EIGHTEENTH SERMON.

1 TIMOTHY, CHAP. I.

14. But the grace of our Lord was exceeding abundant with faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus.

15. This is a true saying, and by all means worthy to be received, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.

16. Notwithstanding, for this cause was I received to mercy, that Jesus Christ should first shew on me all long-suffering, unto the ensample of them, who shall in time to come believe in him unto eternal life.

THE Apostle Paul—well-beloved Brethren in Christ—considering that the Lord Jesus had shewed such mercy upon him as to concredit to him the glorious Evangel of the blessed God, immediately falleth out in a thanksgiving to Christ. There are two causes in the proposition of the thanksgiving. The one is taken from the power of Christ, wherewith he is made strong; for when he was nothing the Lord Jesus made him strong. The other is from the mercy of Christ when he was unfaithful,—how could a blasphemer be faithful?—The Lord was so merciful, that he made him faithful, and this he declareth, because he being before a persecutor, the Lord made him an ambassador of that same Evangel which he persecuted. He leaveth not this mercy, but insisteth in magnifying of it, in regard, that not only he was a preacher, but

likewise he was a true Christian man. Ere ever he set down this mercy, he telleth what he was before, and he saith, "When I was a blasphemer, and not only that, but with torments compelled the Christians to blaspheme, I was a persecutor, and yet further, an oppressor." He leaveth nothing untold of himself, and he thinketh no shame to honour that God who had mercy upon him with his own shame, and he registrateth his own misbehaviour to his shame, that every one of the saints of God, to the end of the world, may say, "Glory be to God, that hath shewed mercy on such a sinner." Then he wondereth and saith, "but he had mercy upon me;" and therewith by the way he joineth a reason why the Lord shewed mercy so readily on him, because he did it not of malice or knowledge, but he was blinded—he did it of ignorance, he was destitute of faith; but as soon as he got mercy, he changed his course. Yet he leaveth not off, but entereth into a deeper consideration of this grace, and he saith, "The grace of the Lord abounded exceedingly, my sin abounded, but grace superabounded." And these words are from the sense of the heart; the heart being opened with the sense of grace, openeth the mouth that it uttereth these words, "The grace of Christ is superabundant;" for if the heart be filled with the sense of grace and mercy, it will make the mouth to proclaim the mercy of God, and to extol it highly. The cause why we cannot set out the mercy of God in his terms, is because in us there is no feeling of mercy; therefore it is that we utter words so slender and of so little valour, when we speak of that love and that mercy as it were a thing of none importance. When he hath told that the grace of the Lord superabounded, he addeth also "with faith and with love in Jesus Christ." He declareth that superabundant grace, by a wonderful mutation and change that was made in him by the power of Jesus Christ, that of a blasphemer of Christ he is made a believer, apprehending him by faith, of a persecutor and oppressor of the saints of God, he was made a lover of them.

The sense of the mercy of God, and faith in Jesus Christ, bringeth forth love in the heart. And whosoever hath assurance

of mercy and true faith, his heart will be joined with Christ, and he will have a great love towards him. Then for Christ's sake he will love all his saints. There will not be a soul in the Church of Christ but he will love him so entirely that he would give his life for him, and as he will love him, so he will pity him. For he that hath faith, will both love and pity men. He that wants pity and careth not what becometh of the whole world, so he be well, hath never found what was the mercy of God in his heart. Alas! how few is the number of these faithful ones? how rare a thing is faith in the hearts of men? what argueth this coldness in the hearts of men, this want of love and pity in the multitude? Nothing but this, that albeit mercy be preached, yet the multitude feeleth it not. And if thou hadst all this world, and yet tasted not of that sweetness of this mercy of God in Jesus Christ, thou knowest never what joy, what comfort, what pleasure was.

Then, in the next words he openeth up the ground, as it were, of that mercy that was shewed upon him, which is the general end of the coming of Christ into this world. And from the general he concludeth on this manner, "Christ Jesus is come into the world to save sinners; and I am a sinner, therefore, he will save me amongst the rest." Before he come to the words of the proposition, because it is a great and notable sentence, he useth a preface; as the Lord Jesus in matters of importance used to say, "Verily, verily, I say unto you;" so here the Apostle saith, "This is a true saying, and by all means worthy to be received." In this preface he prepareth not only Timothy, but all that ever shall hear this sentence, unto the end of the world; and he prepareth them, not only to the attention of the ear, but he prepareth them unto faith in the heart; so that as soon as they should hear this sentence, they should apply it with their hearts. Alas! why should so worthy and excellent sentences as these are, pass away without any attention or preparation on our part? It is true, Brethren, we should never come to the hearing of any part of the word without preparation. We should not come to the holy congregation like as many swine, without having any regard what we are doing, but

we should come with preparation; and not only wait with an ear prepared, but with a heart prepared; and when thou enterest into the Church thou shouldest say, "The Lord prepare mine heart, that I may receive some sponk[1] of grace." So a preparation is requisite in general to the hearing of the word. But yet the heart of man would be better prepared for the hearing of such notable sentences as this is, "Christ is come into the world to save sinners;" they require a more singular preparation. There is no doubt he spake through the full assurance of faith, and that which he spake, he assuredly believed, and therefore he spake of it. When we speak of that grace, the heart should rise with an assurance. Look to the prophet David, with what assurance he speaketh of it. "I believed," saith he, "therefore did I speak." (Psal. cxvi. 10.) Look to the Apostles, with what faith and assurance they speak of it. "Because," saith Paul, (2 Cor. iv. 13.) "we have the same spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken, we also believe, and therefore we speak." So when thou hearest or speakest of this grace of the Lord Jesus, seek to have this assurance in thy heart, and say, "Lord give me thy grace in speaking and hearing of the benefit of Christ, that I may speak and hear with assurance."

And if ye take heed to the words of the preface, he riseth up in commending of this sentence, that "Christ came into the world to save sinners." And he saith, not only, "this is a true saying," that we may assuredly believe; but likewise he saith, "and by all means worthy to be received." He welcometh (in a manner) Christ Jesus coming into the world—he embraceth that salvation that he brought with him. And would to God, whether we be preachers or hearers, that we could attain to that measure of grace, that so oft as we name the coming of Jesus Christ, that in speaking of it our hearts may be moved to embrace him, and that life and salvation which he hath purchased for us! So this preface serveth to confirm our hearts, and deeply to imprint in them the doctrine of the grace of Christ of remission of sins, of sal-

[1] Generally *spunk*, *i. e.* spark, or small fire.

vation through him, &c. For by nature there is in every one of us such a mistrusting and doubting thereof, that albeit God would a thousand times offer it unto us; albeit Christ himself would teach never so much unto us, yet are we ever still in doubt and questioning in our own hearts, whether it be so or not. Against all this mistrusting and reasoning of our own hearts, we must be armed with this preface of the Apostle as with a buckler, that "it is a true saying, and by all means worthy to be received."

But to come to the saying itself, it reckoneth up the whole Evangel; for what is the Evangel in few words? "The Lord Jesus, the Son of God, is come into the world by his manifestation in the flesh, and taking upon him our nature; and in it he hath suffered the most shameful death of the cross for the sins of man, and rising again from death hath passed up to glory, and all to this end, for the salvation of man." There is the whole gospel. Alas! if we took heed to these tidings, our hearts would not be carried after so many vanities. The Apostle (1 Tim. iii. 16) calleth this the mystery of godliness, and a great mystery, that God is manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of the angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory. All this he setteth down here in a word, "Christ Jesus came into the world;" and he telleth us it was "to save sinners," that we who are sinners might have joy, and rejoice at his coming; for we should never hear nor read such sentences but with joy.

But the words would be weighed. He saith, "Christ came into the world to save sinners." What is this that he calleth sinners? There are two sorts of sinners in the world. The first are they who think they have no sin—they are so hardened in their sin, they never got their hearts opened to see their own sin and wretchedness, (for an indured[1] sinner feeleth no sin;) but by the contrary they think themselves just. They are puffed up with a conceit of their own righteousness; they think themselves whole and free from the disease of sin, and these are the

[1] *Indyratus*, hardened.

greatest part of the world. An example we have in that proud Pharisee, who would stand up and justify himself before God, and say, "I thank thee, O God, that I am not a sinner as other men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican," (Luke xviii. 11.) But it is not for the salvation of those men that Christ came into the world. No, mercy belongeth not to them; they will never taste of any mercy of God in Jesus Christ. And therefore Christ saith, (Matt. ix. 12, 13,) "The whole need not a physician," that is, they who are whole and free of the sickness of sin in their own conceit. "I am not come to call the just," that is, indured sinners who think themselves just, because they are touched with no sense of sin. And well had it been for them if Christ had never come into the world, for they want not only grace in him, but, by the contrary, by the contemning of the grace that is offered, they heap on condemnation on their own heads. There is another sort of sinners, who have a true sense of sin, and groan under the burthen thereof, who are sore grieved in their own consciences for it; and it is of these sinners that the Apostle speaketh here, for Christ sheweth mercy only on these sinners—he came into the world to save them only. Therefore, he saith, (Matt. ix. 13,) "I come to call sinners to repentance," meaning these sinners who have their consciences wakened with the sense of sin—these sinners only he inviteth to come unto him to get grace and refreshment. "Come unto me," saith he, "all ye that are weary and laden, and I will refresh you," (Matt. xi. 28.) These sinners will get grace to hear the word, and will get their minds illuminated with it, whereas indured sinners, the more they hear the more are they blinded. And, therefore, Christ saith, (John ix. 39,) "I am come unto judgment into this world, that they that see not may see"—to wit, the penitent sinners—"and that they that see," that is, indured sinners, "may be blinded;" and if thou be an indured sinner, thou canst not hear the word with profit—thou canst not be enlightened thereby. But albeit thou be a blasphemer, an adulterer, an harlot, and the greatest sinner that is, if thou harden not thine heart at the hearing of

the word of God, O how wonderfully will it work in thy soul! It will bring thee to a sense of thy sin, it will make thee to be grieved for thy sin, and to lament and mourn unfeignedly for it; it will make thee to run and seek for grace and mercy in Christ, that thy sin may be done away. An example of this ye have in David, when he had committed adultery and murder. No sooner is the word preached to him by Nathan, but as soon his heart is pierced with the sense of his sin, he confesseth and acknowledgeth it, he is sore grieved for it, he crieth for mercy in the Messias, to put away his iniquities, as ye may see, (2 Sam. xii. 13, and Psal. li. 1.) Such like ye see in Paul, who before was persecuting the Church—as soon as he heareth the voice of Christ, his conscience is wakened, he trembleth, he is astonied, he humbly entreateth for mercy, he offereth service to the Lord, and saith, "Lord, what wilt thou that I do?" (Acts ix. 6.) And it is only such persons as these, who are of a contrite spirit, who tremble at the Lord's words, that do get mercy and salvation. Then, in a word, a humble and penitent sinner, how great soever his sin be, he shall get salvation; so there is nothing that hindereth thee from mercy and salvation, but the maliciousness of thine own heart. It is not adultery, it is not murder, it is not blasphemy or oppression that depriveth thee of that salvation, but the hardness of thine heart that cannot repent. If thou hast a contrite heart, and canst say, "Wo is me, that I have offended so sweet and gracious a God," thou shalt get mercy. It is a heavy and lamentable case that sinners should want mercy for fault of repentance.

When he hath set down this general sentence whereon he groundeth the mercy of God that was shewed on him, that Christ came into the world to save sinners, he cometh to the particular application, and he subjoineth, "But I am the first sinner in the world." The conclusion is understood; "Therefore Christ Jesus came in the world to save me." Would to God every sinner in the world could learn to apply this general sentence to themselves, in the same manner that Paul doeth here, and from his heart could say with him, "Christ Jesus is come in the world to

save sinners;" and then subjoin, "But I am the first sinner in the world;" that so he might apply mercy and salvation to himself! For without this application these general sentences can serve for no use. It is true, indeed, brethren, sciences[1] of these general sentences that are contained in the scripture is very good; yea, the knowledge of them is most necessary, for no man can have conscience without knowledge. But it is as true, on the other part, that science and knowledge avail not without conscience, applying particularly to a man's soul the thing that he knoweth; as when men know these general sentences set down in the word, if they apply them not to themselves, the knowledge of them can serve to no purpose. As for example, when a man knoweth this general sentence of the law, "Cursed is every man that continueth not in every thing which is written in the book of the law, to do them," if thou apply it not, it can do thee no good. But if thy conscience be wakened to acknowledge thy transgressing of the law, and consequently to apply to thyself that curse of the law, and eternal condemnation, what sorrow and grief will it work in thy heart! what earnest desire will it work to be free from that curse and eternal condemnation! Yea, thou wouldest be content to give all the world to be free of that curse, and the heavy burden of the wrath of God. And, Brethren, look never for mercy, nor salvation, except first thine own conscience condemn thee. If thy conscience condemn thee not, the Lord of heaven shall condemn thee. There is never one that is freed from the curse and condemnation of the law, but they who feel their sin, and groan under the burthen of it, and get a sight of their condemnation for sin. Another example we have of[2] this general sentence that the Apostle hath in this place, "Christ Jesus is come into the world to save sinners;" if thou apply it not, and say not as the Apostle doeth, "I am a sinner," it can furnish thee no joy nor comfort. Then when we come to hear the doctrine of grace and mercy, let us come with a conscience wakened and weary with the sense of sin; for if the souls of men and women were weary and laden

[1] Used synonymously with *knowledge*.

[2] A seeming misprint for

with the burthen of sin, they would feel an unspeakable joy in their hearts at the preaching of the doctrine of salvation. But because we are casten up in a senseless security, our consciences are asleep, and the thing that we have is but a general notion —therefore it is, that at the preaching of the law there is no sorrow, no grief, no heaviness of heart; and if the glad tidings of the Evangel be preached, there is no joy, no comfort; and this is the thing that we have most to lament at the preaching of the word, that we have no feeling neither of sadness nor of joy, and therefore the judgment is the nearer. And he or she that lieth hardest, sleeping in greatest security, shall get the sorest and most terrible wakening when the judgment cometh. Now the Lord waken our consciences in time, and give us grace to take heed to the preaching of the word, and to beware of ourselves, and ever pray to the Lord for grace; and never let neither the memory of his mercy toward penitent sinners, nor of his judgments against indured and impenitent sinners, pass out of our mind!

Mark again, in application, when he applieth the general unto himself, he applieth not immediately salvation, but first he applieth sin to himself, and then salvation. He saith not first, "I am saved," but first he saith, "I am the greatest amongst sinners," and thereafter he saith, "I have obtained mercy." Then take heed to thy application. When thou hearest, by the preaching of the gospel, salvation offered to sinners, take not first to thyself salvation, but first take sin and death, then take life and apply it to thyself. Rejoice not first at the preaching of the glad tidings of salvation, but first conceive a displeasure, then let joy arise out of displeasure; for joy of salvation must arise out of the displeasure, through the fear of damnation. It shall pass thy power to find joy through the sense of mercy and salvation, before thou find sadness and heaviness of heart through the sense of sin and damnation. Even as ye see a spring of water will not break out of a rock except the rock be broken, even so it is with this effect.[1] No joy can be to the heart of a Christian man or woman, till the heart be contrite and

[1] *i. e.* In reference to what is effected by the gospel.

broken with sadness through the sense of sin; the heart is first exceeding heavy and sorrowful, and out of that heaviness ariseth the joy; and the heavier the heart is, the greater the joy is. Would to God we had this sorrow and sadness, and the sense of the wrath of God in our hearts for sin! for the saddest heart for sin will get the greatest joy, and evermore the greater sadness the greater joy. If our hearts be grieved, and weary with the sight of sin, we shall have such a spiritual joy, as the world knoweth not; and this joy is as sure an earnest-penny of that joy of heaven as ever was. And he that hath that joy that ariseth from that sorrow in the heart for sin, he hath a sufficient warrant of that joy in heaven; and he that hath not that joy, he hath no warrant of that heavenly joy; therefore, Christ saith, "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted," (Mat. v. 4.) Now in this world this joy is mixed with tears, but then it shall be a perfect joy, and all tears shall be wiped away from our eyes. Now for Christ's sake put away vanity and wantonness, and let every one of us take up a new course of life, that we may mourn and weep unfeignedly for our sins, (for we have all need,) that instead of this worldly joy, we may get that solid and unspeakable joy that ariseth out of sadness; otherwise we only enjoy the name of Christians, but as for the disposition of the heart which is required in a Christian, it is far from us.

Yet mark further, his conscience is not only wakened with the sense of sin, he is not only touched with a true sorrow for it, but also he maketh a clear and plain confession of it. Then mark it, before thou gettest mercy in Christ, thou must first of necessity acknowledge and confess thy sin; for confession of sin must of necessity go before mercy. David found this by experience, for so long as he held his tongue, and would not confess his sin, he could find nothing but the wrath and heavy hand of God against him. "My bones," saith he, "were consumed, I roared all the day," &c. But as soon as he taketh this resolution with himself, "I will confess against myself my wickedness unto the Lord," then he found the Lord to shew mercy on him, and to forgive him the punishment of his sin, (Psalm xxxii. 3, 4, 5.) And to what purpose

should any man cover his sins from God, whose all-seeing eyes pierce into the brains and most secret corners of the heart, and to whom all things are open and patent, and who knoweth every man's sins better than he can do himself? Why shouldest thou then dissemble with him? Why shouldest thou not make a plain and open confession of thy sins unto him, that thou mayest get mercy.

Another thing would be marked; he is not content to confess his sin, but he saith, "I am the chief of sinners;" he saith not simply, "I am a sinner, but the chiefest sinner, the first sinner in the world." Brethren, if we had a sense of our sin, even the least sinner of us would think he were the greatest; he would not go about to excuse his sin, he would not cloak it as Cain did, he would not extenuate it, much less would he have a proud conceit of himself and of his own righteousness. He would not enter in as that proud Pharisee did, (Luke xviii. 10,) who held up his head, and said, "I am not as other men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican." The poor publican was in the mean time hanging down his head; but he was a greater sinner. But if thou enter into comparison with others, and have a sense of thy sin, thou will think with thyself, "There is not so great a sinner in the world as I am," and thou wilt say with Paul, "I am the first and chiefest of sinners."

Now when he hath applied the general sentence to himself, and shewed that the Lord had given him mercy and salvation, he setteth down next the end of this grace; "But herefore,[1]" saith he, "he had mercy on me, that he might first shew on me all long suffering." There is an end; another end is, "that I should be an example to others in the world."

Now, Brethren, when God sheweth mercy on any man it is not for nothing, it is not without great and manifest causes; for he will not cast grace lightly away. Indeed he will give these temporal benefits to the wicked, because he esteemeth not so much of them. He will throw a lordship, an earldom, yea a kingdom to a

[1] A rare correlative to *therefore*.

reprobate, but as for one spunk of the spiritual grace of Jesus Christ he will know well to whom he giveth it: he will take good heed to whom he giveth one drop of that precious blood of Jesus Christ, and he will love them exceedingly. Think ye not that he would love a leprous man well that would wash him with his own blood? The preciousest liquour that ever was in the world is the blood of the Lord Jesus, yea, such is the worthiness and preciousness thereof, that all the world will not buy one drop of it. Shall we not think then that he loveth that man well whom he washeth with his blood? Shall we not think that he beareth an unspeakable love to that man whom he washeth with his Holy Spirit? Mark it, Brethren: mercy cometh by chance to no man. It is usually said kingdoms come of hap; but it is not so with mercy and the grace of Jesus Christ. None gets it, but these whose names are written up in the book of life: none are called to the participation of one spunk of that saving grace, but they who were predestinated from all eternity. And, therefore, if thou hast gotten one spunk of grace, count with thyself that thou wast predestinated from all eternity to everlasting life, and count with thyself that thou hast gotten a more excellent and precious thing than if thou hadst gotten all the world. Now as he will not lightly give grace, so he giveth it not for the person himself alone who receiveth the grace, but he will have a consequence following upon the giving of that grace and mercy. First, he will have the glory of that grace and mercy to himself. And what more? He will set him on whom he hath vouchsafed that grace and mercy, to be a spectacle and example of his mercy before the world.

To speak of the first end, "That he should shew on me all clemency. That is, that shewing such mercy on me, who was the greatest sinner, he might manifest and declare the exceeding greatness of his mercy to the world. Brethren, the thing that God looketh to in his works is, that he might be glorified in his essential properties; but above all the rest of his properties, he will be glorified in his mercy. He will be glorified in his power, in his wisdom, in his justice. Sodom and Gomorrha was a spectacle to

sinners of his justice, to terrify sinners to the end of the world. But above all he seeketh to be glorified in his own mercy: above all things the Lord will have his love and mercy to shine in the world; he will have the creature to glorify him in his mercy. What is the cause that he sent Christ into the world? That in Christ his mercy might shine in the world. What is the cause of this preaching of the evangel? why is it sent? That his mercy might shine in the world. And all the pastors should teach and proclaim this mercy of God, and not speak of judgment, but when men regardeth not his mercy. Look what the Lord will do that his mercy should shine in the world. He will take blasphemous persons, persecutors, oppressors,—such as Paul was,—and he will shew mercy upon them; he will make them to be spectacles of his mercy in the sight of the world, that all the world should stand wondering that the Lord sheweth mercy upon them. And there is not one of them who are justified by Christ but they are spectacles of the mercy of God, set before the world, to make the world to wonder at his mercy, that so we may learn to know, and deeply to consider the mercy of God, not only by his word, but also by his works and examples of them that have obtained mercy.

Now to come to the second end he saith, "Unto the example of them that shall in time to come believe in him." Then Paul getteth mercy, not for himself only, but also for other sinners, who, seeing this mercy shewed upon him, might reason with themselves and say, "Yonder blasphemer, yonder persecutor, yonder oppressor hath gotten mercy, and may not I likewise be assured to get mercy?" Therefore, when thou seest that the Lord is merciful to any man, say with thyself, "It is not for nothing that the Lord hath given this man mercy; but it is for my cause, that I may by his example be stirred up to seek mercy; therefore I will go and get mercy at his hands."

But, alas! such is our security and senselessness, that howbeit the Lord be continually calling upon us, and offering mercy unto us by his word, and likewise by ever setting forth before us godly

men and women, that of unholy creatures are made holy creatures to be spectacles of his mercy, that by them we should take example—yet all these means that God useth to testify his mercy unto us, moveth us not to consider and take up his mercy. But blessed is that soul that can learn by any of these means to take up the mercy of God and to seek for it; for mercy is the preciousest jewel that ever was. Therefore when thou findest not assurance of mercy, then be sorry for it, and strive earnestly to obtain it; for there is no surer token that the Lord is to shew mercy to any soul, than when upon the sight and feeling of the want thereof the soul is grieved, and striveth and endeavoureth more and more to obtain a more full assurance thereof.

And, therefore, when I consider how men in this land are sleeping in sin, without any remorse of conscience, and are so careless to seek to have assurance of mercy, I am afraid that the Lord is about to withdraw mercy from this nation. The Lord avert his wrath and be merciful unto this sinful nation for Christ's sake. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, praise, and glory, world without end. So be it.

DE AETERNA MENTIS

DIVINAE APPROBATIONE ET IMPROBATIONE,

DOCTRINA BREVIS,

ET PRO NATURA REI TAM ARDUAE EXPLICATA.

PER ROBERTUM ROLLOCUM.

DEUS ab æterno vel approbat vel improbat aliquid.

Approbatio in genere, vel est nuda et sine decreto, vel est cum decreto.

Approbatio sine decreto, est cum approbat aliquid Deus simpliciter, non etiam decernit eligendum aut sequendum.

Approbatio sine decreto, est bonorum omnium per se, quae tamen nullo unquam tempore fiunt, cujusmodi sunt conversio, fides, salus reproborum; quae approbat quidem Deus simpliciter, sed non decernit fieri; imo decernit ea non fieri, ut in doctrina improbationis videbimus. De approbatione sine decreto vide *Deut.* v. 35; "O si esset hic eorum animus illis, ad timendum me et observandum omnia praecepta mea omnibus diebus, ut bene esset eis et filiis eorum in saeculum;" 1 *Tim.* ii. 4, "Qui quosvis homines vult servari, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire;" 1 *Tim.* iv. 10, "Qui est conservator omnium hominum, maxime vero fidelium."

Approbatio Dei cum decreto, est cum etiam eligendum aliquid decernit atque concludit. Hanc sequitur voluntatis divinae electio.

Decretum autem conjunctum duplex est.

Primum, quo decernit Deus aliquid fieri. Sub hoc decretum cadunt—ut hic taceam substantias omnium actionum et qualitatum

tam bonarum quam malarum—cadunt, inquam, bona omnia per se, quae in mundo hoc efficiuntur. Hujus decreti species quaedam, est praedestinatio praecipuarum creaturarum ad vitam æternam. De hoc decreto vide *Exod.* xxxiii. 19; dixit, "Ego faciam ut transeat tota bonitas mea ante faciem tuam, et inclamabo nominatim Jehovah ante faciem tuam: sed gratiosus ero cui fuero gratiosus, et miserebor cuius misertus fuero;" *Act.* xiii. 48, "Et crediderunt quotquot erant ordinati ad vitam eternam."

Secundum decretum est, quo decernit Deus non quidem simpliciter fieri, verum permittere fieri aliquid. Sub hoc decretum cadunt per se mala, per accidens autem bona, hoc est, aliquo respectu bona, quæcunque in mundo eveniunt. Hujus decreti species quædam est prædestinatio præcipuarum creaturarum ad mortem æternam. De hoc decreto vide *Exod.* iv. 21; "Tum edixit Jehova Moschi; quandoquidem proficisceris ut revertaris in Ægyptum, vide ut omnia illa prodigia quae posuero in manu tua, facias coram Parhone: sed ego obfirmabo cor ejus, ut nolit dimittere populum illum;" *Act.* xiv. 16; "Quique praeteritis aetatibus sivit omnes gentes suis ipsarum viis incedere."

Res autem quæ fiunt ex utroque hoc decreto Dei *Hecousiai* sive *Voluntariae* dicuntur: nam etiam quæ decreto permissionis divinæ fiunt, hecousia et voluntaria sunt quodam modo, quatenus nimirum non sine decreto aliquo fiunt. Hecousion factum ex simplici approbatione, hoc est, ea approbatione quæ est sine decreto, non dicitur, vel hac sola ratione, quod nullum plane factum existat ex approbatione ea quæ simplex est ac sine decreto; hecousion autem adjunctum quoddam sit facti alicujus. Apparet etiam hecousion non esse ex simplici approbatione, vel ex contrariis, quia *Acousion* nihil dicitur ex simplici improbatione, ut postea videbimus. Respectu Dei res quæ fit vel evenit nulla acousia dicitur sive invita; nam acousion proprie est, non quidem quod impingit in legem aliquam expressam, vel voluntatem, quam vocant, revelatam, verum quod impingit in decretum Dei, vel voluntatem, quam vocant, non revelatam, evenitque contra decretum divinum, vel simpliciter ita dictum vel permissivum.

rie quod impingit in decretum, nunc, inquam, definito[1] consilio et proatum cum accepissetis, manibus sceleratis crucis;" *Act.* iv. 28; "Ut facerent quaecunque manus prius definierat facienda."[2] Quibus in locis Spiritus Dei occurrit opinioni hominum de crucifixione Christi, tanquam facto acousio respectu Dei, affirmans nihil factum a Judæis, nisi quod permissum fuerit jam olim decreto divino. Cum autem nihil possit evenire contra decretum aliquod Dei, (id quod habemus, *Esai.* xiv. 27; "Nam Jehova,"[3] inquit, "irrivit consilium et quis irritum faciat? et manum ejus extentam ecquis avertat?)" profecto respectu Dei nihil acousion dici potest. Dici potest, fateor, Deo non approbante vel improbante aliquid fieri, nempe quod fit contra expressum ipsius mandatum; verum non est illud statim acousion respectu Dei, quod non approbatur ipsius mandato, cum fieri possit, imo necessarium sit, ut illud ipsum ex decreto Dei permissivo fiat, quod alioqui contra mandatum admittitur. Hactenus de æterna Dei approbatione, nunc de improbatione dicendum.

Improbatio in genere vel est nuda et sine decreto, vel est cum decreto.

Improbatio sine decreto est, cum improbat aliquid Deus simpliciter, non etiam decernit repudiandum aut fugiendum.

Improbatio sine decreto est malorum per se, quæ aliqua ratione permittuntur fieri, simpliciter tamen improbantur, ut sunt mala culpæ, induratio et perditio reproborum, quæ Deus simpliciter improbat, aliquo tamen respectu permittit fieri, nempe quo inserviunt ipsius gloriæ. De improbatione sine decreto vide *Ezech.* xviii. 23; "An ullo pacto delector morte improbi, dictum Domini Jehovæ; annon cum revertitur a viis suis, ut vivat?" *Rom.* ix. 22; "Quid si vero volens ostendere iram et notam facere potentiam suam, pertulit multa lenitate vasa iræ coagmentata ad interitum?"[4]

[1] Sic. Beza gives, definito *illo* consilio. [2] Beza has, *praedestinavit ut fierent.* [3] Tremellius and Junius translate, Jehova *exercituum.* [4] Beza: pertulit multa *cum irae inhibitione* vasa irae, *compacta* ad interitum?

decernit atque concludit. [illegible] pudiatio.

Decretum hoc duplex est, prout duplex fuit [illegible] ex approbatione divina.

Primum est decretum, quo decernit aliquid non fieri simpliciter. Sub hoc decretum cadunt bona per se, mala tamen aliqua ratione, quia nimirum non inserviunt gloriæ Dei, cujusmodi sunt salus, fides, et conversio reproborum. Coincidit autem hoc decretum negativum cum affirmato permissivo: nam una eademque opera decernit permittere, verbi gratia, indurationem reprobi et conversionem ipsius nunquam futuram. De hoc decreto prohibitivo simplici, vide 1 *Reg.* xii. 15; "Quum itaque non auscultasset rex populo (erat enim causa a Jehova, ut praestaret verbum suum quo allocutus fuerat per Achijam;") et 2 *Chron.* x. 15; item *Josuæ*, xi. 20; "A Jehova enim fuit quod obfirmabant cor suum ad occurrendum bello Israeli ut internecioni devoveret illas, nec fieret illis gratia, sed ut perderent eas, quemadmodum praeceperat Jehova Moschi;" *Joan.* xii. 39; "Propterea non poterant credere, quia .... excaecavit eorum oculos."

Secundum est decretum quo decernit non permittere malum aliquod fieri a malo instrumento. Sub hoc decretum cadunt mala quae nullo pacto, hoc est, neque simpliciter, neque respectu alicujus approbantur et permittuntur, ut sunt induratio et perditio electorum. Coincidit autem hoc decretum negativum cum affirmato, quo simpliciter decernit fieri aliquid, verbi gratia, conversionem et salutem electorum. Nam una eademque opera decernit et fieri salutem ac conversionem electorum et non permittere fieri a malo instrumento. Vide *Gen.* xx. 6; "Tum dixit ei[1] in somnio, tum ego sciebam cum integritate cordis tui te fecisse istud, tum etiam cohibui ego te ne peccares in me: idcirco non sivi te attingere eam;" *Matt.* vii. 18; "Non potest arbor bona fructus malos ferre, neque arbor putris[2] fructus bonos ferre;" item, *Mat.* xxiv.

[1] Tremellius and Junius; dixit ei *Deus*. [2] Beza: arbor *mala*.

signa magna et miracula; ita ut seducant (si fieri possit) etiam Electos."

Utrumque hoc decretum prohibitivum est, et ex adverso respondet utrique illi decreto affirmato quod pendet ex approbatione divina: nam decretum negatum, quo decernit Deus non fieri bonum, ex adverso respondet decreto affirmato, quo decernit fieri bonum. E contra decretum negatum quo decernit Deus non permittere fieri malum, ex adverso respondet decreto affirmato, quo decernit Deus permittere fieri malum.

Advertendum autem in decreto prohibitivo permissionis mali, vel quo decernitur ne permittatur fieri malum a malo instrumento, nomine mali intelligendum esse malum quocunque modo consideratum, sive simpliciter et qua malum est, sive secundum quid, et aliquo respectu malum. Nam indurationem et perditionem Electorum omni modo omnique respectu prohibet decreto suo: quo differt decretum permissionis prohibitivum a decreto permissivo affirmato, cum decretum permissivum affirmatum sit mali permissivum, non qua malum est, sed qua respicit bonum aliquem finem, et qua bonum est aliquo certe modo.

Ex his quae diximus, videmus malum qua malum est neque ullo respectu bonum est, sed qua malum est tantum et in suapte natura consideratur, ex decreto permissionis non pendere. Est quidem fateor id quod alioqui malum est ex decreto permissionis, verum non qua malum est, sed ut boni aliquam rationem habet. Diximus enim decretum permissionis pendere ex Dei approbatione aliquo modo; ex quo sequitur quod si ex decreto permissionis penderet malum qua malum, ex approbatione etiam dei aliqua ipsum penderet necessario; quod falsum est. Nam Deus, quae est ejus sanctitas inviolabilis, non potest approbare malum qua malum est, vel quod idem est, malum simpliciter. *Objectio;* Ergo malum, qua malum, Deo invito fit, si non saltem permittente. *Resp.;* Non sequitur; nam ut sit invitum aliquod factum, ut diximus, necesse est

[1] Beza. *Excitabuntur.*

malum, non fit contra decretum aliquod; ergo invito Deo non fit, vel non est *Acousion* respectu Dei. Quod autem non fiat contra decretum dei malum, qua malum, quicquid illud sit quod evenit, vel ex eo apparet, quod si esset aliquod decretum ejus prohibitivum, hoc est, decernens ne permitteretur illud fieri, profecto non posset fieri omnino: verbi gratia, si fuisset decretum prohibitivum perniciei Judae, profecto Judas non perditus fuisset. Nam cujus mali extat decretum prohibitivum ne permittatur fieri, illud nunquam fit necessitate. Exempli gratia; decretum fuit ab æterno prohibitivum ne permittatur perditio Petri Apostoli; hinc factum ut illa non potuerit evenire.

FINIS.

EXCVDEBAT ROBERTVS WALDE-GRAVE, TYPOGRAPHVS REGIVS.
ANNO DOMINI. M.D.XCIII.

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